

24
**PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED
PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES**

HEARINGS
BEFORE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTIETH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON

H. R. 2910

**A BILL TO AUTHORIZE THE UNITED STATES DURING AN
EMERGENCY PERIOD TO UNDERTAKE ITS FAIR SHARE IN
THE RESETTLEMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN GERMANY,
AUSTRIA, AND ITALY, INCLUDING RELATIVES OF CITIZENS
OR MEMBERS OF OUR ARMED FORCES, BY PERMITTING THEIR
ADMISSION INTO THE UNITED STATES IN A NUMBER EQUIV-
ALENT TO A PART OF THE TOTAL QUOTA NUMBERS UNUSED
DURING THE WAR YEARS**

JUNE 4, 6, 13, 20, 25, 27, AND JULY 2, 9, 16, 18, 1947

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PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m. in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Fellows (chairman) presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order.

We have met here to consider H. R. 2910, a bill introduced in Congress by Hon. William G. Stratton, our congressional colleague from Illinois.

(H. R. 2910 is as follows:)

[H. R. 2910, 80th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To authorize the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, including relatives of citizens or members of our armed forces, by permitting their admission into the United States in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota members unused during the war years

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE OF THE ACT

SECTION 1. This Act shall be known and may be cited as the "Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act."

CONDITIONS ON ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

SEC. 2. During the four fiscal years following the passage of this Act, displaced persons applying for admission for permanent residence to the United States shall be admitted as nonquota immigrants provided that:

(a) They are qualified under all immigration laws of the United States for admission for permanent residence.

(b) Not more than one hundred thousand of such displaced persons shall be admitted under this Act during the first of the four fiscal years following the passage of this Act; not more than two hundred thousand during the first two of such fiscal years; not more than three hundred thousand during the first three of such fiscal years; and not more than four hundred thousand in the total four fiscal-year periods.

PRIORITY TO RELATIVES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS AND WAR VETERANS

SEC. 3. Priority under this Act shall be given to the widow, parents, children, and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States or of persons who served honorably in the armed services of the United States during World War II or World War I.

ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS

AUTHORITY FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

SEC. 4. The Secretary of State and the Attorney General shall have authority to prescribe appropriate regulations for the administration of the provisions of this Act and the President may utilize such agencies of the Government as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

DEFINITION OF DISPLACED PERSON

SEC. 5. As used in this Act, the term "Displaced person" means a person in Germany, Austria, or Italy at the time of the passage of this Act who (1) is out of his country of former residence as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of World War II; and (2) is unable or unwilling to return to the country of his nationality or former residence because of persecution or his fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinions.

Mr. FELLOWS. We have 2 hours before the House convenes, and we are very glad to hear from Mr. Stratton.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM G. STRATTON, A REPRESENTATIVE
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I am very happy to be here this morning, and I appreciate the committee's action in giving us this opportunity to present our case on what we consider a very important issue.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I have sponsored H. R. 2910 to admit 100,000 displaced persons in each of four emergency years, not only because of widespread popular demand, but also because I am firmly convinced that the United States can and should permit the entry of displaced persons in our own self-interest.

The greatest ruin in Europe was not the wreckage of cities, nor the twisted and scarred factories and railroads—it was the uprooting of millions of human beings from their normal lives by the Nazis and their forced transfer into Germany.

At that point, I might say that that picture was complicated when the Balkans and parts of Germany were overrun in turn by the Communist army.

Repatriation and resettlement have reduced the number of displaced persons in Europe. A "hard core" of what is known as non-repatriables remain. This hard core of displaced persons numbers about 850,000. Eighty percent of them are Christians, consisting of Roman Catholics and some Protestants. About 20 percent of those who are displaced are Jewish, most of whom are going or live in hope of going to Palestine. Among the displaced persons are Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Yugoslavians, Estonians, and Ukrainians.

Over half of the displaced persons are women and children, with about 21 percent under 18 years of age. Most of them represent a survival of the fittest, having escaped and endured what millions of their kinsmen could not survive.

Most of the displaced persons live in camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Here, they are existing rather than living, waiting with hope deferred nearly 2 years after VE-day for the day when they can build new lives for themselves and for their families.

H. R. 2910 is necessary because existing administrative and legislative machinery is inadequate to permit us to take our fair share of these displaced persons.

President Truman recognized this in his speech on the state of the Union on January 7, 1947, when he urged Congress to turn its attention to this world problem. We fought in the councils of the United Nations to prevent the forcible repatriation of the displaced to Communist-dominated lands. We have a moral obligation, and a heavy responsibility to follow through. I. R. O. will help maintain these DP's but cannot resettle them without action by us and other countries to receive them.

If the major immigrant-receiving countries received their proportional share, the entire hard core of 850,000 displaced persons would become placed persons. Our fair share of the displaced has been estimated at over 400,000.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I am not going to read these tables, but I would like to insert in the record at that point the basis that these estimates were made on.

Mr. FELLOWS. You may do so, without objection.

(The matter referred to appears in appendix I.)

Mr. STRATTON. Throughout the United States over 90 national organizations representing over 40,000,000 people, local committees on displaced persons in more than 50 cities, editorial comment in more than 80 newspapers published in 60 different cities and 25 different States, from Arizona to Wisconsin, from Maine to Texas, from North Carolina to California, are all asking that the United States afford refuge to a fair share of the displaced.

Exhibit 2 attached to my statement is a list of the national organizations.

Exhibit 3 is a list of the newspapers in which favorable editorial comment has appeared.

Exhibit 4 is a list of magazine articles and editorials.

Exhibit 5 is a list of newspaper columns in which favorable comment has appeared.

Exhibit 6 is a select list of excerpts from favorable editorial comment on the subject of displaced persons.

Exhibit 7 is a list of local citizens' committees.

Exhibit 8 is a partial list of some of the prominent citizens who are supporting H. R. 2910.

There again, Mr. Chairman, I would like permission to enter that material in the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

(The documents referred to appear in appendix I.)

The men and women, and the organizations, who support the principle of this bill, represent all walks of life—they are from church, labor, agricultural, industrial, veteran, and professional groups and they are from all parts of the country.

It was pleasantly surprising to me to observe the comparatively small number of organizations who oppose this proposal and it is gratifying to me to note that editorial comment in opposition is so distinctly in the minority. As a matter of fact, my attention has been called to less than 10 adverse editorials.

Mr. Chairman, my bill is an emergency measure with a limited life of 4 years. It is designed to take care of a particular postwar problem—the problem of the unsettled and homeless people of Europe who dare not return to their former homes where they would meet perse-

cution, abuse, and even death at the hands of Communist-dominated governments. As long as they remain homeless and unsettled, peace, normalcy, and order cannot be restored to Europe and the world. And as long as they remain in their present plight the American taxpayer will continue to pay hundreds of millions of dollars for their care and maintenance in internment camps.

H. R. 2910 adopts the elaborate selective mechanism and screening tests of the basic immigration laws in force today and does not bypass or waive them in any respect whatsoever. These provisions are: The Immigration Act of 1917 (8 U. S. C. 136); the Immigration Act of 1924 (8 U. S. C. 201); the Alien Registration Act of 1940 (8 U. S. C. 451); the Passport Act of 1918, as amended (22 U. S. C. 223-226); the Anarchist Act of October 16, 1918, as amended (8 U. S. C. 137); and the act of June 20, 1941 (22 U. S. C. 228).

As you gentlemen well know, these laws prescribe documentary, mental, physical, economic, and moral qualifications for aliens seeking to enter the United States. They bar the entry of criminals, prostitutes, the immoral classes, illiterates, paupers, those likely to become public charges, contract laborers, those whose entry would be prejudicial to the United States, Anarchists, Communists, Nazis, subversives, those racially or otherwise ineligible to citizenship, and, of course, the mentally and physically deficient.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt at that point?

Have you studied this question of the mentally and physically deficient, in their screening process, how they apply the rules?

Mr. STRATTON. To be frank with you, that is a matter of administration. I have not attempted to go into prescribing the rules; but my understanding of the law, as it is supposed to be administered, is that it would bar the people who are mentally and physically unfit.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

Mr. STRATTON. The tests of these laws will apply to displaced persons under H. R. 2910. The permanent quotas of these laws will remain in effect. Within the framework of the quota laws, however, certain classes are temporarily made nonquota.

All North and South Americans are nonquota.

Subsequent to the enactment of the quota law and in recent years, other special classes were made nonquota without endangering our basic immigration system. My proposal is to make a limited number of displaced persons nonquota for a limited period of time.

As the Attorney General pointed out on February 4, 1947, before the Senate Appropriations Committee, the intent of the framers of the Quota Act to admit 154,000 immigrants annually has not been fulfilled. In the 17 years from 1930 to 1946 there were more than 2,500,000 available quota numbers but only 559,000 of them, an average of 21.4 percent, were actually utilized.

During the war years the United States was almost a closed country. In 1942, only 14,500 quota aliens were admitted, or 9.5 percent of all quotas.

In 1943, 9,000, or 5.9 percent.

In 1944, 9,400, or 6.1 percent.

In 1945, we admitted 11,600 or 7.5 percent.

There again, Mr. Chairman, I am not going to bore the committee with a great length of figures, but I would like to ask permission to

insert at that point a table showing quotas used during the past several years, since 1930.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The tabulation referred to appears in appendix I.)

Mr. STRATTON. From 1939 to 1944, we admitted less than 200,000 quota immigrants, some of whom were refugees and some were not. During this period the Swedish nation admitted 41,000 refugees. Had we furnished refuge on a similar scale and in the same proportion to our population, 850,000 refugees would have come to the United States. And had our quotas been fully utilized during this period over 900,000 immigrants would have been granted entry into the United States under existing laws.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I interrupt a moment?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes, Mr. Graham.

Mr. GRAHAM. Do you have any information to show how many of those admitted to Sweden had formerly been residents of Sweden?

Mr. STRATTON. No, I have not.

We can get that for you. I will be glad to.

Mr. CELLER. You used the term "refugees," though, "41,000 refugees."

Mr. STRATTON. That is correct.

Less than half the number of allowable quota immigrants are likely to enter the United States in the next few years. Consequently, with my emergency act for the displaced persons there will be an annual admission during the next 4 years of just about the total of 154,000 immigrants who are permitted to enter under existing law.

Preference under the bill is granted to the widows, parents, children, and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States or of persons who served either in World War I or World War II. In this way, families partially exterminated and separated by the war may be reunited. The bill is designed to cover the displaced persons in Germany, Italy, and Austria, where the bulk of these unfortunates are and where the problem is most acute. The Attorney General and Secretary of State are authorized to prescribe appropriate regulations.

I might state at that point, Mr. Chairman, that some question has arisen whether the so-called Volksdeutsche would come into this bill. In my opinion, they would not, according to the present regulations and the present law.

I have fully weighed the arguments advanced against and in favor of DP legislation, and I have analyzed the problem carefully.

Mr. FELLOWS. Excuse me just a minute.

What do you mean by "Volksdeutsche"?

Mr. STRATTON. They are Germans, for instance, who are refugees from the Sudetenland, or people of that nature, who went out of Czechoslovakia, have been driven out and now gone into Germany, but they are not within the view of this bill, and according to present statutes, I understand they could not come in.

And, of course, it is not the purpose of my bill to bring these people in.

I just want to make that point.

Mr. GOSSETT. You mean you do not want the Germans that were driven out of the Sudetenland to come in under your bill?

Mr. STRATTON. My bill does not include them as written, in my estimation. There is some question there about the status of those people, as far as your enemy alien legislation and so forth is concerned.

Mr. GOSSETT. You realize, of course, that of some 800,000 persons in the DP camps in our zone in Europe, less than 20 percent of them were DP's at the time the war ended at least, no more than 20 percent were in camps at that time. They now come from the ends of the earth. Many of them have come out of Russia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, and Russian-occupied areas.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. Many of them have come from Russian-dominated countries.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Stratton, many of them are voluntarily displaced persons.

Mr. STRATTON. That is true.

Mr. CELLER. Can you say they are voluntarily displaced persons when they have a situation in the native land that might, to use a common term, purge them, if they returned to their native land?

Mr. STRATTON. You can hardly say that they are voluntarily displaced if they are in fear of their families being taken away and sent to Siberia, in some way.

I am glad you brought up that point, though, Mr. Gossett.

The bill here naturally only provides the authorization. It is an administrative problem on the screening for the proper entry of these people after this authority has been given.

This only makes available quota numbers. This does not let a single immigrant into this country. That is the responsibility of the administration.

Mr. GOSSETT. The thing that occurs to me is this:

The Germans who were in the Sudeten area and who have been driven out are just as much displaced persons as many other persons in our occupied zone.

Mr. STRATTON. There is some truth there, but there is a technical problem of the law and how it would apply to them that I do not want to get into here now. I will be glad to go into that with you later.

Mr. CELLER. We have a representative of the Secretary of State's office. He might enlighten us on that.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. There is some question of their status. That is why I brought that up.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I ask at that point, Are they still coming into Germany?

Mr. STRATTON. Not to my knowledge. As a matter of fact, these DP's, what remain, are considerably less than what they were, say, a year and a half ago, but they seem to have reached a point beyond which we cannot resettle them in any of the surrounding territory.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you made any study—or, as far as you know, has any organization made any study—of the question of what percentage of these people which we are going to describe as displaced persons would be, under the standards set up, screened out?

I am trying to get at the net.

Supposing you had 800,000 so-called displaced persons, and you speak of our fair share as 400,000.

Have you any figures available to show any judgment that has been expressed with reference to the number that would be admitted under our laws and the number that would be screened out?

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Chairman, I have several exhibits, and I will make several references later on to some of these problems. There have been a number of studies in the past 2 years made on this whole problem of immigration as it affects DP's and other classes of people.

Mr. FELLOWS. I have this in mind: That the people that are going to need help the most, the ones who are least able to take care of themselves, the ones who from some physical or mental difficulty would be the ones most needy—would they not?

Mr. STRATTON. That is true.

Of course, it does not necessarily mean that because a person is financially needy, for instance, he could not come over here and be a good citizen. Under our laws he would be sponsored by one of these organizations.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is correct. I am thinking of those that would be screened out under our rules, and those would be the ones that needed help the more desperately of the two sets of people.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. FELLOWS. Somebody has to say to them, "I am sorry, but you cannot come." And they need it the most; is not that true?

Mr. STRATTON. That is true. That is to my mind an international responsibility. The people I have talked to that have visited these camps in recent months tell me that the health of these people is amazing, considering the hardships they are living under, and I am inclined to believe that a large proportion would qualify with the physical requirements.

Mr. CELLER. But this is true, Mr. Stratton, that despite the fact that the physically and mentally deficient are the ones that need the greatest care and consideration, nevertheless we do not intend to bring them in under your bill.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. This meets the special problem to try to break the back of this problem, and then these special cases require special legislation, either on our part or quite possibly through the United Nations or some international organization that is set up.

Mr. CELLER. We are not concerned with that this morning.

Mr. STRATTON. That is correct.

Mr. CELLER. For purpose of your bill we are not concerned with the mentally and physically deficient. They are excluded under our immigration laws.

Mr. STRATTON. The ones we are concerned with here this morning are the ones who are able to meet the requirements of our immigration policy.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Stratton, at that point, does the Javits bill form a complement to your bill?

Mr. STRATTON. Not to my knowledge. That is completely independent. I have seen the bill, but this is a special problem. As I recall, his has to do with orphans.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is right.

Mr. STRATTON. This bill of mine is merely a quota bill. It does not seek to change any of your standards or any of your existing law as far as immigration requirements are concerned.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. Has not your bill or any bill that is favorably reported or acted upon got to define who is a displaced person?

Have you attempted to define who is a displaced person?

Mr. STRATTON. Under my bill, we define the displaced persons within this act as those who are held in camps within our authority in just three countries: Germany, Austria, and Italy.

Mr. GOSSETT. Pardon me just a minute, while we are talking about who is a displaced person.

I have here an Associated Press story from Berlin quoting General Clay. It says:

Clay offers extra food to displaced persons who leave United States zone.

In other words, he was offering them a food bonus to go back to the places from whence they came.

And here is—quoting General Clay—this is his order:

Those of you who choose to remain here in the United States zone of Germany rather than return home face uncertain conditions. Assistance from the American people through the United States forces here cannot continue indefinitely. The extent of assistance which will be available through an international organization is likewise uncertain.

I hope you will take advantage of this opportunity and voluntarily go home this spring rather than face uncertainty.

And he goes ahead and offers them 60 days' supply of food as a bonus.

Then the article says, quoting General Clay:

Approximately 48,000 Poles took advantage of the food bonus in a 3 months' period last year and were voluntarily repatriated.

In other words, there were 48,000 who, when offered a bonus, went back to their homes.

Now, does that not indicate that there are thousands upon thousands in those camps who could go back home? Those who went home were not exterminated, evidently, because we heard nothing about it.

Mr. STRATTON. That is true; but the problem remains there: If we can do that, fine; but as a matter of fact those countries and the Russian-dominated countries and Russia itself at the Moscow conference again said, "We would like to bring these people in." But those people are afraid, a lot of them, and I think with good reason, because we have had some cases just recently that I am personally acquainted with where under legal extradition from Italy to Tito's government, eight people that were extradited just recently, it was brought to my attention, were never heard of again.

Now, some of them were probably war criminals. I think one or two were; but with the others, I think their only fault was, as I could see, that they had opposed Tito's regime.

Mr. GOSSETT. Wait a minute.

The point I am making here is that General Clay, as our representative there, did offer a bonus last year, and during a 3 months' period, in response to the bonus which he offered, 48,000 Poles went home?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, they have reinstituted the offer of that bonus.

Certainly, these 48,000 who voluntarily repatriated themselves could not properly be called displaced persons?

Mr. STRATTON. No; not if they voluntarily go back; but the point I have made is that what we have remaining here is, as I said earlier, the hard core of the problem.

Now, just a year ago, for instance, there were something like 300,000, approximately, as I recall—let us say a year and a half ago, and certainly if these people are willing to go back or willing to take the risk of going back to their home countries, certainly we should encourage that. But it is our contention that as of today you have just about reached the bottom of the barrel with that sort of thing, and what you have remaining are not interested in going under those regimes.

Mr. CELLER. You would not call food to the hungry a bonus, would you?

Mr. STRATTON. Certainly not; it is a necessity.

Mr. GOSSETT. If you get a 3 months' supply of food and you could go out and sell it on the black market and make a lot of money out of it, which a lot of them are doing, that would be a pretty good incentive, would it not?

Mr. CELLER. Those are unwarranted assumptions—

Mr. GOSSETT. They are not unwarranted assumptions.

Mr. CELLER. Let me finish, please.

Unwarranted assumptions, that these starving people would sell this food that they got from United States authorities on the black market. We have no such proof.

Mr. GOSSETT. We certainly have. I will prove it before this hearing is over with.

Mr. STRATTON. I would like to point out, Congressman Gossett and Congressman Celler, again let me say, as I get in further into this statement, many of these things that happen there or that will occur when these quota numbers are made available are matters of administration and judgment on the part of our military commanders and on the part of our State Department, and I am willing to leave it to their judgment.

We cannot go down and legislate in detail on these things. If we do, we are going to exclude a lot of people who could qualify, and whom we would be justified in bringing within the limits of this bill.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, Mr. Stratton, you are not going to leave it up to administrative discretion just to say who shall come within the purview of your bill, are you?

Mr. STRATTON. No; it is in the bill. But the point I make is that existing law, the formulas of existing law, will take care of that administrative problem, or if the committee, of course, thinks that further legislation along the administrative line is necessary, that, of course, you gentlemen know more about than I do. I am not going to go into that problem. My bill here only concerns the quota system. I am not attempting to administer the Immigration Act or anything of that nature. It is a special problem that my bill takes care of.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you know how the DP program has been working under the Executive order that the President issued in December 1945?

Mr. STRATTON. I am very well acquainted with it.

Mr. GOSSETT. You know, as a matter of fact, that Executive order, which I think is illegal, that most of the immigration laws are pretty well circumvented and set aside?

For example, if you come in under normal procedure, you produce a birth certificate, in the first place, to prove where you were born; a police record, to prove you are of a good character, or that you have not been convicted of crime; evidence that you will not become a public charge if admitted to the country.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, the DP's appear in an American consulate in Nuremberg, we will say, or Munich, and say, "We have no records." So in many cases, somebody's word is taken, or perhaps an affidavit is made as to where they were born.

We have no police record, so again you rely on good faith.

And then they take a corporate affidavit as to support.

All of that procedure circumvents the normally careful screening which is supposedly given prospective immigrants under our immigration laws.

Under your bill the same procedure would go on.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Gossett, I am just as interested as you are in seeing that no one enters this country who is subversive or who is going to be a public charge.

I am glad you brought up that point. I think it is the duty of the Congress to see that proper regulations are in force over there. I am not trying to open this thing wide open to bring in undesirables, and I do not want to be misunderstood on that point. But I am saying that we have a definite problem here, and the only eventual solution that I can see to it is by countries like ours taking some of these people, and then, of course, the third problem for us to decide here in addition to that is whether it is to our interest to do so and what the effect will be on this country.

That, to my mind, states the case.

If you will pardon me, Mr. Chairman, I will finish this statement and be glad to answer any further questions.

Mr. CELLER. Before you leave that point, I think you will agree that a person would not be a displaced person if with reasonable security he could be returned to his native land?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. You do not want to include in the category of a displaced person such persons who could get back to their native land with a reasonable degree of security, and when they would not be persecuted because of their religious or political opinions?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. In my estimation, those people people should go home.

Mr. CELLER. Right.

Now, as to the Presidential order, as far as you know, and as far as I know—I am sure you will agree—that the consular officials exercise their appropriate discretion in passing upon the qualifications of the individuals, and did so within the framework of our immigration statutes and if they could not get a police record, there may have been other records which were just as suitable and equally competent and which would indicate to the consular agents that the person was of good moral character, and that he would not become a public charge?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

In the consideration of this problem, let us not be confused by issues which have been raised but which have no decisive bearing on the problem of the displaced persons.

In March of this year, Commissioner Carusi published an article in the official Immigration Service bulletin, entitled "Rumor versus Fact." This is submitted as exhibit 10.

(The document referred to appears in appendix I.)

Mr. STRATTON. In the article the Commissioner points out that there have been many illegal entries into the United States by Mexicans across the Mexican border. That has nothing to do with displaced persons. European aliens who migrate to South America still have to enter the United States under the quota of their national origin. Place of birth is what determines quota nationality and one cannot change that. According to Commissioner Carusi who visited the displaced persons camps of Europe, there is no swarm of aliens clamoring to come to the United States. And, even if there were, they are subject to the numerical limitations of the Quota Act and will be subject to the numerical limitations of H. R. 2910, if enacted.

The days of unrestricted immigration are past. H. R. 2910 does not intend to and will not open the gates to mass immigration. It will merely permit a small annual addition to our population in a 4-year period—less than one-tenth of 1 percent of our population in each of these 4 years. Such an addition, taken from a total of 850,000 displaced persons, more than 50 percent of whom are women and children, will bring to the United States relatively few job competitors.

Furthermore, I wish to call attention to a statement of the present Commissioner of Immigration made on May 24, 1945:

We want assure the fullest possible employment for the American workers, and we certainly would not favor any measure which would restrict the job opportunities that will be available to the returning veteran. But it has not yet been demonstrated that further restriction of immigration would be beneficial. A contrary conclusion would seem to be warranted by all our experience in the past. Immigration has created much of the wealth, furnished much of the manpower, and contributed much to the knowledge and skills that have made us a great nation. And no evidence has as yet been produced that the admission each year of 153,000 immigrants, many of whom are not candidates for jobs, would be detrimental to the stability of our labor market. We know from direct observation and experience that each new immigrant is a new consumer, that immigrants frequently create new business and job opportunities, and that immigrants are often needed to perform certain types of labor.

In growing to its present stature as a great nation, the United States has accepted the offerings of diverse races and peoples whose contributions have helped enrich American life. There is no reason to suppose that this process of growth has stopped, that this country will never be greater than it is, and that we are now justified in cutting off the nourishment that is provided by the introduction of immigrants to bring fresh talents, skills, and ideals. No; America has not reached the end of the line.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, as a veteran, as a member of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, I am deeply concerned about the welfare of the boys who left their homes and jobs to do their duty for our country. If there were any economic support for the proposition that immigration of the displaced would place the jobs of our boys in jeopardy, I would not be here today, advocating the enactment of H. R. 2910. There is a popular fallacy which economists call the lump of labor fallacy, that popula-

tion and jobs are in a direct ratio, that in any given community there are a fixed number of jobs, and that additions to the population threaten the jobs of all wage earners. A thorough study was recently made entitled, "The Economic Aspects of Immigration," in which authorities and statistics are collected. I am making copies of this study available for each member of the committee.

In particular, I call attention to the material beginning at page 17. In this study it is noted that all economists of note repudiate the idea that there is a limited amount of work to be done and that if a stranger is allowed in there will be less for the natives. Our own recent experience likewise disproves this fallacy, for we know that during the war Belgian and Dutch diamond cutters fled to this country and they have now established an industry which employs many natives instead of throwing them out of jobs.

I also call attention to the fact that the labor unions who are certainly concerned about the welfare of the native worker, are supporting this bill. They, too, are convinced that the addition of so small a number annually to our population will not result in forcing Americans out of jobs, even if there be a depression at some future time.

Both William Green and Phil Murray have endorsed the objectives of H. R. 2910 in letters to Earl Harrison, national chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons.

I am not going to read the letters but with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will insert them in the record at this point.

(The letters referred to are as follows:)

WASHINGTON 1, D. C., March 7, 1947.

MR. EARL G. HARRISON,

Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,

New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: As you know, the American Federation of Labor has been profoundly disturbed by the plight of the dispossessed persons in Europe.

Eager to extend its helping hand to these unfortunates, the American Federation of Labor, at its Sixty-fifth annual convention, held in Chicago last October, unanimously adopted a resolution urging the admission into this country of a substantial number of displaced persons. It is my firm conviction that the United States Government should admit at least 400,000 of these people—the victims of all forms of religious and political persecution. This is even less than half the number of immigrants who could have legally entered our ports, but did not do so because of the war.

In connection with this matter, I was glad to learn of the formation of your organization—the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons—which is dedicated to seeing that America accepts its fair share of displaced persons, and respond favorably to your request to serve as a vice chairman of your committee.

Very truly yours,

W. GREEN,

President, American Federation of Labor.

MARCH 18, 1947.

MR. EARL G. HARRISON,

Chairman, National Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons,

New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: As a vice chairman of your organization, I should like to let you know that I support the enactment of emergency legislation to permit at least 400,000 displaced persons to immigrate to the United States within a 4-year period.

The preamble to the constitution of the CIO points out that our country is a Nation of immigrants and children of immigrants. We of the CIO are the sons and daughters of ancestors who came to this country to escape absolutism in government, bigotry in religion, and economic exploitation.

As we see it, the appalling condition of the displaced persons represents not only the most urgent claim upon the conscience of the world, but a grave threat to the peace and security of mankind.

The United States should take the lead in offering to these survivors of Nazi concentration camps a new life in a country where there is freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and freedom of movement.

Yours sincerely,

PHILIP MURRAY, *President.*

Mr. STRATTON. The financial section of the New York Times for April 27, 1947, announced the publication of an economic report of the Twentieth Century Fund. This report is the result of 3 years of study by a staff of 20 economic experts and it reveals that our economic future for 1952-60 is an increasingly dynamic rather than a mature or dyine one. A vast potential field for expanding economic and social horizons is shown in terms of more production and employment, more national income, more food, clothing, houses, other goods, more opportunities for recreation, culture, and education. The report emphasizes that faith in economic progress, not fear of unemployment, has given this country its economic strength, the basic foundation for its social gains and political freedom. Fears that the admission of 100,000 displaced persons a year would endanger our economy springs from an unconscious psychoneurosis about the economic stability of America. Real faith in our future dispels such psychoneurosis.

At that point, Mr. Chairman, I would like permission to insert the New York Times article as exhibit 11. I will not read it.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

(The article referred to appears in the appendix.)

Mr. STRATTON. Because of the small annual addition H. R. 2910 will bring to our population in its temporary life, the housing shortage argument against the bill likewise loses its force. It will take 6 months to a year from today before immigration pursuant to H. R. 2910 can get under way. Housing will not then be the problem it is today. The president of the Home Builders' Research Institute predicts a buyer's market, stating:

The classified columns are twice as long as they were 6 months ago, and for-rent listings are beginning to appear in most cities.

Industry spokesmen, associated with the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Homebuilders foresee a substantial easing, if not the end of the housing shortage this year.

Mr. Chairman, I know that these forecasts are considered optimistic but the picture is improving, and if the housing remains a problem despite these predictions, its solution is not dependent on immigration. Nor will the immigration of displaced persons aggravate it. Relatives, fellow-countrymen, interested organizations, and noncongested areas offer homes not on the competitive housing market to displaced persons.

Mr. GOSSETT. May I interrupt at that point?

What do you mean by "noncongested areas"?

Mr. STRATTON. I would say there are certain areas, you might call them rural or semirural, small towns, or certain farming areas.

In a letter dated May 23, 1947, addressed to me by Raymond M. Foley, Administrator of the National Housing Agency, I was advised

that since 21 percent of all displaced persons are under 18 they are unlikely to be married and, in view of the composition of the displaced person—their age and their sex, a maximum number of married couples per 100,000 DP's would be about 33,500. In view of this circumstance, considering the present housing demand, the National Housing Administrator nevertheless advised me "it is the view of the National Housing Agency that the enactment of H. R. 2910 could have only a relatively small effect on the over-all housing shortage and it has no objection to its enactment."

Significantly, in a release earlier this week, the National Housing Expediter estimated that a million homes will be completed this year.

For instance, I quote here a little later, that the State of Maine has a resolution passed by its legislature. They needed additional farm labor to keep the farms, some of them, from slipping back and things of that kind.

I would say by noncompetitive housing is the place where a relative or some interested organization housing these people in accommodations with private families that ordinarily would not be on the housing market.

But along that line, I have in mind things that have been said such as for example, this, that we could take a certain number of these people and have them work on farms, and so forth.

Has anybody worked out the problem of how that could be done?

Could you send a certain stated number to this State or that State, or how would you work it out?

MR. STRATTON. I believe that the organizations that are interested in bringing these people, when they would pay for the cost of bringing these people over here and guaranteeing them a job, with that investment involved, would insist that they go where they had guaranteed to place them.

MR. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

MR. FELLOWS. Yes.

MR. GOSSETT. We have already received many thousands of displaced persons. Do you know of any one of them that has gone on a farm yet?

MR. STRATTON. I imagine there are some. I am not acquainted with a great many displaced persons but I will say this, Mr. Gossett, that in our State, for instance, of Illinois, we have a large number of people, particularly of Polish extraction, Lithuanian, Estonian, and those northern Baltic peoples, who have spread out into some of our smaller towns and in some of our farm areas. We have them.

MR. GOSSETT. Now, you know, as a matter of fact, that 90 percent—that is just an estimate—of all persons who are coming here now as immigrants, whether displaced or otherwise, go into the great metropolitan centers like New York, Chicago, and Detroit?

MR. STRATTON. There are a large number and there are two reasons for that, but I have some figures here that I will be glad to introduce later.

Although in the past you might have had a large number go in, there are certain reasons today, perhaps, why they could not.

There is one thing, too, that we never want to forget in this problem, and that is that there was a great need for manpower during the war in some of these industrial areas, which tended to bring them in there. We were asking that they do that at that time, not only immigrants

but we were bringing them in from the countryside, and for instance up in my territory we had them coming from as far away as some of your southern States, coming up to work in our factory and our industrial areas.

Mr. GOSSETT. The war is over now, you know.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right; but that sort of thing aggravated it during those war years.

Mr. ROBSION. It would seem that there is a great shortage on the farms. I notice Congress recently appropriated, I believe, \$30,000,000 to bring them in from other countries to work on the farms.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right, Congressman, Mexicans and others.

Mr. ROBSION. That is right.

Now, another question I have here, if my good friend will permit. They need workers in France on the farms and in the industries and in other countries of Europe where there is no danger. Why do not some of these people go there as well as come to the United States?

Mr. STRATTON. They have taken some, Congressman; but the big difficulty there is that their economy, and their food situation, cannot absorb these people. I think we have to look to countries like ourselves and Canada, some of the South American countries, where we have a growing economy, a dynamic economy, rather than a situation where they have not factories that are properly tooled, their population density is so tremendous that they cannot readily absorb these people.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes, but if these folks are going to work on the farms, a lot of them, they can produce in France and other countries as well as they could in the United States.

Mr. STRATTON. I believe they have taken some. After all, these people numbered a great many more a year and a half or 2 years ago than they do today, and a good many of them have been placed or have been repatriated but, as I said earlier, what we have remaining is just a core that somebody has to do something with, unless we are going to spend approximately \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 a year of the American taxpayers' money to keep them over there.

Mr. ROBSION. Have they ever been checked on and screened to find out how many of those folks do not want to work anywhere?

Mr. STRATTON. I will put some figures in here later, Congressman, that show what these people have done before, what their skills are, how many are farm laborers, how many are domestic help, how many common laborers, and so forth. I will be glad to put that in at the conclusion of my statement.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Graham wants to ask a question.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Stratton, the question I want to ask is this: You state that the agencies that are bringing these people in, if this becomes a law, will take the proper steps for their distribution.

Now, the district which I represent has a very heavy foreign population. We are the fourth largest industrial district in Pennsylvania and seventh in the Union, and we find that these incoming people of foreign births are not readily adaptable to industrial processes in great factories but they will not go out on the farms. They come to their own. They are reached by foreign language newspapers. They remain intact and do not become readily assimilated with the rest of the community.

Now, what I am concerned about is this:

In the event this becomes a law, what steps will be taken to distribute these people properly, as rural people, to which they are adapted?

Mr. STRATTON. As I said earlier, it is a question of the people that sponsor them, that bring them in, of looking after that, and I think it is partly economic conditions that will tend to settle that. They will go where they are needed.

For instance, the Congressman mentioned this so-called "stoop" farm labor that we have had to appropriate and set up a special bill to bring in, Jamaicans or Mexicans to do some type of farm labor, for the market was short, and our people no longer cared to do that.

Now, that is one thing.

Then there are other types of work, domestic, and in some areas, mine labor, for instance, or people of that nature.

There has always been a market for that type of labor and it is not a directly competitive market. It has a tendency to push the others on up. I mean, there is a certain type of labor that Americans, for instance, that are here, maybe second generation or third, do not particularly care to do.

In other words, if you are an immigrant, you want your boy to try and become a lawyer. You send him to school or you set him up in business, and you increase his productive capacity and skill and it creates a constant swing from the bottom coming on up and you always have that bottom layer that needs replenishing.

Now, that has been our history all during this country's growth, that you have had that situation. We have had any number of people, whether it was the Irish or the Germans or the Poles; we have had these big upheavals in Europe going clear back to the Irish famine in the Forties, the German revolution, and all the way on through we have had that sort of situation.

To my mind, we could not have developed the resources of this country without that sort of help coming in.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Stratton, a recent publication has been handed to me called "Refugees in America," by Professor Davie of Yale University. It was sponsored by the American Christian Committee for Refugees, the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Committee for Refugees, the National Refugee Service, and the United States Committee for the care of European Children.

That book in part covers the distribution of refugees and we have the following:

The distribution of refugees in the United States parallels that of the total foreign-born white population, showing a concentration in the East, especially in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts; in the Middle West, especially in Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan; and in the far West, especially in California. These eight States outrank all others both in the number of refugees and in the total number of foreign-born. But the refugees have settled all over the United States in practically every State of the Union. It is not true that our largest cities are swarming with refugees. They are settled in communities of all sizes, ranging from rural areas and villages to the largest cities: 3.3 percent of the total refugee group are living on farms or in rural communities of less than 2,500; 13.8 percent are living in cities of 2,500 to 100,000 population; 82.9 percent in cities of 100,000 or more population, including 18.6 percent in New York City, the largest single center of refugee settlement.

Now, it is also interesting to note that UNRRA has broken down the occupations of displaced persons. They have taken 360,000 to whom they had offered

certain questions. Of the 360,000 in UNRRA camps today, 89,987 are agricultural workers, including general farming, stock raising, poultry and eggs, and dairy farming.

That is about 25 percent and I think that proportion holds good for the total 850,000 of the displaced persons and it is natural that those who are skilled in agricultural work will naturally, if they are offered havens in this country, gravitate to agricultural sections of the Nation.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. They will go where the jobs are for that particular skill.

I appreciate your bringing that to the committee's attention.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Stratton, may I interrupt at that particular point?

I read that same book. Someone sent me a copy of that book and I read it and that is what I was seeking to reconcile with your testimony.

Mr. STRATTON. Incidentally, I quote from a book a little later, and on this UNRRA report that you mention, I also have the figures on that as to skills that I mentioned earlier, which with your permission I will insert as exhibit 12.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

(The tabulations referred to appear in appendix I.)

Mr. CELLER. It is interesting to note, also—I would like to put this into the record—about refugee farmers, and particularly the work of the Jewish Agricultural Society, which was founded way back in 1900, and by the end of 1944 that society had settled 456 refugee families on farms in Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

Mr. GOSSETT. You mean only 400?

Mr. CELLER. No; this society. Only this one society had settled in those States 456 refugee families. Many other refugees settled on farms.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is just about one-tenth of 1 percent of the number coming in here.

Mr. CELLER. These are families, and, of course, that means there are probably three or four to a family. I do not mean to say that all of them are farmers. I simply want to indicate by injecting that paragraph into the record that there is an organization, at least one, and there are many more, who are endeavoring to settle these people on the land, and have been very successful in their attempts.

Mr. GOSSETT. I would not call that being successful, 400.

Mr. FELLOWS. Let us go on with Mr. Stratton.

Mr. STRATTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Stratton, just one question: What percentage of the total DP's are listed as farmers?

Mr. STRATTON. I have those figures here. My recollection is it is something like 15 percent. I may be wrong on that. I have those figures, and I will get to that later in my statement.

Mr. FELLOWS. They are in the record.

Do you not want to go ahead with your statement?

Mr. STRATTON. If you will permit me, Mr. Chairman.

There remain the negative arguments that recent immigration or the admission of displaced persons may threaten our institutions, bring

an infiltration of Communists, add to our crime problem, and create a problem of assimilation.

A War Department investigation of the DP's reported in House Report 2740, Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, states that the—great majority of them are law abiding and sincerely grateful to the United States.

The State Department advises that anyone who has lived among the displaced persons and who knows them is convinced that they are thoroughly unsympathetic to communism.

Every significant investigation made into the subject of immigration and crime has shown the immigrant to be more law-abiding than the native white.

During the war, J. Edgar Hoover stated that—

The experience of the FBI in coping with foreign agents, spies, and saboteurs has conclusively illustrated that the great mass of aliens are loyal to America, devoted to the principles of democracy.

In April of this year Mr. Hoover confirmed this conclusion in a letter to me stating:

I feel now as I did during the recent war, that the vast majority of aliens have remained true to the land of their adoption.

Observe the composition of the organizations and the type of witness who will appear in support of my bill. You will note that they are opponents of communism and devoted to our democratic institutions. There would be no such support for H. R. 2910, if there were any danger of the infiltration of Communists or criminals.

Prof. Maurice Davie of the department of sociology of Yale University recently completed a study for a Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration From Europe. In a book published this year, entitled "Refugees in America," he reports that recent immigrants from Europe has adjusted quickly to American ways, have contributed substantially to the country's welfare and culture and are eager to remain as citizens. Refugees from Europe since 1933 included 12 Nobel prize winners, 110 who are named in Who's Who in America, and more than 220 who are listed in American Men of Science.

Exhibit 13 sets forth the names of these individuals.

This study also disproves the claim that hundreds of thousands of recent immigrants settle in New York City. War refugees are found to be widely distributed. And, unlike earlier immigrants, who came from uneducated classes, they acquired English with facility and generally found employment without being a disturbing competitive factor.

Professor Davie further states in Refugees Are Now Americans, a public-affairs pamphlet published in 1945, that—

In contrast to other immigrants of recent periods, the refugees tend to associate much more frequently with native Americans. * * * Reports from communities throughout the country reveal that refugees take part in all kinds of community activities. * * * The refugee community proved itself to be overwhelmingly on the side of democracy and aided the war effort in every way. * * * Many of them rendered special services because of their intimate knowledge of the languages, culture, psychology, and geography of enemy countries. Those who remained on the home front contributed generously to the various war activities on the home front. * * * All regarded their contribution to the war effort as an expression of the gratitude they feel toward America.

On the other side of the ledger, I find eight affirmative reasons which persuade me in favor of DP legislation.

First. We cannot talk international cooperation and in practice reject it. Unless the United States takes its fair share of the displaced persons the problem will remain. Other countries have indicated some willingness to take in some of the displaced, but they are awaiting our leadership. If we are going to cooperate with other nations, we should do our share to settle the international problem of the war refugee. Our failure to take our fair share will be an indication to the rest of the world and to the other members of the United Nations that we refuse this leadership.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Stratton, right there, what would you consider to be our fair share?

Now, as I understand it, there are some fifty-odd nations members of the United Nations, and the United States now under your bill would take, say, 50 percent of the total 800,000.

Now, do you consider that to be a fair share?

Mr. STRATTON. Yes, sir.

Earlier in the testimony, before you were here, I introduced a table in the record showing various bases for computing what our fair share would be. That is on page 2 of the statement.

I inserted it in the record. I did not read it, but I have permission to insert it in the record.

It is based on various factors there. It is a long statement with figures and I read it into the—I had it inserted without reading it. I think that will answer your question, though.

Second. The resettlement of the displaced is inseparable from our objectives of world peace. As long as the DP's remain in Germany, Austria, and Italy as a source of dissension among nations, peace cannot be fully restored to a postwar world.

Third. The DP's who prized freedom deeply enough to have suffered terribly for it, will strengthen our democracy. They resisted and survived all forms of totalitarianism. They have established their devotion to democratic ideals.

Fourth. Throughout our history, immigration has produced not only new jobs but also new forms of industrial, agricultural, scientific, and cultural development. Not only will the DP's fill our manpower shortages which still exist in certain fields, but our growth as a Nation will be stimulated. There is a known mine of 386,850 capable human beings, men skilled in all professions, arts, and crafts and others less skilled but capable of productive work among the displaced.

That answers a question that Mr. Graham had a moment ago.

Included are 77,000 farmers, 18,000 agricultural workers of other types, more than 20,000 construction workers, 22,000 domestics, 9,000 household workers, and 4,000 nurses. Experts in the Department of Labor tell us that there are shortages in those fields, and we can certainly strengthen our economic well-being by the immigrations of these skilled DP's.

Incidentally, at this point I would like to place in the record, with the chairman's permission, some figures on our population—exhibit 14—and also a statement taken from the House Military Affairs Report 2740, Seventy-ninth Congress, regarding the cost to the taxpayer of maintaining these people in camps rather than setting them up as productive citizens—exhibit 15.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is at this point?

Mr. STRATTON. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. You may do so.

(The tabulation referred to appears in appendix I.)

Mr. STRATTON. I am submitting for your inspection as exhibit 12 a summary of the occupational skills of the displaced persons in UNRRA camps. Our strength as a nation is dependent not only upon our material resources but also upon the great bodies of strong men and women who are born here or adopted from other lands. We can use the brawn and skills of the displaced persons. Taking them from the concentration camps of Europe will not only permit them to lead useful lives again but will be in our own self-interest.

Fifth. We are told that if present population trends are maintained, we can expect a static population by 1990. We will then reach a population of only 164,000,000.

Mr. GOSSETT. Where did you get those figures?

Mr. STRATTON. That is from the World Almanac, 1947. That is an approximate figure. The exact figure is 196,963,000, the exact estimate.

Mr. GOSSETT. The Census Bureau has estimated that by 1970 our population will be around 160,000,000, if I remember my figures correctly. Our birth rate is increasing.

Mr. STRATTON. I have here the population report No. 7. That is what I asked to have inserted in the record.

You have United States Census Bureau dated September 1946, less than a year ago, and they show that in 1960 we should have 153,000,000 and by 1990, 164,000,000 and then it will begin to taper off to about 163,000,000.

That, incidentally, is an accelerated trend over what we thought back about 3 or 4 years ago. The war has slightly increased that trend at present but it will level off again, unquestionably.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have a letter from the Director of the Census supplementing that report, in which he says that the population trend is going up faster than they had anticipated.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. It did during the war, and slightly after it, particularly last year, but I noticed in the United States News or World Report—I forget which, but one or the other—just about a month ago, they showed the present trend is beginning to level off.

Last year was a large year, and the year before but now it is beginning to level off again.

I can get those figures for you, too, if you would like.

Today Russia has a population of 196,000,000 and its fast rate of growth indicates that it will reach 250,000,000 by 1970. Unless we seek to revitalize our population by immigration we will in the years ahead be badly outnumbered by some of the other major powers.

Sixth. Granting refuge to the displaced will be a reaffirmation of a great and noble American tradition that this country, which was founded and built by immigrants, will remain as the symbol of its early beginnings—an asylum for the oppressed.

Seventh. It will save the taxpayers money to enact H. R. 2910. We now have these displaced persons on our hands. There are over 500,000 in the American zone. It cost the American taxpayers \$130,000,000 last year, and it will continue to cost us \$70,000,000 or more a year under IRO.

Incidentally, that is a point that I cannot stress too much. This problem is there. It is not something that we have dreamed up. It is an aftermath of the war.

These people are now in our hands. It is a definite problem, costing the taxpayers of this country a large sum of money each year. There are over 500,000 in the American zone alone.

Mr. GOSSETT. On that point, do you contend that we are stuck with them from now on?

Mr. STRATTON. We are not only stuck with them, but the world is stuck with them.

I will show here what our share even under the IRO is going to be, and it includes the other countries. Not only our country, but other countries are paying millions of dollars a year to keep them.

Mr. CELLAR. Do you think an act of humanity can be termed as being stuck?

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Celler, it is an humanitarian act. We cannot let these people starve. We all realize that. But the point I am trying to make is that in keeping them in these displaced persons' camps, it is actually costing, from a dollars and cents standpoint, millions and millions of dollars.

Even if it cost us more than it has, of course, we would not let those people starve.

The point it comes down to is this:

It cost the American taxpayers approximately \$130,000,000 last year. And it will continue to cost us \$70,000,000 or more a year under IRO.

As you gentlemen know, just 2 weeks ago the Foreign Affairs Committee reported out favorably an authorization for, as I recall, \$73,000,000 as our share of adherence to the IRO organization.

The point I want to make here is that IRO can do nothing but keep these people in a relief status unless they are given some encouragement and authority by various countries adhering to the pact to allow these people to be re-settled.

That is the only real solution to the problem.

In the meantime, they go on using up these funds of the various governments involved.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, I am not trying to argue with you here. But we do not have to do anything. We do not have to maintain the DP camps in the first place.

Mr. STRATTON. As a matter of fact, we do not have to keep occupation forces in Europe, if you want to take that angle. We did not have to fight a war.

But we fought the war. This is a direct result of our wartime policy. And we are talking about fighting communism in Europe; we are talking about doing this and that all over the world.

This problem is an integral part in the prestige and in the foreign policy of the United States abroad.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you mean to say that because we fought a war to liberate these folks we now have to take them over here in order to take care of them?

Mr. STRATTON. We have to take our fair share. You cannot dodge the problem. We have already agreed to go into the IRO. You cannot dodge it, unless you want 800,000 people to starve, right in our occupation zone in Europe.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you there, Mr. Stratton?

You have used the expression "fair share," and this question will be raised and talked about quite a bit.

Who has determined that our fair share is 400,000?

Mr. STRATTON. As I said earlier——

Mr. FELLOWS. No. Up to now, I mean. Where do those figures come from?

Mr. STRATTON. They came from several sources.

Mr. FELLOWS. Where?

Mr. STRATTON. They are based on different theories of what our fair share would be. I put our figures in showing five different categories on which you could base your numbers.

It is an estimate, of course. I grant you that. But it is based, as far as we can see, on the various factors involved.

Mr. FELLOWS. There will be a lot of talk, I know, about this fair-share question in the next few days, and there will be a lot of talk, I know, as you suggested, about the other countries' taking a certain number.

Now, Canada has not shown any great inclination to do it.

Mr. STRATTON. Not as yet. But I understand, or I saw in some national magazine just a week ago where one manufacturer alone had brought in 300 Polish refugees to work there.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, Australia has not shown any inclination.

Mr. STRATTON. No; and regrettably so.

Mr. FELLOWS. I think that is regrettable.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. FELLOWS. And I understand South Africa responds, "We have troubles."

Well, we have troubles here, internally.

Mr. STRATTON. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. We have difficulties in our economy.

Mr. STRATTON. I do not condone their action. I am sure that Canada will do its share.

Mr. CELLER. But somebody must lead the way, must he not?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right, exactly.

Mr. CELLER. Somebody must set the standard.

Mr. STRATTON. They will not lift a finger, of course, rightly or wrongly, until we do.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am not questioning that. Somebody has to start it. I hoped that there would be some indication from Canada and Australia and South Africa that they would take a different attitude, perhaps, and at least give us further consideration, and perhaps improve the situation.

But that is the situation today, is it not?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. And it is regrettable particularly in the case of a country like Australia that could use more people.

Mr. FELLOWS. With respect to the "fair share," we have nothing further than the things you have just now indicated to show what they think is their fair share.

Mr. CELLER. I think you omitted to say that England has taken a goodly portion of these Polish refugees.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. That is, those who were under General Anders, soldiers of the Anders army. They have taken some 150,000 of them. I haven't before me the exact number.

Mr. STRATTON. A good many thousands; that is correct. And others who will testify, Congressman, who are experts in this field, from the State Department and other offices, and our occupation authorities, can give you more details than I can, first hand, on it. I know that will answer that question.

Mr. GRAHAM. It is a problem, differentiating between a fair share and the numbers. Was this number arbitrarily fixed here in this country, or did it come as a result of an intensive investigation in these camps?

Mr. STRATTON. It is a little of both, I might say. It is an estimate. I will grant you that. But there were various bases for figuring what our fair share would be, based on our size, our population, and how many people we can absorb.

For instance, it would be foolish to try to say that you could put 400,000 into a country that had only 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 people.

All those factors had to be taken into consideration.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Stratton, in what exhibit do these figures appear supporting our fair share. Is it in the booklet that you handed us?

Mr. STRATTON. They are not in the exhibits. I inserted them into my statement, and I did not read them. But I asked permission to put them in the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes. On page 2 you discussed "fair share." And that is why I spoke about it, because we are going to hear an awful lot of that "fair share" question.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. Do you have copies of it anywhere?

Mr. STRATTON. No; I do not have. It is just a statement I typed up. I can have copies made, and will be glad to.

Mr. CELLER. I think you should have copies made for all of us.

Mr. GOSSETT. Would you base fair share on density of population or on per capita count of the country? Or on what would you base fair share?

Mr. STRATTON. All of those factors.

Mr. GOSSETT. If you base it on those factors, in Africa, I think, they have less than four persons per square mile, to our 48, possibly. Australia is sparsely settled, too.

Mr. STRATTON. I am not trying to defend their policies. I am just trying to say what our fair share is, and then will try to pressure them into taking what their fair share should be.

I am not saying that 400,000 is perhaps the exact number. But it is a good estimate, in my opinion. It is a matter of opinion; I will grant you that, Congressman.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you think that our taking 400,000 of these refugees would induce or cause any of those other countries to do likewise?

Mr. STRATTON. Definitely. In fact, in the case of Canada, for instance, there is no question about it.

Mr. GOSSETT. What assurance do we have of that?

Mr. CELLER. There have been statements in the Canadian House of Parliament to that effect, have there not?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. Probably some member got up and made a statement, like yourself, on the floor of Congress. But you cannot speak for Congress.

Mr. STRATTON. There is a feeling there, and I am convinced in that case. And there are some South American countries.

The biggest problem has been not so much a quota system with those countries, but with them it has been that they do not have the shipping or the organizations to pay for bringing these people over.

That is why it has taken longer to bring them in.

Mr. ROSSION. We talked quite a lot about "fair share" with respect to relief and various contributions, 50 perhaps, or 40, nations. And we put in ours then, but the other folks seem never to get around to the point of putting in their share.

I wonder whether this is the way this would work out.

Mr. STRATTON. One way of figuring the 400,000 is based on our contribution to the IRO that has been authorized. If you figure the percentage that we are paying for them there, it would come approximately to that.

There are a number of factors involved, as I said, and they are all stated here.

I do not pretend to be a great expert on it, but from the figures that I could find in the investigations that I have read, I have put down my conclusions there and will be glad to get copies for the committee.

We can go on maintaining them indefinitely either through the Army or through IRO. We can let them starve. We can repatriate them by force to face death in eastern Europe. We can urge that other nations receive them and do nothing ourselves. Or—we can take our fair share, solve the DP problem, and save money.

In my mind, the last alternative is the logical, humane, and practical solution.

Eighth: The problem of the displaced is one that cannot be ignored by people of good will and humanitarian instincts. As Governor Dewey stated, "It is a problem of humanity itself." The war separated families, orphaned children, and enslaved our fellow human beings across the sea; and through it we learned of the interdependence between our welfare and theirs.

Mr. GOSSETT. Pardon me, Mr. Stratton. I guess I am butting in on you too much.

Mr. STRATTON. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. GOSSETT. You mention what Governor Dewey said.

When Mr. Truman said "100,000," Mr. Dewey always raised the ante. I think that is the crux of the whole thing. It is a political problem, of catering to the foreign-bloc votes in these big States, like your State of Illinois, New York, and so on.

Both parties are trying to outdo themselves by ingratiating themselves with the big foreign-bloc votes up in those States. Now, isn't that about right?

Mr. STRATTON. Congressman Gossett, I personally believe that this is not a partisan issue. I think it is a problem that we are faced with. I think it rises above party.

Now, it could very well be, naturally, that in States where these people have relatives or friends there might be a little more interest.

I suppose it is true, for instance, that I get more immigration cases to settle than perhaps you might from your district. But, after all, you are representing your people.

We have a huge population involved there. I do not think that either the administration has made political capital out of this or the Republican Party.

There are a great number of us who have been in favor of this legislation. We have not put it on a political basis or a partisan basis whatsoever.

Mr. GOSSETT. I notice they had a big rally at Madison Square Garden not so long ago, a Slavic rally, praising Tito.

Now, my guess is that our manifest tenderness for the man who has killed off most of his patriots over there was motivated probably because of the big Slavic vote around those areas. I think you will find that is where a lot of this pressure comes from.

Mr. STRATTON. The point I am trying to make, Congressman, is this:

In my opinion, this is not a partisan issue. All I am trying to do is to present the problem to show you by facts and figures what the problem consists of and what its effect will be on our United States and on the world.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Stratton, let me say you have done an excellent job, I think. You have been very helpful to us.

Mr. STRATTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I offer my compliments to you on the fine brief you have presented, too?

Mr. STRATTON. Thank you, sir.

In other words, we have tried to get away from opinion as much as possible; and where we had an opinion, we tried to back it up with the facts as we understood them.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Stratton, is there any difference between the foreign bloc in the big cities and the agricultural bloc in the rural communities, or the cattle bloc, or the dairymen's bloc? Are they not all associated together to influence the action of Congress? Is one any different from the other?

Mr. STRATTON. Congressman, I do not want to get into that subject. Actually, it is perfectly legitimate, as we all know. And that is what the Congress is for, to represent the people.

As long as those views are within the Constitution and our concept of our type of government, naturally, we are going to give some ear to the views of our people back home. That is what we are here for, as the people's representatives.

But I am not going to say that one group is better than another, or more selfish or less selfish. I do not want to get into that.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Stratton, to get the record straight, President Truman used the number 100,000 not in connection with your bill or purposes associated with your bill. He used that in connection with the entrance of the DP's who happen to be of the Jewish faith for entering the Holy Land. So it is not a question of upping it beyond 100,000 by Mr. Dewey. The 100,000 is used for an entirely different purpose from the purpose of your bill.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. In other words, the 100,000 were to go elsewhere and not into this country.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

After all, what we are trying to do here today is to present the problem, and naturally the committee will get all the facts and get the basis for settling the problem.

I think that we have the only eventual solution here.

But, after all, the committee is qualified fully; and you are going to have extensive public hearings. Certainly these questions can be resolved on the facts and not on partisan opinion.

A war fought to reestablish the rights and dignity of men cannot end with homeless displaced persons on our conscience.

Throughout the United States, brothers and sisters of displaced persons, as well as other relatives and friends of these people who are awaiting liberation, look to H. R. 2910. Enact it and let families be reunited with American relatives, let war orphans find life anew in this promised land, and set the forgotten man of the displaced-persons camp free to resume a normal and useful life.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and the committee for your fine attention and for this opportunity to be here this morning.

Mr. FELLOWS. And we thank you.

Mr. GOSSETT. I want to ask the gentleman some questions.

Mr. MASON. I thought you were going to save your questions for me.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have some to ask you, too, sir.

Now, the gentleman mentioned the fact that he was a member of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The gentleman knows that both of those fine, outstanding organizations are unalterably opposed to his bill, does he not?

Mr. STRATTON. They are opposed to the bill not because of the bill itself, in my opinion, but because of certain policies they set up prior to this on immigration.

Let me say to the gentleman that we have had letters from these organizations. In fact, in the State of Michigan, for example, the Legionnaire, their magazine there, did endorse this bill.

As the gentleman well knows, I have great respect for the heads of these organizations, but their views do not always substantially represent the view of the membership.

Let me say something else in that respect, that I think that a further study of this problem and a realization of what is involved might very well modify their views.

Mr. GOSSETT. Let me say to the gentleman that if he can get the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion to endorse his bill, then I will probably vote for it.

In the first place, I am sure the gentleman agrees with me that the final criterion by which this issue should be solved is: What is in the best interest of this country?

Mr. STRATTON. Definitely; definitely.

Mr. GOSSETT. We owe no duty nor any obligation to any alien to admit him to his country, do we?

Mr. STRATTON. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. He has no vested right to come here. This is our country.

Now, you spoke of the 153,000 who come in under quota. The gentleman, of course, knows that that represents the quota countries. We have no quotas on any country of the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. STRATTON. That is correct.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then we permit a lot of folks to come here over and above quotas; ministers and professors, and so forth.

We passed the GI Brides Act. We have let in probably 100,000, as we should, as brides of our soldiers.

Mr. STRATTON. Surely.

Will you pardon the interruption?

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes.

Mr. STRATTON. That is why I say that this special quota outside the present act is no departure from present procedure. It is no more of a departure than you have done on several occasions.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then we naturalized, as we should, about 100,000 boys who fought in the American armed services during the war.

So if you are going to add up the number of persons who are coming here under existing law it would run into several hundred thousand.

Mr. STRATTON. Of course, you cannot include people that are coming in for business or educational reasons. That is the normal flow of intercourse between nations, and I think we should have that. Those people are not here as permanent settlers.

Mr. GOSSETT. You propose to superimpose on top of all our existing laws this 400,000—these 400,000 refugees.

Mr. STRATTON. That is correct. It is to meet a definite problem. It is not to alter the existing law. It is in addition to the existing law.

It is to meet a special problem that the United States and these other countries involved will have to meet.

The only possible solution, as I say, is resettlement of these people. We cannot continue to have the American taxpayer or the taxpayer of any other country spend millions and millions of dollars needlessly when we could make it, it would seem to me, inane to do that, when we could make productive citizens or productive workers out of a large proportion of these people.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, aren't you rather presumptuous in assuming that we could make productive workers out of these refugees?

Let us look at the thing from a practical standpoint.

When the war ended there were more than 5,000,000 displaced persons in the war areas. Our forces and those of the other nations volunteered to repatriate all of those people who wanted to be repatriated.

That is true, is it not?

Mr. STRATTON. That is true.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, these DP's as presently maintained are folks who have refused for one reason or another—some of them for good reasons, I will grant—to be repatriated.

Of that group, 80 percent were not displaced persons at the time the war ended.

Mr. STRATTON. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, if they came from these other countries after the war was over, they could have remained where they were, could they not?

Mr. STRATTON. I did not get your question there. I am sorry.

Mr. GOSSETT. Let us say that John Doe came out of Lithuania in 1946 to an American DP camp. He could have remained in Lithuania, could he not?

Did he not voluntarily displace himself and come over into the American zone?

Mr. STRATTON. If you are going to say that fear of your life or of Russian domination in those countries—and we do not have to kid ourselves about what has happened over there—if you want to consider that they came voluntarily under those conditions, the answer is “yes.”

But that is the point that I am making, that we are talking here about fighting communism and trying to stop it——

Mr. GOSSETT. Wait a minute.

You are not pretending to say here that even a majority of the folks now in the DP camps would have been killed where they came from if they had remained there?

Mr. STRATTON. They might not necessarily have been killed. Some of them might have been. Others would have been dispossessed and would have been leading a life of oppression.

Mr. CELLER. And slavery.

Mr. STRATTON. And fear of slavery. There is no question about that, when we send these people back. And don't forget, some of these people——

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, wait a minute. If we are going to discuss that, why not remember that there are a lot of people in the slave camps in Russia and there are a lot of folks who do not like where they live in India. They starve over there by the thousands, yearly.

Why don't we send missions over there and just gather them up and bring them over here, if we want to be humanitarian?

Mr. STRATTON. I do not consider in that sense that they are our responsibility.

This is a direct aftermath of the war.

Mr. GOSSETT. What difference does it make whether you have a suffering Indian or a suffering African? If you are starving, you are just as badly in need wherever you are.

Mr. STRATTON. I am afraid, Congressman, that I do not want to get into a discussion of the world problems. They are complicated, and the world is in a shape that is far from good.

We know that. But this is a definite problem that is right on our hands. We recognized it when we adhered to the IRO. And that is the problem I am trying to solve.

I do not want to get into any other.

Mr. GOSSETT. Why can't these camps be abolished and those people be assimilated in Europe? They are not going to exterminate them in Germany. They are not going to exterminate them in France.

We are maintaining soup lines for the natives of Germany. Why can't the DP's get in the soup lines like the rest of the folks?

Mr. STRATTON. The difficulty of the situation is the economy today, and the problems involved here of the assimilation of those people. The gentleman knows as well as I do the great difficulty and the bitternesses that exist within those countries, that we have had ever since the first historical times.

And if the gentleman could settle those people without costing us anything more in this country, and if he could settle the problem in

an humanitarian way by replacing them over there, certainly there would not be any objection from anyone here.

But we have done as much of that sort of thing, apparently, as can be done.

Mr. GOSSETT. Have we?

Mr. STRATTON. Now, we have to go a step further.

It is true in a sense that we are doing these people a great favor. But we are not doing this out of charity.

I tried to show in my statement today that in my mind, at least—and I hope certainly that the committee will grasp this point as it goes on—that the facts seem to show, at least, that we are doing ourselves a favor by bringing these people in.

Mr. GOSSETT. We are doing ourselves a favor?

Mr. STRATTON. Definitely.

Mr. CELLER. It might be interesting——

Mr. GOSSETT. Wait a minute. I have not finished.

Mr. CELLER. I am sorry.

Mr. GOSSETT. We spent, or obligated ourselves to spend, some \$20,000,000,000 since the war ended in the rehabilitation of foreign persons.

Of course, we fought the war on our own account, to a large extent. Nevertheless, we spilled our blood and incurred a debt almost beyond human comprehension. We have contributed food and clothes. I am sure the gentleman has contributed some clothes. I know I gave about half of my wardrobe here a few years ago, gladly.

Now, how much more claim on American charity have those folks than what we are doing?

Mr. STRATTON. I am glad you made the point, Congressman. And that is just the point I am making.

Unless you break up these camps and resettle these people, you are going to continue to spend \$100,000,000 a year, approximately, in keeping them as they are set up today.

That is the point I am trying to make, that what we are doing today is a stopgap. We cannot continue to do it indefinitely.

I realize it as well as the gentleman does. We cannot continue to pour millions in on a pure relief basis. We have to come to grips with these problems and settle them.

Mr. GOSSETT. All right. Now, let us look at it from our own interest again. That is the basis on which the gentleman wants to proceed.

Mr. STRATTON. Definitely.

Mr. GOSSETT. If a person in the DP camps is worth anything, is he not worth a lot more to the ravaged and destroyed countries over there that need work and need rehabilitation?

Is a man who will run away from responsibility abroad going to assume any when he gets over here?

Mr. STRATTON. The question involved there is that the countries that need these people are countries that are under the iron curtain, under Russian domination.

The reason that they left there was that they fought against communism in a great many cases, because they were professors and individual workers, people of science, and people of that kind. And you would be surprised how many of that kind of people are still among these DP's.

Mr. GOSSETT. You mentioned "Who's Who" in there. Are there any "Who's Who" now in those DP camps that you know?

Mr. STRATTON. They would not be in "Who's Who in America" if they were not already in America.

Mr. CELLER. He means refugees that are already here.

Mr. STRATTON. I mean refugees who have come in since this thing started in Europe.

Mr. GOSSETT. Have not we or other nations already skimmed the cream off the top?

Mr. STRATTON. I think if you are talking about top-flight scientists or writers, that is true, of course. But it takes all kinds of people to make up our country. We all recognize that. I am sure the gentleman does.

Mr. GOSSETT. I will yield to Senator ROBSION. The Senator wants to ask a question.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, we have developed here that General Clay made the proposal to pay a bonus to these people and that they were able to go to their own countries with clothing and food, and so forth, and only 48,000 accepted that proposal.

We know that almost anybody in Europe, wherever he might live, would like to come to these United States.

Mr. STRATTON. You cannot blame them for that, either.

Mr. ROBSION. Not only from Europe, but from all parts of the world they want to get here. And on our Immigration Committee many, many private bills have been introduced, and each person has a very great appeal for us to pass a private bill for him.

They want to get here, and I certainly know very well why they want to get here.

I wonder, with your bill and these other bills and these organizations now holding out such hope to these 800,000 over there, whether these people might not think that here perhaps is a chance to get to the United States; and perhaps this has led them not to accept some of these offers to go back to their own countries or to go to France, because they want to get to the United States.

Therefore, they remain there and refuse to go back and refuse to accept assistance to go back to their own countries.

Mr. STRATTON. Senator, I grasp your point. But this bill, after all, has only been introduced a few weeks ago. And, of course, I do not think anyone here has the exact figures or could judge whether it has had an effect. But the time has been so short that I do not think it has had any appreciable effect.

Mr. ROBSION. While your bill has been introduced for only a few weeks, this proposal has been carried about over the last year and the year before last. One of the suggestions was that a lot of them be brought over here.

Mr. STRATTON. Let us go back into this problem in this way, Senator.

I know that you have had a very sympathetic attitude toward these private bills, toward the problems involved with families that are separated, and things of that kind, for one reason or another.

Now, if you believe at all in immigration, the first point that you have to accept is the idea of immigration. And we have accepted it.

Now, the American Legion, for instance, and the various labor organizations, back, as I recall—the Chairman, I am sure, will remem-

ber; I think it was in 1924 or 1923 when we put in the quota act—the American Legion and these other organizations supported it thoroughly. Now, they would come out and say today, “We do not want any immigration.”

I think that the first thing that we have to recognize is that if you do not want any immigration at all, then there is no use in even thinking about this solution to the problem. But if you are in favor of immigration, and apparently it has been the Congress’ policy for over 20 years now to have a certain type of immigration coming under certain quotas, then you have to go one step farther and say, “Under that quota system during the war conditions, we did not actually absorb or have come in but a very small percentage.” As I recall, it was about 15 or 18 percent of those who actually could have come and settled and become citizens under the quota system.

So all that we are doing here is in effect making cumulative those quotas for people who cannot come in under a quota system because of their displaced status.

In other words, we are not flooding the country. We are not having a great deviation from our established policy. And that is a policy, incidentally, Congressman Gossett, that the American Legion itself endorsed back in 1924.

Mr. ROBSION. This bill could not appeal to me on the matter of immigration, because I really feel that for a number of years now we have been trimming down and breaking down the immigration laws of this country one way or another.

I really favor the strengthening rather than the weakening of the immigration laws.

If this case had any appeal to me, it would be on the idea that it is one of the products of the war, and that it is a matter of necessity—

Mr. STRATTON. The gentleman is correct on that.

Mr. ROBSION. And not on the matter of widening or adding to our immigration laws.

Mr. STRATTON. That is the point I am trying to make, Senator. The point there is what I am trying to get to, that actually this is not a great departure from your immigration laws.

As the Senator well knows, there is no one in this country that believes any more firmly than I do in keeping the standards high on this picture and seeing that these immigrants come in legally.

But, as you say, this is an aftermath of the war, and a problem that is in our hands.

Mr. ROBSION. As I say, if it appealed to me at all, it would be on that basis, and not on the basis of departing from our immigration laws.

Mr. STRATTON. That is correct. We have it in our hands.

Now, the question is this, in my estimation. And I have tried to bring out the facts on it. This is the eventual solution to it.

If someone else can get a better solution and solve the problem, that is what we are interested in.

Mr. FELLOWS. What would be your reaction to the suggestion of stopping all immigration except insofar as displaced persons are concerned, until this is completed?

Mr. STRATTON. My feeling, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. STRATTON. I certainly would be opposed to that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Why?

Mr. STRATTON. Because I see no need for it.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is to say, I am suggesting that where there is objection to the number that is coming in, what would you say about stopping immigration during the next 4 years except insofar as this bill operates?

Mr. STRATTON. It would work a hardship on the people who have been assigned quota numbers, who are just as much entitled as a DP to come into this country.

Mr. FELLOWS. What countries would you have in mind? The quota is filled for several years to come in many of the countries.

Mr. CELLER. Small countries with negligible quotas.

Mr. STRATTON. That is what I mean. It would work a hardship on people who are just as much entitled as the DP's to come in.

Mr. ROBSION. You would not then be willing for this 400,000 to come out of those that would be coming into this country? You want to add this 400,000 to that?

Mr. STRATTON. For 4 years. But as I said, Senator, in effect you are not actually increasing your total authorization, because of the fact that during the past several years, during the war, and even slightly before it, during the depression years, you did not find a swarm of people coming in here. You used a very small amount of your available quotas.

I put that statement in the record.

Mr. ROBSION. President Hoover, you know, issued an Executive order that no one could come into this country for a period who was coming here for the purpose of seeking employment.

Before I conclude, I would like to pay the gentleman a very high compliment for the very able way in which he has presented his brief.

Mr. STRATTON. Thank you.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I ask you, do you know how many registered under the 1940 Alien Registration Act in this country?

Mr. STRATTON. I have those figures.

Mr. FELLOWS. About 5,000,000.

Mr. STRATTON. I just cannot recall the actual number. I have seen those figures, Mr. Chairman, and I have them in my files.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now they figure there are about 3,500,000 aliens in the country legally and illegally.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. The illegal number, though, has been cut down to a very small percentage.

As a matter of fact, as I quoted there, I took this matter up with the FBI, and they had no concern whatsoever about the present situation.

Mr. GOSSETT. I want to continue. I just yielded here to the Senator.

The gentleman says that we should take our part, which he says is 400,000.

Now, that in itself would preclude any screening, obviously, if we entered into agreement with other nations of the United Nations that here are 800,000 people in the DP camps and we are going to take 400,000, and you will take 100,000 here and 100,000 there.

We would not go over and just cull them out as you would be culling a bunch of cattle, would we?

Mr. STRATTON. In answer to the gentleman's question let me say that this bill does not guarantee we will take 400,000. It makes 400,000 quota numbers available if they can meet the requirements of our immigration laws. And that is all that you can ask of any country, certainly.

Mr. GOSSETT. If we entered into any sort of international agreement, there would have to be some uniformity as to who would take whom. We could not set our standards greatly above those of other countries in dividing up the DP's.

Mr. STRATTON. As I see it, this is a solution to this country's part. If you are going to go into an agreement as we did on IRO on the financial situation to care for these people, then, of course, it brings up a treaty or arrangement that would have to be approved by the Congress.

My bill does not go into that problem.

Mr. GOSSETT. The gentleman knows, too, I take it, that while there are a lot of fine people in the DP camps, there are a lot of trouble-makers in those camps.

Mr. STRATTON. That is very possible.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am referring to people that could not get along with their neighbors.

In fact, Germany not only put a lot of good folks in the DP camps, but she put all of her criminals in there, too, did she not?

Mr. STRATTON. Of course, that is covered under your immigration laws. Anybody with a criminal record could not enter.

I am glad the gentleman has made the point. It is no more my intention than it is yours or anyone's here in this committee to bring in people who are not qualified and who are going to be public charges or a danger to our institutions.

We are not interested in that sort of thing.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, this may be just rumor. I have not been over there. But I understand that some of those camps are pretty well infiltrated with Communists. In fact, they are pretty fertile soil for alien ideas, people that are uprooted or who left home and assembled and remained for years in places like that. That is fertile soil for all crackpot ideas.

Mr. STRATTON. That is the biggest argument we have for settling this problem as speedily as possible.

Mr. GOSSETT. To bring them over here?

Mr. STRATTON. You cannot expect people to sit in those camps under those conditions year in and year out without degenerating. And eventually you will have a mess like that over there.

I do not care who it is. If you are hungry and have no hope, you become a prey to ideologies like that. That is why I say that while you can still salvage these people, you have to do something about the problem.

Mr. GOSSETT. You do not think you are going to reform a degenerate by bringing him to America, do you?

Mr. STRATTON. We are not going to bring a degenerate in under my bill.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am afraid if you screened them you would not get anybody under your bill.

But that is a side remark. Let us go a little farther.

Granting, and I think you will grant, that there are a lot of Communists in these camps, they are not going to admit it. Aren't we running some pretty big risks when we just bring a great bunch of folks in who have been maintained in those camps over there?

Mr. STRATTON. I would think our occupation authorities and the people we have there know pretty well who the Communists are, and certainly people that fled from communism that do not care to go back to Lithuania or Poland or Estonia because of fear of persecution by Communists cannot have much sympathy for Communists.

Mr. GOSSETT. For another thing, it strikes me quite strange that all those other countries are terribly anxious for us to take in 800,000 refugees.

Mr. STRATTON. Four hundred thousand.

Mr. GOSSETT. I mean 400,000.

There are a lot of countries that would like to have us infiltrated with people who would weaken and disrupt the fiber of American life.

Mr. STRATTON. There may be countries that would like to see us disrupted. But the very fact that the Russian Government, for instance, wanted to get hold of these people proved to my mind that they are not interested particularly in seeing them come over to us.

A lot of these countries have in the past several years taken numbers of these Poles. The English have been mentioned. Some of the Scandinavian countries have taken refugees. France has some labor of a refugee status.

Mr. GOSSETT. You know, a few years ago an unofficial poll was taken in Italy to find out how many Italians wanted to come to America, in fact by some very reputable authorities, too. And the minimum estimate was 15,000,000.

Now, there are a lot of those people that are hungry, and a lot of them want to get away from communism.

So, if we are just going to open up our bosom to oppressed peoples, why shouldn't we let in about 10,000,000 Italians?

Mr. STRATTON. Congressman, the point that I have made here is that this is a special problem. I am not going into the question of whether we should increase our over-all immigration.

I grant you there are people that are hungry and oppressed in a lot of countries. But I say that this is a special problem that the American taxpayer is paying a large share of the bill on today, and that the only eventual solution is this solution in H. R. 2910.

I am not going to get into a question of the discussion of immigration from these other countries. Those people are settled there.

Surely, some of them are poor and oppressed, and I feel sorry for them. But that is a completely different problem, as I see it. Those people are not there under our jurisdiction or being paid directly by our Government, although, to be frank with you, in their present situation a lot of those governments depend on the American taxpayer, apparently, to keep them going.

But here is a situation where you are giving virtually direct aid from our Government, and it is costing a sum which is no small amount, when you get up close to \$100,000,000 a year and you are going to continue to do that until these people can be settled.

The same thing applies to these other countries that are paying their share.

Mr. GOSSETT. What would happen if we just closed up the DP camps and let those folks get out and go to work?

Mr. STRATTON. Where are you going to put them to work?

Mr. GOSSETT. All the devastated cities of Europe need rebuilding. Why couldn't we set up a WPA over there and let them get out and build roads and build bridges?

Mr. STRATTON. That is thing I am trying to get away from, a glorified WPA in Europe.

Mr. GOSSETT. I would rather have it in Europe than in America.

Mr. STRATTON. These people do not cost the American Government a single cent to bring them over here or to employ them. That is the point I am trying to make, Congressman.

Surely if you want to go ahead, put them in soup kitchens and at work in some of those, but they are still a burden on our occupation authorities, and, of course, on the American taxpayer.

I am trying to salvage some of these people and get them to be productive citizens and lead decent lives.

You know relief in this situation is only a stopgap. The only way you ever do anything with the relief problem is to get people back to work and get them to have some hope and be productive citizens.

Mr. GOSSETT. You assume that all of them that come over here would become productive citizens and that we would not have any problem with anybody that we brought over here, then?

Mr. STRATTON. I would not say that every single individual might not, any more than any other large group of people. But I would say that in the main—and, of course, I am backed up, as I say, by the FBI—the people who have made these studies on immigration—they have made very fine citizens.

Mr. GOSSETT. I do not know of any records of the FBI on that.

Mr. STRATTON. I quoted a letter from Mr. Hoover on the subject.

Mr. GOSSETT. What was it? Let us have it. I have forgotten it. I am sure he has not been over studying the DP camps.

Mr. STRATTON. It was on the question of aliens in the country. In fact, I made one or two quotes. It is in the record.

Mr. GOSSETT. On the question of what?

Mr. STRATTON. On the question of the effect of aliens in this country.

Mr. GOSSETT. Why, he doesn't examine one alien in 100,000 that comes into the country. We have probably 1,000,000 people in here now who are in illegally that Mr. Hoover cannot do anything about.

Mr. STRATTON. Congressman, that is not the fault of the Congress. That is a matter of administration.

And I, no more than the gentleman, want those people in illegally, or on an illegal status, or anybody that is a danger to our institutions. I thought I made that eminently plain.

Mr. GOSSETT. You are assuming, however, that in the administration of your bill, none of the mistakes that we have made in the past would be made in the future, and that it would be administered with no errors and that everybody who would come in under your bill would be highly desirable.

Mr. STRATTON. The machinery is there. It is a question of administration. It is a question of the executive department.

After all, Congress can only lay down rules and try to see that they are enforced.

Mr. CELLER. Why don't you read the Hoover statement?

Mr. STRATTON [reading]:

The experience of the FBI in coping with foreign agents, spies, and saboteurs has conclusively illustrated that the great mass of aliens are loyal to America and devoted to the principles of democracy.

Then, this is a letter to me:

I feel now as I did during the recent war, that the vast majority of aliens have remained true to the land of their adoption.

That is a letter just recently sent to me.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Hoover's records will also show that of all of the espionage and sabotage problems, nearly all of those apprehended and convicted were either aliens or persons who had recently come over here.

Mr. CELLER. What kind of aliens? Nazis and Fascists?

Mr. GOSSETT. We do not know whom we are going to fight tomorrow. We happened to fight Germany the last time. It may not be Germany next time.

Mr. CELLER. Do you anticipate another war in 2 years, or 3 years?

Mr. GOSSETT. I hope not. But if we tear down this country with profligate immigration, we shall not be in a position to fight it.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, no one wants "profligate" immigration. That term is rather inappropriately used.

I just want to say this. I have a long series of questions I would like to propound to Mr. Stratton.

Are we going to continue, or are we going to adjourn until Friday?

Mr. FELLOWS. We have to suspend. The House meets at 12, and they are reading a bill for amendment. And you have other things over there. And under the rules you cannot sit here while they are reading a bill for amendment.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Chairman, you know I am happy to be at the service of the committee any time I am called.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

You have done very well, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. I hope the gentleman understands that my questioning him was not personal. I think he made a very fine statement for his bill.

I concur with the chairman in that, and I know the gentleman is sincere in this business. There is no reflection on him in my questions.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Stratton, I have not asked you but two questions. I would like to ask you one more, please, if you do not mind.

In your statement here to the Commissioner of Immigration made on May 24, 1945, which you quoted and made a part of the record, you say:

And no evidence has as yet been produced that the admission each year of 153,000 immigrants, many of whom are not candidates for jobs, would be detrimental to the stability of our labor market.

What do you mean by that statement, "not candidates for jobs"?

Mr. STRATTON. That is families, or children, or something of that kind.

Mr. CELLER. More than half are children and women.

Mr. STRATTON. That is right. You have women and children coming in. And they are not able-bodied men that are working.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, you figure there are around 120,000 men that have listed their occupations and there are about 130,000 and some odd whom you do not have figures on; is that right?

Mr. STRATTON. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, Mr. Stratton.

Mr. STRATTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, gentlemen, we are compelled to suspend until Friday at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon at 12 noon, the subcommittee adjourned until 10 a. m., Friday, June 6, 1947.)

APPENDIX I

EXHIBIT No. 1

OUR FAIR SHARE

1. We have 60 percent of the DP's in our care now—if we base our share on this percentage it would be—

60 percent of 850,000----- 490, 000

2. Our share of the operational budget of IRO is 45.75 percent. Based on this percentage our share of the DP would be as follows :

45.75 percent of 850,000----- 388, 875

3. Our share of UNRRA is 72 percent. Using the same percentage :

72 percent of 850,000----- 612, 000

4. Based on unused war quotas. Since 1940 quotas have been unused as follows :

1940 -----	101, 777	1945 -----	142, 256
1941 -----	117, 554	1946 -----	124, 784
1942 -----	139, 177		
1943 -----	144, 729	Total -----	914, 662
1944 -----	144, 485		

If we take only half of these unused war quotas we would take 457,331.

Or, if we just took the unused quotas for the years we were in the war or for the last 3 years it would be over 400,000.

5. Based upon population strength of immigrant receiving countries not ravaged by the war, our fair share would be 433,500.

Population of selected immigrant-receiving countries¹ and proportional distribution of displaced persons among them

Country	Population in 1940 ²	Percentage of combined populations of selected countries	Comparable percentage of total displaced persons
Argentina.....	13, 909, 956	5. 4	45, 900
Australia.....	7, 229, 864	2. 8	23, 800
Brazil.....	44, 460, 000	17. 2	146, 200
Canada.....	11, 506, 655	4. 5	38, 250
Chile.....	5, 237, 432	2. 0	17, 000
Cuba.....	4, 777, 284	1. 9	16, 150
Mexico.....	20, 625, 826	8. 0	68, 000
New Zealand.....	1, 631, 414	. 6	5, 100
Sweden.....	6, 522, 827	2. 5	21, 250
Union of South Africa.....	10, 708, 500	4. 1	34, 850
United States.....	131, 669, 275	51. 0	433, 500
Total.....	258, 279, 027	100. 0	850, 000

¹ This list includes only major immigrant-receiving countries not ravaged by war.

² 1940 figures are used as 1946 are not available for all countries.

6. Based upon our per capita wealth and our economic ability to absorb we can easily take in over 100,000 a year in each of four years.

EXHIBIT No. 2

PARTIAL LIST OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PUBLICLY SUPPORTING IMMIGRATION
OF DISPLACED PERSONS TO UNITED STATES

MAY 30, 1947.

A total of 94 national organizations—including veterans, civic, welfare, and religious groups, men's and women's organizations, and national labor unions—to date have announced public support of immigration of DP's to the United States. They include:

LABOR

American Federation of Labor
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO)
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (AFL)
Glass Bottle Blowers Association (AFL)
Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America (AFL)
International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL)
International Brotherhood of Paper Makers (AFL)
International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America (AFL)
Jewish Labor Committee
International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (CIO)
National Women's Trade Union League
Oil Workers International Union (CIO)
United Automobile Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO)
United Cement, Lime, and Gypsum Workers International Union (AFL)
United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union (AFL)
United Office and Professional Workers of America International Union (CIO)

VETERANS

American Veterans Committee
Catholic War Veterans
Jewish War Veterans
National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires
National Council of American Veteran Organizations

RELIGIOUS

American Friends Service Committee
American Unitarian Association
Congregational Christian Church: Council for Social Action
Evangelical and Reformed Church: Commission on Christian Social Action
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Home Missions Council of North America
Mennonite Central Committee
Methodist Federation for Social Action
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Catholic Welfare Conference
National Lutheran Council
Northern Baptist Convention
Presbyterian Church U. S. A.: Department of Social Education and Action
Protestant Episcopal Church: General Convention
Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America
Serbian Eastern Orthodox Diocese for United States of America and Canada
Southern Baptist Convention
Synagogue Council of America
Unitarian Service Committee
United Synagogue of America
World Alliance for International Friendship Through Churches
YMCA: International Board

WOMEN'S

American Association of University Women
 Catholic Daughters of America
 Hadassah
 League of Women Voters
 National Council of Catholic Women
 National Council of Jewish Women
 National Council of Women of the United States
 National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
 United Council of Church Women
 Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace
 Women's American ORT
 Women's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church
 Women's Division of the Methodist Church
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (United States section)
 YWCA: National Board

SOCIAL, CIVIC, WELFARE, AND OTHERS

American Association of Social Workers
 American Association for the United Nations
 American Council for Judaism
 American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service: Committee on Displaced Persons
 American Farm Bureau Federation
 Americans for Democratic Action
 American Federation of International Institutes
 American Jewish Committee
 American Jewish Conference
 American Jewish Congress
 American Lithuanian Council
 Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers
 B'nai B'rith
 Common Council for American Unity
 Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds
 Federation of Americans of Central and East European Descent
 Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society
 International Migration Service
 International Rescue and Relief Committee, Inc.
 Lithuanian Alliance of America
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 National Federation of Settlements
 National Jewish Welfare Board
 National Peace Conference
 National Social Welfare Assembly: International Committee
 Order of the Sons of Italy
 Polish-American Congress
 Polish National Alliance
 Russian American Union for Protection and Aid to Russians Outside Russia
 Russian Children's Welfare Society
 Self-Help for Emigres from Central Europe, Inc.
 Tolstoy Foundation
 Ukranian Congress Committee
 United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, Inc.

EXHIBIT No. 3
EDITORIALS

City and State	Paper	Editorial	Date
Alaska.....	Juneau Alaska Empire.....	Immigration and Labor.....	Mar. 3, 1947
Arizona:			
1. Nogales.....	Nogales Herald.....	Opening Gates.....	Jan. 3, 1947
California:			
2. San Francisco.....	San Francisco Chronicle.....	They Look to America.....	Dec. 18, 1946
3. Los Angeles.....	Los Angeles Daily News.....	Year's First Challenge.....	Jan. 3, 1947
4. Stockton.....	Stockton Record.....	Displaced Persons a Touching Problem.	Jan. 15, 1947
District of Columbia:			
5. Washington.....	Washington Post.....	Undesirables?.....	Do.
6. Washington.....	do.....	DP's.....	Feb. 4, 1947
Florida:			
7. Tampa.....	The Tampa Bulletin.....	Thanksgiving Day.....	Nov. 23, 1946
Georgia:			
8. Dalton.....	Dalton Tribune.....	Thanksgiving Day Means Little to Displaced Persons.	Nov. 22, 1946
Illinois:			
9. Chicago.....	Chicago Sun.....	47 Estonians and the Immigration Laws.	Oct. 31, 1946
10. East St. Louis.....	East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal.....	The Displaced Persons.....	Feb. 13, 1947
11. Chicago.....	Chicago Daily News.....	Welcome the DP's.....	Apr. 9, 1947
12. Rock Island.....	Rock Island Argus.....	Plight of Displaced Persons.....	Feb. 22, 1947
13. Chicago.....	Chicago Sun.....	"Inside Washington".....	Mar. 22, 1947
14. Freeport.....	Freeport (Ill.) Journal Standard.	Finding Homes for People.....	Mar. 1, 1947
Indiana:			
15. Elkhart.....	Elkhart (Ind.) Truth.....	Estonians and Others.....	Nov. 5, 1946
Iowa:			
16. Des Moines.....	The American Citizen.....	We Can Do No Less.....	Nov. 29, 1946
17. Des Moines.....	Des Moines (Iowa) Register.	Immigration Policy—Smug and Slow.	Feb. 3, 1947
18. Washington.....	The Evening Journal.....	Congratulate Yourself That You Are Not a DP.	Apr. 5, 1947
Kentucky:			
19. Louisville.....	Louisville Courier Journal.....	United States Leadership Expected; Immigration Is Key To DP Problem.	Feb. 24, 1947
20. Louisville.....	do.....	An Aspirin Tablet For a Major Ailment.	Mar. 27, 1947
21. Louisville.....	Louisville Courier.....	How Can We Deal With The DP's? by Barry Bingham.	-----
Maine:			
22. Bangor.....	Bangor Daily Commercial.....	Where Do We Wish To Stand When It Comes To Help Others?	Jan. 4, 1947
Maryland:			
23. Baltimore.....	Baltimore Sun.....	Europe's Displaced Persons and United States Immigration.	Feb. 18, 1947
24. Baltimore.....	do.....	A Hundred Thousand DP's a Year.	Apr. 3, 1947
Massachusetts:			
25. Boston.....	Christian Science Monitor.....	Refugee Problem.....	Nov. 26, 1946
26. Boston.....	do.....	Clamor at the Gates.....	Feb. 14, 1947
27. Boston.....	The Boston Herald.....	Refugees Denied.....	Mar. 28, 1947
28. Boston.....	Christian Science Monitor.....	A Test for Americans.....	Mar. 29, 1947
Michigan:			
29. Detroit.....	Detroit News.....	For Humanity's Sake.....	Feb. 19, 1947
30. Kalamazoo.....	Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette.	Displaced Persons.....	Mar. 3, 1947
Minnesota:			
31. St. Paul.....	St. Paul Dispatch.....	A Nation of DP's.....	Nov. 23, 1946
32. Minneapolis.....	Minneapolis Sunday Tribune.....	Backwash of War: the DP Problem.	Dec. 8, 1946
33. Minneapolis.....	Minneapolis Daily Times.....	One Million Displaced Persons—Our Problem.	Feb. 25, 1947
Missouri:			
34. St. Joseph.....	St. Joseph (Mo.) News Press.	Where Will They Go?.....	Apr. 6, 1947
New Jersey:			
35. Trenton.....	Trenton Evening Times.....	Great American Tradition.....	Nov. 4, 1946
36. Trenton.....	Trenton Times Advertiser.....	Europe's Unrooted.....	Dec. 8, 1946
37. Paterson.....	The Morning Call.....	The DP's Our Forsaken Ally.....	Feb. 5, 1947
New York:			
38. Catskill.....	Catskill Daily Mail.....	Emergency Immigration.....	Apr. 1, 1947
39. New York.....	New York Times.....	A Victory for Humanity.....	Dec. 17, 1946
40. New York.....	do.....	Refugees Still Wait.....	Dec. 21, 1946
41. New York.....	New York Herald Tribune.....	Refugee Shuttle Service.....	Dec. 23, 1946
42. New York.....	New York Times.....	The Strangers at Our Gates.....	Jan. 20, 1947
43. New York.....	do.....	America's Narrow Gate.....	Jan. 24, 1947
44. New York.....	do.....	For IRO.....	Jan. 30, 1947

EDITORIALS—Continued

City and State	Paper	Editorial	Date
New York—Continued			
45. New York	New York Times	Mr. Dewey on Immigration	Feb. 1, 1947
46. New York	do	Haven for 100,000	Feb. 2, 1947
47. New York	New York Herald Tribune	A Home for DP's	Feb. 8, 1947
48. New York	New York Times	Immigration and Labor	Do.
49. Nassau County, Long Island	Newsday	Open the Door, Congress	Feb. 28, 1947
50. Nassau County, Long Island	Newsday	Orphans of the Storm	Mar. 12, 1947
51. New York	New York Post	The New Colossus	Mar. 17, 1947
52. New York	New York Times	War Orphans	Mar. 21, 1947
53. New York	New York Herald Tribune	Just Refugees	Mar. 27, 1947
54. New York	do	Time Runs Short	Apr. 11, 1947
55. New York	New York Post	Let's Get Our Share	Do.
56. New York	do	Pressure Congress, Not DP's	Apr. 16, 1947
North Carolina:			
57. Salisbury	Salisbury Evening Post	High on List	Feb. 24, 1947
Ohio:			
58. Ashland	Ashland (Ohio) Times Gazette	Displaced Persons	Feb. 26, 1947
59. Martins Ferry	Martins Ferry (Ohio) Times Leader	Displaced Persons and the United States	Do.
60. Belle Fontaine	Belle Fontaine (Ohio) Examiner	Displaced Persons is Kiwanis Topic	Do.
61. Youngstown	Youngstown Vindicator	Displaced Persons	Mar. 29, 1947
Pennsylvania:			
62. Philadelphia	Philadelphia (Pa.) Dispatch	Clamor at America's Gates	Feb. 23, 1947
Rhode Island:			
63. Providence	Providence Journal	Plight of the DP's	Feb. 14, 1947
Texas:			
64. Houston	Houston Post	Fate of the DP's	Apr. 16, 1947
Vermont:			
65. Rutland	Rutland Herald	United States Immigration Policy	Feb. 10, 1947
Virginia:			
66. Alexandria	Alexandria Gazette	Do You Know That?	Feb. 28, 1947
Wisconsin:			
67. Milwaukee	Milwaukee Journal	Displaced Persons and the United States	Feb. 22, 1947
68. Sheboygan	The Sheboygan Press	VE-Day Plus Two	May 8, 1947

SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF EDITORIALS

Alabama:			
69. Birmingham	Birmingham Age Herald	Displaced Persons and the United States	Apr. 25, 1947
California:			
70. Palo Alto	Palo Alto Times	VE-Day Plus 2 Years	May 8, 1947
District of Columbia:			
71.	Evening Star	Voice of the DP's	Do.
72.	Washington Post	What Price Liberation?	May 19, 1947
Florida:			
73. St. Augustine	St. Augustine (Fla.) Record	Other Nations Would Follow Our Lead	Apr. 2, 1947
74. Miami	Miami (Fla.) Herald	To Help the DP's	Apr. 21, 1947
Illinois:			
75. Chicago	Chicago Sun	Real Help for the DP's	Apr. 14, 1947
76. Urbana	Courier	Would Admit Displaced Persons	Apr. 13, 1947
77. Bloomington	Pantagraph	Homeless Look to United States	May 2, 1947
Indiana:			
78. Indianapolis	Indianapolis News	The Human Wreckage	Apr. 16, 1947
Iowa:			
79. Washington	Washington (Iowa) Evening Journal	We Can Absorb Them	Apr. 5, 1947
80. Davenport	Times	The Immigration Issue	May 1, 1947
Kentucky:			
81. Louisville	Louisville Courier Journal	The Practical Side of Human Salvage	May 4, 1947
Maine:			
82. Bangor	Bangor Daily Commercial	Support This Committee	May 18, 1947
Do	do	Displaced Persons	May 16, 1947
Maryland:			
83. Baltimore	Baltimore Sun	We Must Relax the Immigration Laws Temporarily	Do.
Massachusetts:			
84. Boston	Christian Science Monitor	Place for the Displaced	Apr. 25, 1947
85. Holyoke	Transcript-Telegram	People Without Countries	May 2, 1947
86. Fall River	Fall River Herald News	Aid for Displaced Persons	May 20, 1947
87. Worcester	Worcester Labor News	"Callously Neglected Problem"	May 9, 1947
88. Springfield	Union	Enlightened Immigration Policy	Apr. 16, 1947

SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF EDITORIALS—Continued

City and State	Paper	Editorial	Date
Michigan:			
89.....	The Legionnaire.....	American Legion and DP's.....	(1)
90. Detroit.....	Detroit News.....	They Have No Homes.....	May 12, 1947
Minnesota:			
91. Minneapolis.....	Minneapolis Times.....	America's Darkened Lamp.....	May 15, 1947
92. Minneapolis.....	Hubbard County Journal.....	League of Women Voters and the DP's.	Apr. 17, 1947
93. St. Paul.....	St. Paul Pioneer-Press.....	The Dispossessed.....	May 19, 1947
94. Fairmont.....	Sentinel.....	Should We Let Them In?.....	Apr. 7, 1947
Missouri:			
95. St. Louis.....	St. Louis Post-Dispatch.....	Our Darkened Lamp.....	May 8, 1947
New Jersey:			
96. Bayonne.....	Times.....	To Keep a Pledge.....	Apr. 7, 1947
New York:			
97. Catskill.....	Catskill Daily Mail.....	Services of DP's Are Needed.....	Apr. 3, 1947
98. New York.....	New York Times.....	People Without Countries.....	May 2, 1947
99. New York.....	PM.....	Open the American Gates.....	May 13, 1947
100. New York.....	New York Herald Tribune.....	The Homeless.....	May 14, 1947
101. New York.....	do.....	do.....	May 15, 1947
102. New York.....	do.....	do.....	May 16, 1947
103. New York.....	do.....	Clear It Up.....	May 19, 1947
104. New York.....	New York Times.....	Anniversary.....	May 20, 1947
105. New York.....	New York Herald Tribune.....	The War Orphans.....	May 26, 1947
106. Rochester.....	Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.	Refugee Problem Real.....	May 10, 1947
107. White Plains.....	The Reporter Dispatch.....	This Is Our Problem.....	Apr. 18, 1947
North Carolina:			
108. Salisbury.....	Salisbury Post.....	American Opportunity.....	Apr. 21, 1947
Ohio:			
109. Cleveland.....	Cleveland News.....	Help for Innocent Victims.....	Apr. 11, 1947
110. Akron.....	Beacon Journal.....	To Help the DP's.....	Apr. 16, 1947
111. Toledo.....	Blade.....	Asylum for the Oppressed.....	Apr. 17, 1947
Pennsylvania:			
112. Philadelphia.....	Frankford Bulletin.....	VE-Day Unfinished Business.....	May 2, 1947
113. Philadelphia.....	Lutheran.....	Displaced Persons.....	Apr. 23, 1947
South Dakota:			
114. Mitchell.....	Mitchell (S. Dak.) Republic.....	Major Organizations Would Admit DP's.	Apr. 14, 1947
Tennessee:			
115. Chattanooga.....	Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times.....	A Refugee in America.....	Apr. 9, 1947
Texas:			
116.....	Houston Post.....	Let's Give Them An Opportunity to Support Themselves.	Apr. 16, 1947
Virginia:			
117. Waynesboro.....	Waynesboro (Va.) News.....	May Congress Act Before It Is Too Late	Apr. 7, 1947

¹ April and May 1947.

EXHIBIT No. 4

Magazine articles and editorials

Magazine	Article	Author	Date
1. America (a Catholic review of the week).	Refugee Children.....		Mar. 1, 1947.
2. America (a Catholic review of the week).	Our Unfilled Immigration Quotas.		Feb. 22, 1947.
3. American Mercury.....	Some Truths About Immigration.	Samuel Tenenbaum.	May 1947.
4. Fellowship.....	"DP" Stands for Suffering.....	Priscilla Krancer.....	April 1947.
5. Foreign Policy Reports.....	Immigration Policy of the United States.	Earl G. Harrison.....	Apr. 1, 1947.
6. Life.....	Send Them Here.....		Sept. 23, 1946.
7. New York Times Magazine.....	Children Who Have Known No Childhood.	Gertrude Samuels.....	Mar. 9, 1947.
8. PIC.....	Can Immigration Now Help America?	Jack Pollack.....	May 1947.
9. Reader's Digest.....	The War Waifs Arrive in America—Sign.		November 1946.
10. The Saturday Evening Post.....	The DP's: Whose Responsibility.		Feb. 1, 1947.
11. The Saturday Evening Post.....	Should We Open Our Doors to Immigrants?	Edward Angly.....	Feb. 8, 1947.
12. Senior Scholastic—Teacher Edition.	Strangers at Our Gates.....		Feb. 24, 1947.

Magazine articles and editorials—Continued

Magazine	Article	Author	Date
13. Survey Graphic.....	Not Sympathy, but Action.....	Wm. S. Bernard.....	February 1947.
14. The United States News.....	Open the Door, America.....	David Lawrence.....	Mar. 7, 1947.
15. Vital Speeches of the Day.....	Displaced Persons Are Not All Victims of Nazi Cruelty.	A. A. Berle, Jr.....	Apr. 15, 1947.
16. The Yale Review.....	Place for Displaced Persons.....	Alvin Johnson.....	Spring 1947.
17. Christian Century.....	Editorial comment: Propose aid for DP's.	.....	Apr. 23, 1947.
18. Newsweek.....	The Faceless People of Europe.....	.....	May 12, 1947.
19. Saturday Evening Post.....	DP Camps Harbor Some Useful People.	.....	Apr. 12, 1947.
20. Better Times.....	DP Problems Theme of Council Meeting.	.....	May 9, 1947.
21. American Federationist.....	America and the Displaced.....	Robert J. Watt.....	May 1947.
22. The Churchman.....	Our Duty to the Displaced.....	.....	Nov. 1, 1946.
23. General Federation Club-woman.	Lives, Laws, and the United Nations.	.....	March 1947.
24. Saturday Evening Post.....	It's Time to Get the DP's Off the Taxpayer.	.....	May 31, 1947.

EXHIBIT No. 5

Columns

City and State	Paper	Column	Date
Arkansas:			
1. Little Rock.....	Arkansas Democrat.....	Behind the News in Washington, by Bascom Timmons.	Mar. 31, 1947
District of Columbia:			
2. Washington.....	Washington Post.....	Human Challenger, by Barnet Nover.	May 20, 1947
Illinois:			
3. Bloomington....	Bloomington (Ill.) Pentagraph.	Niebuhr Thinks We Should Boost Immigration Rate, by Reinhold Niebuhr.	Feb. 23, 1947
4. Chicago.....	Chicago Sun, Washington Bureau.	United States Nearing Show-down on World Refugee Issue.	Mar. 16, 1947
5. Chicago.....	Chicago Sun.....	'Inside Washington'—Refugee Problem.	Mar. 22, 1947
Iowa:			
6. Cedar Rapids...	Cedar Rapids Tribune.....	Mary Arthur's Column for Women.	Nov. 28, 1946
Minnesota:			
7. Minneapolis.....	Minneapolis Sunday Tribune.	World Must Find Room for 850,000 Homeless.	May 11, 1947
Massachusetts:			
8. Boston.....	Boston Sunday Post.....	We Owe it to Our Ideals to Solve Europe's Problem of the Displaced Persons, by John Griffin.	Feb. 24, 1947
New York:			
9. New York.....	New York Post.....	The So-Called Refugee Problem, by Edgar Mowrer on World Affairs.	Oct. 24, 1946
10. New York.....	New York Sun.....	These Days, by George Sokolsky—Displaced Persons.	Jan. 21, 1947
11. New York.....	New York Daily News.....	Capitol Circus, by Paul Healy.	Jan. 30, 1947
12. New York.....	New York Times.....	Abroad—The People Who Live Between Two Closed Doors, by Anne O'Hare McCormick.	Feb. 1, 1947
13. New York.....	New York Daily News.....	Under the Hat, by F. H. LaGuardia.	Feb. 6, 1947
14. New York.....	do.....	do.....	Feb. 13, 1947
15. New York.....	New York Daily Mirror.....	Things More Americans Should Know (About America), by Walter Winchell.	Feb. 25, 1947
16. New York.....	New York World-Telegram...	At Our Gates, by Eleanor Roosevelt.	Mar. 5, 1947
17. New York.....	New York Times.....	Broadway Beat, by Danton Walker.	Mar. 26, 1947
18. New York.....	New York Daily Mirror.....	On the Line, by Bob Considine.	.....
19. New York.....	New York Post.....	Let DP's Into the U. S. A.—A World to Live In, by Dorothy Norman.	.....
20. New York.....	do.....	What Do You Think?.....	Nov. 7, 1946

Columns—Continued

City and State	Paper	Column	Date
Ohio: 21. Columbus.....	Columbus Dispatch.....	400,000 DP's of War Find United States Refuge.	Mar. 31, 1947
Pennsylvania: 22. Hazleton.....	Anthracite Tri-District News.	Working It Out, by Frances Erkins.	Mar. 28, 1947
Tennessee: 23. Nashville.....	Nashville Tennessean.....	Will Toward Littleness, by Samuel Grafton.	Mar. 20, 1947
Virginia: 24. Waynesboro.....	Waynesboro News (Va.) Virginian.	In One Old Arm Chair, by Louis Spilman.	Apr. 7, 1947
Wisconsin: 25. Milwaukee.....	Milwaukee Journal.....	What's To Be Done With the DP's of Europe Who Cannot Go Home?, by Barry Bingham.	.....
26. Milwaukee.....	do.....	Americans All: 800,000 DP's, by Daniel Poling.	.....

EXHIBIT No. 6

EXCERPTS FROM EDITORIALS FAVORING ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS TO THE UNITED STATES

A specific means is now at hand for the United States to do its share in providing homes for the war victims who are still living in the displaced-persons camps of Europe.

Congressman-at-large William G. Stratton of Illinois has introduced H. R. 2910. It would set up a temporary emergency quota, without altering our immigration laws, to admit 400,000 displaced persons during the next 4 years.

* * * * *

Despite all of our fine words, the United States has so far taken only a few of the displaced persons. Not only for humanitarian reasons, but to reduce the international relief problem, we have a duty to take more.

Quick passage of H. R. 2910 will speed up the arrival of these homeless people.—Beacon Journal, Akron, Ohio, April 16, 1947.

In any prewar thinking, the existence of 850,000 stateless refugees stranded in the heart of Europe would have posed a gigantic problem, arousing humanity to immediate action. * * *

In the name of humanity and in the light of the American duty of enlightened leadership, this country should move without further delay toward a solution of this problem, the continuance of which is bound to jeopardize our national security itself, and to aggravate a financial burden that already is heavy.

* * * * *

These people were the victims of the Nazis and now they fear the Communists. They are raw material for democracy—for new Americans. Opposition to this American responsibility, which should be freely undertaken in partnership with other United Nations members who are able to do so, can only spring from the ugly seeds of intolerance.—News, Indianapolis, Ind., April 16, 1947.

This country's tradition as an asylum for oppressed people should be upheld by early enactment of H. R. 2910 authorizing the admission of a fair share of displaced persons from detention camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy.

* * * * *

The United States should no longer delay in meeting a great humanitarian challenge. The time for expressions of sympathy and indefinite pledges of assistance is past. The time for action is now.—Blade, Toledo, Ohio, April 17, 1947.

Under the provisions of legislation now pending in Congress the United States would admit 100,000 displaced persons annually for the next 4 years.

The bill in Congress does not suggest fundamental change in our immigration policy. It proposes to admit the quotas that were not used during the war.

* * * * *

Illinois ought to be interested in the legislation providing for the welcome to displaced persons, because the bill now before Congress was introduced by William G. Stratton, Illinois Congressman-at-large. * * * It is good to see him leading the good fight for a worth-while cause.—Urbana Illinois Courier, April 13, 1947.

Isn't it time the United States did more than just reaffirm its pledge to the displaced persons in Europe that no people would be forced to return to their homelands against their will? There are still some 850,000 displaced persons in Europe living in detention camps. These terrified humans—men, women, and children—dare not return to their former homelands because they fear persecution on racial, religious, or political grounds. Why don't we open our doors to them?—Bayonne (N. J.) Times, April 7, 1947.

For months, American sympathy has gone out to the more than 750,000 displaced persons crowded in concentration camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Now the means is at hand to transform that sympathy into action, to relieve present misery and to provide for the future of more than half the DP's.

This means is H. R. 2910, introduced by William G. Stratton, Congressman-at-large from Illinois.—Chicago Sun, April 14, 1947.

Now we have our chance to get some of the strong backs, good brains, and energy that Hitler kept from us.

These are the people to whom Representative Stratton's bill would open the door. We shouldn't permit any more indifference and delay.—New York Post, April 16, 1947.

The 400,000 displaced persons entering this country during a 4-year period would be absorbed without disturbance to our economy. Over half of the displaced persons are women and children. A large number are farm workers and domestics. These services are needed in this country.—Fairmont (Minn.) Sentinel, April 7, 1947.

This newspaper agrees that the proposed bill introduced by 33-year-old Representative William G. Stratton, Republican Representative from Illinois, a veteran, ought to pass.

* * * * *

This newspaper feels that America can well afford to make the necessary exemptions to existing immigration laws in order to help care for people whose misfortunes have too long been on the conscience of the world.—Birmingham (Ala.) Age Herald, April 26, 1947.

Ways must be found for getting all displaced persons out of camps into permanent homes as quickly as possible, for the camps are demoralizing to the inmates as well as a burden on society. * * * there is good human material in the displaced-persons camps which should not be permitted to go to waste. Nor are the inmates of the displaced-persons camps wholly the broken in body and spirit. There are many children in these camps and the birth rate is rising. * * * We do not want the black marketeers, the rogues, or the defectives among the DP's. We can use more of the sort of refugees who came during the Hitlerian persecutions. The scientific, mechanical, and other skills, and the culture brought by many of those immigrants are permanent contributions to the national welfare and a permanent loss to the countries so foolish as to drive out such good citizens. If other countries are smart they, too, will welcome such talent and such citizenship from the DP camps of Europe.—Minneapolis Sunday Tribune, December 8, 1946.

Indeed it is about time for the United States to review its whole attitude, not just toward DP's but toward immigration policy in general. We have not really debated it since 1924, and there are several new arguments, such as our declining curve of population growth. If we are to remain the leading nation of one world, we also have a deep moral obligation not to be too exclusive. * * * The Constitution of the United Nations proclaims the universality of human rights and freedoms, a clause the United States has often invoked and argued for. How then can we be so complacent about our immigration policy? Above all, in God's name, how can we go on doing nothing about those displaced persons?—Life magazine, September 23, 1946.

There are in Europe today some hundreds of thousands of harassed, homeless people. We have committed ourselves as a matter of national policy to caring for them and to seeking a place for them to live. We have exhorted the British to admit a considerable number of them to Palestine. Yet we have done nothing on our own account to afford refuge to them here. The failure to practice what we preach ill becomes us and robs our exhortation of all its moral force. The

denial of refuge to these people is itself a precedent dangerous to our most cherished values. * * *

These refugees would be a genuine national asset. They are in a real sense chosen people—people who have been chosen by a ruthless process of natural selection. They are the people who resisted totalitarianism from its inception and who were tough enough to survive all its efforts to extinguish them. They are people who prize freedom—prize it enough to have suffered for it deeply. They are the kind of people in whose behalf the American tradition of asylum was established and whose immigration to these shores has enriched our society from its earliest days forward.—Washington Post, September 9, 18, 1946.

This great land could receive and relocate a million displaced people, who today constitute a major issue before the United Nations, without injury to her own economy. Indeed, by so doing she would enrich herself while she helped the world toward an enduring peace. Through agencies now functioning, these immigrants could be so placed that no congested areas would be affected.—Dr. Daniel A. Polling, New York Post, November 20, 1946.

A Michigan committee of citizens has been studying the problem of Europe's displaced persons and now recommends that immigration quotas be revised by the United States so that we can receive our proportionate number of them.

For our part, we see no other answer in common sense. * * *

There are about 850,000 of those people who are looking for a home somewhere, and at present we are paying the freight for nearly all of them, simply because they are in our occupational zones; we have no other place to send them, and we can't leave them starve.

So long as that situation remains, they are a heavy drain on our resources and a drag on our policy.

The possibility of a long-range solution is that non-European states can be persuaded to accept them as colonists. Agreed that we would like to send them elsewhere, the fact remains that we cannot hope to win a receptive attitude in Brazil, South Africa, and other areas unless we are willing to accept our portion of the long-term responsibility.—Detroit News, February 19, 1947.

Thousands of the displaced persons survived concentration camps and slave labor battalions, risked torture and death in the cause of freedom. They shared the agonies of the war with us. Are they not entitled to share the fruits of peace? * * * The answer lies with us. Do we turn our backs on 150,000 displaced children—half of them under 5 years of age—all of them homeless and unclaimed? Do we reject 77,000 willing farm laborers when there is a shortage of farm hands in our country? Do we reject several hundred thousand women when we have a shortage of domestic workers? Our own self-interest would be served by bringing in a goodly number of these people—General Federation Clubwoman, March 1947.

The knowledge that the United States could admit far more than its "share" of Europe's displaced persons without exceeding the allowance of immigrants which was considered safe under the quota system is disturbing. It means that, despite our leadership in the United Nations and our vociferous espousal of all the noble principles of international cooperation in the field of immigration, nothing has been done to relieve a serious problem. Instead of adopting relief measures, we have done less than our policy called for before we assumed our international leadership.—Rutland (Vt.) Herald, February 10, 1947.

There are four courses which America might pursue in dealing with this human problem. One is to let the DP's stay forever in former concentration camps, at a cost of \$300,000,000 a year to the American taxpayer. Another is to abandon them and let them starve. A third is to try to force them on other countries, while insisting that we ourselves can give shelter to none of them in the United States. The fourth is to take the lead in distributing them among various nations by offering to take a limited number into this country.

The first two solutions seem out of the question, as too expensive and too brutal. The third is the course we have been tacitly following, though we have never officially adopted it and it is not sanctioned by any of our responsible leaders. It has produced no results to date, for almost none of the DP's have been resettled in new countries.

The fourth solution has both logic and humanity on its side. * * *

The moral reasons for coming to their rescue hardly need recital. One of the proudest of American traditions lies in the fact that this country gave harbor to the victims of religious and political persecution. The Pilgrim Fathers came to our shores for those very reasons. The same impetus sent thousands of German families to America after the revolution of 1848, and this country

has had few more useful citizens. America was built by refugees from foreign lands. Is it any wonder that the world looks to us today for an act of leadership?—Barry Bingham, Louisville Courier-Journal, February 12, 1947.

* * * precious little is being done to help the 800,000 homeless persons in Europe. They deserve more than sympathy. It is time for this Nation and others to demonstrate the words we preach about good will, charity, and brotherhood.—The Providence Journal, February 14, 1947.

The most pressing and perhaps the most important problem facing the United Nations Assembly concerns the fate of war's refugees, nearly a million of whom remain in European camps. * * * It is unthinkable that those refugees be left stranded, with the future promising no hope of normal and useful activity, offering only the sort of desperation that tends to find outlet in violence. They would pose a problem of insuperable difficulty to the armies of occupation, endanger the peace of Europe. * * * To provide this minimum of care for a million human beings is a duty which the United Nations dare not shirk, a challenge to its every humanitarian purpose, inseparable from its objective of peace for the world.

* * * The United States should be willing to do its share by opening its doors as well as by contributing funds. Our national immigration laws might have to be revised for the purpose. This newspaper feels that our country can afford to make some limited exceptions in order to help care for people whose plight has too long been on the conscience of the world.—New York Herald Tribune, October 24, 1946, March 27, 1947.

We must assume our fair share of responsibility for the whole problem of the refugees. They are all casualties of an evil system and a terrible war. They are the wounded in a great battle for liberty. We must bind up their wounds and help them to new lives. Humanity is charged with changing these displaced persons into placed persons. * * *

We cannot alleviate world-wide poverty by admitting the world's impoverished millions * * *. But the problem of a few hundred thousand homeless refugees is quite distinct. Once solved it will not have to be solved again. We are asked to take only a few—so small a number as scarcely to be noticed in this Nation of 141,000,000 people.

Our fighting men displayed during the war a devotion to human liberty. Their relatives at home felt that same devotion. For Europe's displaced populations the war is not yet over and the cause of liberty and human dignity is not yet triumphant. We can speak more convincingly for freedom everywhere when we have done our fair share—even more than our fair share—to bring real freedom to those who have suffered most.—New York Times, August 16, September 4, October 1, 1946.

Congress will be called on soon to pass upon another matter vital to the position of the United States in world affairs. It will be a decision as to whether this country will assume its fair share of the burden of giving refuge to the displaced persons of Europe.

The action Congress takes on the issue will be widely viewed as reflecting, in a large measure, the good faith of the United States in seeking world peace. It is a problem which hardly can be solved without the full assistance of this country.

* * * In a very real sense such immigrants would strengthen the United States population without becoming an economic burden. Before they can be admitted immigrants must provide proof that they will not become public charges. Welfare organizations and individuals are being used to give this guaranty now, and it is expected that the system would be continued with the refugees.

On December 22, 1945, President Truman ordered that central European quotas of 39,000 be made available primarily to displaced persons. Only about 5,000 entered the United States in 1946.

The United States, then, is faced with the need for doing more as an expression of its faith in the United Nations—and in a larger sense in world peace.—Cecil Holland, Chicago Sun, March 16, 1947.

The plight of Europe's homeless and our own ability to provide shelter for many of them without exceeding quota restrictions impose upon Americans, it seems, a moral obligation to take whatever emergency action may be necessary to provide refuge for at least some of the displaced people of Europe.—Trenton Times-Advertiser, December 8, 1946.

There's a closed door to which the American people have the key.

It's a door that shuts out human beings—suffering men, women, and children without homes.

It's a door behind which selfishness lurks and materialism hides.

It's a door which needs to be opened because, by doing so, the humane soul of America will be liberated. * * *

There are homeless people abroad. Their miserable plight is indescribable. Are we closing the door of our hearts to them? And why?

Is it possible that we think our material possessions might be diminished slightly? Are we afraid of competition from a small number who might enter the ranks of our gainfully employed? Or are we merely allergic to all who may be "foreign"—as if God drew boundary lines and delegated selfish power to us to keep His children from moving to places where crops are abundant and natural resources are more than adequate for those who already abide in green pastures?

Do we have the right of absolute ownership to these lands and resources or do we serve as "trustees" who some day must answer to our Maker and give an accounting of what we have done during our brief existence?

It is a matter of simple humanity or simple selfishness. * * *

* * * in opening the door to these displaced persons, America will be opening here heart.

Maybe then, as we pray for peace, for contentment, for a better world, God will listen. For we cannot expect to receive the blessings of life if we do not give of ourselves in service to others.—David Lawrence, the United States News, March 7, 1947.

Our problem is to accept our responsibility with the greatest benefit to ourselves and with the least damage to the quota system of immigration, to which we have now been committed for about 25 years. Since many countries will not completely use their quotas in the next few years, it is likely that we shall not exceed the permitted total of 150,000 immigrants in any one of the next 4 years, even though we allow 100,000 displaced persons to come in annually, regardless of current quotas.

There is, therefore, a minimum of danger to the quota system itself, which should be preserved, and no possibility of an excess of immigration beyond our power to assimilate. Since all of the usual tests of fitness will be applied, there is little likelihood that the wrong kind of immigrants will be admitted.

Our country is now suffering from a shortage of doctors, nurses, farm laborers, garment workers, and a hundred and one other professional and trades people. There are many such people among the displaced persons. Since most of those who will finally come have relatives here and all must have guarantors, they will make little demand on housing, and the jobs they will seek are the jobs, which are crying for takers at this time. They should be no great problem, therefore, either socially or economically.

From the standpoint of the displaced persons themselves and from the standpoint of helping to get Europe back on its feet, the problem is so urgent that Congress should lose no time in passing the legislation necessary to permit America to do its part. The quicker a start is made in opening up this country to limited reception of these people the surer it will be that we get the cream of those seeking a new settlement and a new life. The longer we delay the harder it will be to bring over here the kind of people who will be assets to us.—Milwaukee Journal, February 22, 1947.

We are engaged in, and planning to extend, an ambitious program of aid to European nations resisting the imposition of communism. But we have as yet shown no willingness to assume an obligation toward refugees from countries in Europe already Communist. * * *

The fact that the DP's would be nonquota immigrants should not be used as a basis for false alarms. For the past 15 years, with one exception, there have been over 100,000 unused places in our regular annual immigration quota of about 154,000 persons. An additional 100,000 nonquota immigrants, therefore, would still not bring the total for a single year above the maximum allowed by our regular quota laws. What we would be doing, under Representative Stratton's bill, would merely be to make a temporary adjustment to deal with a very special situation. This bill is not in any sense a scheme to "flood the country with immigrants."—Baltimore Sun, April 3, 1947.

The DP problem offers the victorious Western World—and the United States especially—an opportunity to prove its faith in Christian brotherhood. Because it is itself a nation of immigrants, the United States should be able to approach the problem of displaced persons with leadership and understanding. The trouble seems to be, however, that some very vocal Americans seem to have forgotten

their own national origins and now fear emergency adjustments to meet the DP crisis as "subversive" and "un-American."

Suggestions for admitting several thousand displaced persons to the United States during the next 2 or 3 years are howled down by these vocal virtuosos as a plot to open the floodgates to communism. That many of these homeless people are actually refugees from communism is rarely admitted in anti-immigration arguments. That present United States immigration quotas are largely unfilled, wasted, as it were, while nearly 1,000,000 suffering human beings have no place to go, seems to make little impression either. Opposition to offering a helping hand to a portion of these people is rooted in the fear fringe, in those who fear the alien will compete for jobs, for housing, for scarce goods, in those who fear a strange transfusion, however slight, into the "red-blooded" culture stream they regard as "the American way of life."

Actually, the only two proposals thus far put forward for relieving the DP crisis would, if enacted, scarcely alter the American scene recognizably let alone seriously. These two proposals are: (1) To admit approximately 400,000 displaced persons to the United States during the next 2 or 3 years as an emergency measure and without changing existing quota laws, and (2) to pool existing quotas for a period of 2 or 3 years to admit DP's without regard to their land of origin, thus keeping the number admitted to the 154,000 provided by present quotas.—Los Angeles Daily News, January 3, 1947.

American organizations by the score have gone on record as favoring admittance of a fair share of the displaced persons to this country. * * *

Resolutions and petitions giving them support have been going to Congress from all parts of the country. * * *

The problem is high on the list of America's national moral obligations.—Salisbury (N. C.) Evening Post, February 24, 1947.

More than a year has passed since retribution fell on Hiroshima. Almost a year and a half has elapsed since Berlin lowered Hitler's flag. And still the displaced persons stand behind the gates of camps or wander hungry through the rubble streets of Europe, without homes, without hope, without effective help. One million of them, the first casualties of war. Unless the world acts soon they are likely to be the last, dying off alone and friendless long after the battle smoke has cleared. Why do they stand and pray? Why are they not replaced instead of displaced? Is human conscience off on holiday waiting for death to solve the problem? * * *

Here stands America with lands, resources, and opportunities, willing to receive 154,000 immigrants a year, able to do more than that. But her laws and administrative procedures keep out the very people who need her help the most. If we are indifferent to them, if we believe that it is not our responsibility, if we are spiritually isolationist, then we have not defeated the forces of evil in the real sense. They will have defeated us.

The displaced and dispossessed are the meek, they are the brothers whose keepers we are told to be. It is our Christian duty, our moral obligation, and even our selfish interest to help them. In the deeper sense, we need them almost as much as they need us. Let us act before it is too late.—The Churchman, November 1, 1946.

A really big increase in immigration would help to solve many of our problems. It would, for example, be the quickest way to reduce our national debt, for each newcomer would assume, on landing, an invisible mortgage of about \$2,000 as his per capita to be paid off by his labor. * * *

To open our doors again, and wide, would really vitalize our relations with the rest of humanity, setting up those fertilizing cross currents which make history. It would be a bid for leadership, but a healthy and incontrovertible one; and, most important, it would show that we had a kind of moral security about what we were doing, a fresh, cocky, unafraid, American something that in the end would make a greater impression on the conscience of mankind than the complicated, wistful, hundred-to-one bets we are placing with such long faces today.—Samuel Grafton, New York Post, March 19, 1947.

In any case the size of the problem has been greatly exaggerated. It has been suggested that 100,000 be admitted. In a national population of 140,000,000, Youngstown's share would be 120. No one can think that the addition of 120 persons to Youngstown's 170,000 would create an unemployment or housing problem, or indeed would ever be noticed. We expect—and hope—that many more than 120 will be added to our population every year.—Youngstown Vindicator and Telegram, March 29, 1947.

Certainly we should care for our own first (and we could do a better job of that than we have, in many respects, been doing). But we can still take the right attitude on the immigration question.

* * * * *

Immigrant stock has helped make America what it is today. One has only to think of the people he knows who are of German, Swedish, or other European descent, to realize how valuable it has been for us to have an admixture with the blood of other nations.

Loosing a "flood" of undesirable aliens on our country would of course be wrong. But orderly, regulated, and selective immigration will benefit the country far more than it will injure.—Elkhart (Ind.) Truth, November 5, 1946.

There are in Europe thousands of persons who could be adapted into American industry and agriculture, not only to their benefit, but also to the advantage of the occupations in which they could apply their skills and knowledge.

Finding room for the displaced is not so great a problem for the United States as would be finding the kind of displaced persons who would be most of an asset in the room made available.—San Antonio (Tex.) News, March 29, 1947.

It is the democracies, where the right of asylum still lingers as a memory, that are still defending the refugees' right not to return. But—and this is important—the democracies are not offering new homes to the homeless. The best they offer is further support in camps. This is not good enough. The job before us is to get these million refugees out of camps and into free societies.

Palestine—if the powers would honor the solemn pledge made in 1917—could house the homeless and uneasy Jews.

But the others—the seven or eight hundred thousand—need something more. They need to be taken into existing societies like the United States, Britain, France, Australia, Canada, etc. There is plenty of room for them—if we eliminated the selfishness that keeps them out.

Therefore, I repeat, UN's action or lack of action on the refugee problem is an ethical test. Not of UN but of you and me.—Edgar Mowrer, New York Post, October 24, 1946.

Since no country seems to crave an influx of those unfortunate people—with the possible exception of the Soviet Union, which is still shy of forced labor for its vast projects—about the best we can hope for is that the gradual relaxing of present emotional and political tensions will make possible the absorption of a good many DP's by countries which can make places for them. As President Truman courageously urged, this should include the United States of America, which can always dig up a Committee of One Hundred on what other countries should do about refugees, without itself contributing conspicuously to solution of the problem.—The Saturday Evening Post, February 1, 1947.

The unused quotas for the past 4 years would cover half the displaced persons in Europe today. We can afford to be generous—particularly since there is no risk involved. The requirement of financial guaranties for every immigrant makes it impossible for newcomers to become public charges, while careful screening by the FBI and the Army certifies moral and physical well-being.

We boast of the many contributions made by our ancestors who came here from other lands. Our history books are filled with the achievements of immigrants. But, today, we are keeping out thousands of eager new Americans—at the very time when welcome is most needed.

Let's cut the red tape that cramps our hospitality. Let's take in our fair share of Europe's displaced people and multiply our blessings. Let's keep Thanksgiving as the Pilgrims meant it.—The Walton Tribune, November 22, 1946.

The interest of the National Council of Catholic Women in the tragic plight of the displaced persons was manifested at the national convention in Kansas City, when the following resolution was unanimously passed: "We urge the entrance into the United States of a generous proportion of displaced persons at present in displaced persons camps. For the remainder, we urge the safeguarding of the right of asylum and continued care until they are resettled in other parts of the world. We urge that the United States take the lead in the entire resettlement program as a practical example to the world of the reality of the ideals we advocated during the conduct of the war."

Recently national organizations of men and women, representing church groups, labor, university and professional groups, and others, have been meeting to pool their common thought on the subject of displaced persons. With few exceptions—so few that the exceptions are startling—national organizations in the United States have passed resolutions showing not only great sympathy for the displaced

persons but urging that the United States take the lead in admitting a generous share of these people.—*Catholic Action*, January 1947.

And, of course, there is one pertinent fact that is always left out of the reckoning by patriotic organizations that line up against proposals to relax the immigration laws. They forget, curiously enough, that this Nation itself was founded almost altogether by displaced persons.—*St. Paul Dispatch*, November 23, 1946.

Today, too, there are freedom seekers yearning for a new life in a new world; 850,000 supposedly liberated people are still behind barbed wire in Europe—displaced persons uprooted from their native lands, with no place to go: 650,000 Catholics and Protestants; 200,000 Jews; 150,000 children—innocent victims of war, who endured all the Hitler terror only to find the road to freedom blocked even after victory.

Relieving their misery—restoring them to normal living—will remove one source of tension in uneasy Europe.

The world waits for us, the children of the Pilgrims, to point the way—to set the pace for immigration to all the many lands where displaced people can settle.—*The Tampa Bulletin*, November 23, 1946.

Their rehabilitation is not the task of one nation alone. It is the responsibility of the whole world. But our country, built with immigrant labor and immigrant talents, is by its very nature best fitted to take the lead and set an example of rescue. Newcomers, to whom we have traditionally offered opportunity and freedom, have repaid us in untold measure with their industry and loyalty. Our policy of haven has been a generous one—but it has paid rich dividends.

* * * * *

Some emergency action should be taken. Men, women and children, with their hearts' gifts to offer, should not have to wait in misery for a country to adopt them. They ask no charity; they ask no special favors. They want to abide by every rule and condition we have set down; they want us to welcome only our fair share of their number.—*The American Citizen*, November 29, 1946.

Looking over any small corner of this broad land of ours, driving from one town to another, through part of a county, or even a township, we cannot help being struck by the room we have. You could set down 100,000 new people in the center of the crowded industrial State of New York and not disrupt the State economy to any great degree. And if these persons were to be distributed throughout the country in small groups, it stands to reason that no one would be the worse for their presence.—*Mary Arthur's column*, *Cedar Rapids Tribune*, November 28, 1946.

America cannot afford to ignore any longer the importunate knocking at her gates. * * *

American leadership in this matter does not involve the rash, unconsidered lowering of barriers or the exclusive assumption of responsibilities that belong to all nations in proportion to their capacities. It does imply a willingness to heed the loud knocking at the door of conscience, a willingness to be first in winning the commendation: "I was a stranger, and ye took me in."—*Christian Science Monitor*, February 14, 1947.

The United States today is moving into the arena of world politics as a self-designated champion of the "free peoples." A good part of the world looks with misgivings on this move as a play for unbridled power. Protests of good intentions, however sincere, will carry little conviction if so clearly cut a moral challenge as the refugee problem is bypassed. Let Americans prove their concern for free peoples by giving a few of these hapless and hopeless refugees a chance to be free.—*Christian Science Monitor*, March 29, 1947.

If you believe that the barriers which keep these people out of the United States should be lowered temporarily in order to relieve the suffering in Europe's detention camps, you should tell your congressmen. The United States again has a chance to prove itself a humane Nation. Or it can prove itself a selfish one.—*Park City Daily News*, April 17, 1947.

Seven hundred and fifty thousand displaced persons are still crowded into concentration camps in Germany, Italy, and Austria. Their plight has now, 2 years after the end of the war in Europe, excited the pity of the civilized world. That is why H. R. 2910 has more chance to receive sympathetic attention from Congress than many other bills dealing with the victims of war. * * *

It is foolish as well as inhumane to keep these people in camps, where they are a charge on the national treasury, one day longer than is necessary. If the United States takes the lead in offering a haven for a substantial number, other less-favored nations can be depended upon to do their part. H. R. 2910

should receive the support of Congress.—The Christian Century, April 23, 1947.

There are two courses for immigration policy open to the American people. We can shut our gates, turn our backs on the problems of the rest of the world, and refuse to participate in settling one of the urgent issues that impedes the re-establishment of international stability.

The other course is to heed the lessons of recent history, to realize that our fate is linked with that of the rest of mankind, and that lasting peace, security, and prosperity can be achieved only if we accept our fair share of responsibility in solving the urgent problems left in the wake of war.

Our immigration policy, of course, must be gaged to the interests of the United States. But we shall be courting disaster if we take a provincial, short-sighted view of where our real interests lie. Our policy must be dictated by an enlightened self-interest, which will take full account of our leading position in the family of nations, and of our responsibility in help to establish a sound, practical, and economic world order.—Union, Springfield, Mass., April 16, 1947.

Much has been said and written about the problem of the European displaced persons in the two years since we victoriously halted the march of the goose-stepping would-be conquerors. Yet, little has been done to alleviate the pain and suffering of those who suffered most from the brutality of the Nazi hordes.

* * * * *

This week, a step toward constructive action was taken by Representative W. G. Stratton of Illinois when he introduced into the House a bill which, if passed, would authorize the United States, during an emergency period, to "undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons by permitting their admission into the United States in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota numbers unused during the war years."—News, Miami, Fla., April 11, 1947.

Stratton's bill gives priority to relatives of American war veterans and citizens. No person would be admitted who does not conform to the regular American immigration standards of health, morals, democratic political beliefs and ability to support oneself.

Every displaced person immigrating to the United States must be sponsored by an affidavit from an American individual or organization guaranteeing his support.

If the United States refuses to take this action the problem of the occupation authorities in Germany and Austria will be increased and American pleas to other countries to take additional immigrants will be thrown back in our faces.—Carrol Binder, Sunday Tribune, Minneapolis, May 11, 1947.

Displaced persons are those forced out of Germany, Austria or Italy by Hitler's horror. * * *

They urgently need something more than sympathy. The plan to permit entry into this country for about half the number offers a tremendous opportunity for America to open the way to a new life to people whose only crime was opposition to the Nazi philosophy.—News, Cleveland, Ohio, April 11, 1947.

In our indifference to the plight of these tragic victims of the Nazis, we forget that this great country was founded by similar Europeans who fled the religious and political persecution of their native lands. And we forget, or ignore, the obvious fact that we cannot expect other countries to help solve the problem unless we, too, are willing to do our share.—Reporter Dispatch, White Plains, N. Y., April 18, 1947.

The enactment of the Stratton bill is the very least we can do to help solve a problem whose existence is a blot on our vaunted civilization. Failure to take constructive action on the DP problem will subject the United States to the charge that our professions of democracy and humanitarianism are the veriest mockery.—Barnet Nover, Washington Post, May 20, 1947.

Among all the demands upon us, the displaced persons have the first claim because of their helplessness to do anything but wait in an agony of anxiety while great governments decide what is to become of them.—New York Times, April 18, 1947.

Admission of these 400,000 DP's over a 4-year period would still be less than half the number which would have been permitted to enter the United States during the past 7 years had not the war intervened, making immigration impossible. In effect then, this legislation would do no more than authorize the use of unused quotas. * * *

Our Statue of Liberty, standing majestically above the waters of New York City's upper bay, carries at its base a famous apothegm: "Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me!"

The bill now pending in Congress would at least abolish the hypocrisy of this invitation. On this, the anniversary of our victory, let us keep faith with our honored dead by erasing the fears of these unfortunate people.—The Sheboygan Press, Sheboygan, Wis., May 8, 1947.

Congress will be working under increasing pressure from now until the time of adjournment. The sooner this bill is reported out of committee and the more articulate its popular support becomes, the better chance it will stand of passage. The Christian conscience is becoming increasingly aroused to the need for prompt and effective action.—Robert E. Van Deusen, Lutheran, Philadelphia, Pa., April 23, 1947.

For a long time now we have been asking Congress to open the doors to some of these people. We have urged Congress to get the United Nations International Refugee Organization going and, as our part, pass the Stratton bill to admit 400,000 immigrants—less than half the number of Europeans who could have entered under the quota system if Hitler's war hadn't blocked the way. Recently, the Herald Tribune, in a powerful and irrefutable series of editorials, has called for this simple act of justice.

Now, on June 4, the House Judiciary Committee has scheduled a hearing on the bill. Every organization that has faith in our country's traditions of freedom and opportunity should insist upon being heard in favor of this bill. That's the American way.—New York Post, New York, N. Y., May 19, 1947.

There are practical as well as humanitarian considerations which support some plan of American participation in the solution of the DP problem, which if unrelieved may become one of the most explosive forces in Europe.

Both ultra-liberal and ultra-conservative forces are supporting the DP bill, the former on humanitarian grounds while the conservative support is frankly based on the fact that a great many of the DP's are strongly anti-Russian in their views.—Times, Davenport, Iowa, May 1, 1947.

Two years have gone by; but some of victory's most pressing problems are still remaining unsolved. There are the homeless victims of war—600,000 Christians and 250,000 Jews who still live behind the barbed wire of displaced-persons camps. Until these survivors are welcomed to lands where they can work toward a better future, VE-day will remain a promise held out and then snatched away.—Frankford Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pa., May 2, 1947.

On moral and practical grounds alike, the United States ought to take a part in the salvaging of these human derelicts. Representative William G. Stratton, of Illinois, has introduced a bill in the House calling for emergency admittance to this country of 400,000 DP's from the camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. William Green, of the AFL, and Philip Murray, of the CIO, have joined in warm indorsement of the proposal. This should suffice, we hope, to exercise the ancient bugbear that limited immigration of this sort would constitute a threat to the livelihood of American workers. We have led the world in exhortation about rescuing the refugees. It is time for us to give some practical implementation to the principles we have preached.—Washington Post, May 19, 1947.

More than 4 months have now passed since President Truman said flatly in his annual message that the United States had not "done its part" for the relief of the displaced persons of Europe—that tragic mass of nearly 900,000 homeless men, women, and children who constitute an appalling human problem, a hopeless international burden of misery and expense, a damaging reproach against all the great victor powers and a scandal which has persistently poisoned almost every issue of international relations and every effort at political and economic assuagement of the world's distress.—New York Herald Tribune, May 19, 1947.

It has long been time that the victors over Nazi tyranny did something purposeful and effective to end the sufferings of these, its victims. The United States has rightly refused to force any but proved war criminals to go back where they fear to go. The United States has been remiss, however, in failing to help provide the innocent with new homes. Our country has been too grudging of its hospitality, too jealous of the protection afforded it by immigration laws, sound in themselves but framed at a time when an emergency like the present one could not be foreseen. Much has been said about the need for this country to take the lead in international affairs, but here is one instance where Americans can take the lead only by a gesture of good will and good faith.—New York Herald Tribune, May 14, 1947.

Of course, if we want to do it, we can keep on trying not to think about the DP's. We can try to forget that they exist, for they cannot reach us directly with appeals for help. But the fact remains that we can do for them the things provided in the Stratton bill. If we do not do this much, if we close our hearts

and our minds, their voices nevertheless will continue to reproach our consciences for the rest of our lives.—Washington Evening Star, May 8, 1947.

* * * we feel that a determined effort should be made on the part of public-minded, serious thinking individuals—and legionnaires are just that—to correct the terrible conditions of displaced persons in Europe.

We cannot eliminate and must not eliminate them from the peace provisions, nor can we shrug off their plight, because we are fortunate enough not to have shared it with them.

Rally into committees and help these people start anew. Remember when our forefathers came to this country on the Mayflower because they couldn't stand intolerance and oppression. Help them as you would help your own son, or mother, or sister, or brother, or wife, or kinsman of any kind who might suffer a similar predicament * * *.—Seventeenth District Legionnaire of Michigan, April, May 1947.

The advantages of showing the world our willingness to help these unfortunate people would seem to outweigh the disadvantages. Such an act on our part would be noticed in the have-not parts of the world. They could not help but have more faith in a nation and a form of government that would share its great opportunity with some of the displaced persons.

A citizen's committee is being organized in Bloomington to help advance this program, and some work has been done. Their task will be lightened by support of men like Representative Stratton, a recently returned serviceman.—Pantagraph, Bloomington, Ill., May 2, 1947.

EXHIBIT No. 7

PARTIAL LIST OF LOCAL CITIZENS COMMITTEES, MAY 27, 1947

ALABAMA

Mrs. George Lewis, Co-Chairman, Bailes Nurses Registry, Brown Marx Building, Birmingham Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Birmingham.

Mrs. Thomas Lennard, Chairman, Montgomery Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 407 Narrow Lane Road, Montgomery.

Miss Kathaleen Moore, chairman, Selma Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 610 Mabry Avenue, Selma.

CALIFORNIA

Mr. William B. Burke, executive secretary, Southern California Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 215 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles 14.

Mr. Maurice Harrison, chairman, Bay Counties Committee for Displaced Persons, 240 Stockton Street, San Francisco 2.

CONNECTICUT

Mrs. John L. Stacy Kennelly, temporary chairman, Bridgeport Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 99 Washington Terrace, Bridgeport.

Mr. Eugene V. Rostow, chairman, New Haven Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Yale University Law School, New Haven.

Mr. John C. Bradley, chairman, Waterbury Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 469 Farmington Avenue, Waterbury.

ILLINOIS

Mrs. Margaret P. Addison, executive secretary, Chicago Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 123 West Madison Street, 1700, Chicago.

Professor S. C. Ratcliffe, Bloomington Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Wesleyan University, Bloomington.

INDIANA

James F. Anglin, temporary chairman, Fort Wayne Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 201 Fort Wayne Bank Building, Fort Wayne.

Rabbi William Mordecai Kramer, chairman, Muncie Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 525 West Jackson Street, Muncie.

Monsignor Sabo, chairman, South Bend Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 829 West Calvert Street, South Bend.

IOWA

Mrs. I. E. Metcalf, secretary, Iowa State Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 706 Empire Building, Des Moines.

Miss Jane Condon, secretary, Iowa City Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 121 East Court Street, Iowa City.

KANSAS

Dr. Frank B. McDowell, chairman, Junction City Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Box 324, Junction City.

Dr. D. O. Cowgill, chairman, Wichita Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Wichita University, Wichita.

KENTUCKY

Mr. Tom Underwood, chairman, Lexington Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, the Herald-Leader, Lexington.

Mr. Barry Bingham, chairman, Louisville Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Louisville Courier-Journal, Louisville.

MAINE

Rev. Arlan A. A. Baillie, chairman, Bangor Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, president, Bangor-Brewer Council of Churches, 73 State Street, Bangor.

Rev. Robert Y. Johnson, chairman, Portland Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, president, Greater Portland Council of Churches, 32 Thomas Street, Portland.

MARYLAND

Mr. George L. Radcliffe, chairman, Baltimore Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Fidelity Building, Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS

Mrs. Beatrice Murray, executive secretary, Massachusetts Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston.

Mrs. Claire Riley, chairman, New Bedford Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 236 Manfield Street, New Bedford.

Miss Norma Acherson, chairman, Lowell Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 19 Eighth Street, Lowell.

Mrs. David Frye, chairman, Salem Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 375 Lafayette Street, Salem.

Mrs. Morris Kaufman, secretary, Worcester Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 79 Elm Street, Worcester.

Mr. James Lucas, chairman, Pittsfield Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 50 South Street, Pittsfield.

Miss Sally Leeds, chairman, Springfield Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 27 Riegewood Terrace, Springfield.

MICHIGAN

Miss Florence Cassidy, executive secretary, Michigan Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Council of Social Agencies, 51 West Warren Avenue, Detroit.

NEW YORK

Mr. William Thompson, chairman, Buffalo Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, c/o Mrs. Elizabeth Ponafidine, International Institute, 610 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo.

Mr. P. B. Duffy, chairman, Rochester and Monroe County Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Union Trust Building, Main and State Streets, Rochester.

Miss Nan Nugent, temporary chairman, Catholic Charities, 208 Kresge Building, Batavia Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Batavia.

Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, chairman, Syracuse Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 847 James Street, Syracuse.

OHIO

Mr. Gerald Caron, chairman, Ohio State University Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, YMCA, Ohio Union, Columbus.

Mr. Richard Dunham, Ohio Wesleyan Displaced Persons Committee, Elliott Hall, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware.

OREGON

Mr. Phil Parrish, chairman, Portland Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Portland Oregonian, Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA

Brainerd C. Methany, chairman, Beaver Falls Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 3123 Fifth Avenue, Beaver Falls.

Rev. Robert H. Franch, chairman, Butler County Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, First United Presbyterian Church, Butler.

Dr. Francis R. Fussell, chairman, Philadelphia Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, care of United Nations Council of Philadelphia, 106 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia.

Mr. Boris H. D. Clarke, executive secretary, Allegheny County Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 907 Columbia Building, Pittsburgh.

TENNESSEE

Mrs. Homer Jones, chairman, Nashville Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Tyne Lane, Nashville.

TEXAS

Mr. Robert S. Strauss, executive secretary, Texas Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 520 Republic Bank Building, Dallas.

WISCONSIN

Carl Bertram, chairman, principal, Appleton Vocational School, Appleton Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Appleton.

Mr. George Burridge, chairman, Green Bay Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Green Bay.

Ellis E. Jensen, Janesville Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Box 427, Janesville.

Mrs. William Gorham Rice, executive secretary, Madison Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 2212 Hillington Green, Madison.

Mayor Herbert Schipper, chairman, Manitowoc-Two Rivers; Miss Anna Kusta, chairman, Manitowoc-Two Rivers Committee on Displaced Persons, Manitowoc-Two Rivers.

Dr. J. Martin Klotche, chairman, Milwaukee Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, care of International Institute of Milwaukee, Room 375, Pereles Building, Milwaukee.

J. F. Dillingham, chairman, National Manufacturers Bank, Neenah Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, Neenah.

Harold Nichols, chairman, Oshkosh Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 22 Rahr Street, Oshkosh.

Rev. Carlus Basinger, chairman, Port Washington Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 131 North Webster Street, Port Washington.

Miss Mae Finger, secretary, Sheboygan Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 704 Broughton Drive, Sheboygan.

EXHIBIT No. 8

PARTIAL LIST OF PROMINENT CITIZENS SUPPORTING LEGISLATION FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

Rev. William Marmien, Birmingham, Ala.

Miriam Williams, Mobile, Ala.

Edythe Saylor, Montevallo, Ala.

Dr. T. Ruth Brett, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

Margaret Knight, Tucson, Ariz.

Gormon Y. Doubleday, Berkeley, Calif.
 Fred D. Fellow, Berkeley, Calif.
 Lester Rowntree, Carmel, Calif.
 Rev. Russell Van Alen, Dinuba, Calif.
 Samuel Peters, Long Beach, Calif.
 Dr. Lawrence Sears, Mills College, Oakland 12, Calif.
 Rev. Joseph S. Fox, Old San Diego Community Church, Old San Diego, Calif.
 Thomas Mann, Pacific Palisades, Calif.
 Dr. Henry F. Grady, San Francisco, Calif.
 Bartley G. Crum, San Francisco 2, Calif.
 Dr. F. Fagan Thompson, Cullman, Ala.
 Charles Dobbins, Montgomery Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.
 Rev. Andrew Turnipseed, Dexter Avenue Methodist Church, Montgomery, Ala.
 Anna M. Bracken, Department of Social Security and Welfare, Phoenix, Ariz.
 Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch, vice president and provost, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
 Mrs. Sumner Spaulding, Beverly Hills, Calif.
 Mrs. Edward Steiner, Claremont, Calif.
 Hubert Phillips, Fresno, Calif.
 Mrs. John Beardsley, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Rev. Don Gaylord, First Congregational Church, Court and Susanne Streets, Martinez, Calif.
 Lynn White, Jr., president, Mills College, Oakland, Calif.
 Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Westridge, Pacific Palisades, Calif.
 Dr. Robert A. Millikan, Pasadena, Calif.
 Maurice E. Harrison, San Francisco, Calif.
 Mrs. S. C. Peabody, San Jose, Calif.
 Walter P. Wanger, Universal Studio, Universal City, Calif.
 Prof. Ben. M. Cherrington, University of Denver, Denver, Colo.
 Dr. William Alderson, Bridgeport, Conn.
 Rev. Russell Clinchy, Hartford, Conn.
 Mrs. James F. Ferguson, New Haven, Conn.
 Sholem Asch, Stamford, Conn.
 Hon. Joseph E. Davies, Washington, D. C.
 Dr. J. M. Dawson, Baptists of United States, Washington, D. C.
 Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, Washington 16, D. C.
 John W. Edelman, Washington, D. C.
 Charles H. Houston, Washington, D. C.
 Grace Lowry, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington, D. C.
 William F. Montavon, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.
 Joseph Padway, Washington, D. C.
 Dr. Helen Dwight Reid, American Association of University Women, Washington, D. C.
 Paul E. Pfuetze, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
 Delisle Crawford, Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.
 Mrs. C. J. Maier, Denver, Colo.
 Alfred Diem, Bridgeport, Conn.
 Dr. Alexander Purdy, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
 Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, Ridgefield, Conn.
 Mrs. Martin W. Bell, Women's Action Committee, Washington, D. C.
 A. Powell Davies, All Souls Church, Washington, D. C.
 Elizabeth Eastman, Washington, D. C.
 A. Randle Elliott, Washington, D. C.
 Thomas B. Keehn, Washington, D. C.
 Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Washington, D. C.
 James Read, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington 8, D. C.
 Miss Ruth Craven, National Council Catholic Women, Washington, D. C.
 Mrs. Harry Roller, Washington, D. C.
 Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
 Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
 Rabbi Herbert S. Waller, Columbus, Ga.
 Dr. William Wexler, Savannah, Ga.
 Miss Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Mrs. Jean Laufman, Chicago, Ill.
 Wilford Reynolds, Chicago, Ill.
 Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, Chicago, Ill.

Hermon D. Smith, Marsh & McLennan, Chicago, Ill.
 Right Reverend Dionisije, Libertyville, Ill.
 J. J. Kiser, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Forrest Spaulding, Public Library, Des Moines, Iowa.
 Cecil Hinshaw, William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa.
 Mrs. J. A. Stone, National Women's Trade Union League, Washington, D. C.
 Mr. John F. P. Tucker, Washington, D. C.
 Lucy Mason, CIO, Atlanta, Ga.
 Prof. Glen Rainey, Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta, Ga.
 Judge Emanuel Lewis, Savannah, Ga.
 Mrs. I. W. Stoddard, Boise City, Idaho.
 Edwin R. Embree, Chicago, Ill.
 Homer A. Jack, Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, Chicago 2, Ill.
 Edward A. O'Neal, Chicago, Ill.
 Charles Rozmarek, Polish-American Congress, Chicago, Ill.
 Miss Emma Rogers, Evanston, Ill.
 Rev. Vernon L. Shontz, Council of Churches, Springfield, Ill.
 Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, Office of Vice President, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
 Rev. Donovan G. Hart, First Christian Church, Iowa City, Iowa.
 Edward E. Baron, Sioux City, Iowa.
 William L. White, Emporia Gazette, Emporia, Kans.
 Mrs. Carl Lang, Louisville, Ky.
 Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville, Ky.
 Rev. James Dombrowski, New Orleans, La.
 Dr. E. Godbold, Director, Louisiana College, Pineville, La.
 John McW. Ford, commissioner finance, City Hall, Shreveport, La.
 Mrs. M. J. Bradshaw, Bangor, Maine.
 Mrs. Israel Bernstein, Portland 4, Maine.
 Dean Richard K. Conant, Boston, Mass.
 Archbishop R. J. Cushing, Boston, Mass.
 William Emerson, Unitarian Service Committee, Boston 8, Mass.
 Alice W. O'Connor, Supervisor, Social Service Division, I. & A., Boston 8, Mass.
 Simon Rottenberg, Jewish Labor Committee, Boston, Mass.
 Robert E. Segal, Jewish Community Council, Boston 8, Mass.
 Harry J. Gleason, Sioux City 6, Iowa.
 Adolph Brick, Kansas Institute of International Relations, Friends University, Wichita, Kans.
 Barry Bingham, Courier-Journal-Times, Louisville 2, Ky.
 Bishop Charles P. Greco, Alexandria, La.
 Mrs. Duncan Moore, New Orleans, La.
 Dr. Dana Dawson, First Methodist Church, Shreveport, La.
 Dr. Joe E. Mickle, Centenary College, Shreveport, La.
 Dr. Alfred W. Painter, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
 Miss Emily P. Simon, Baltimore Peace Center, Baltimore, Md.
 Dr. Frederick M. Elliot, American Unitarian Association, Boston 8, Mass.
 Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Boston University School of Theology, Boston 8, Mass.
 Dr. Lewis Perry, Boston, Mass.
 Henry J. Cadbury, Cambridge, Mass.
 Mrs. Oliver Cope, Cambridge 38, Mass.
 Thomas H. Elliot, Cambridge, Mass.
 Rev. Thomas R. Burns, Fall River, Mass.
 William Phillips, North Beverly, Mass.
 Rev. Bedros Baharian, Quincy, Mass.
 John Dos Passos, Provincetown, Mass.
 Dr. Paul Limbert, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass.
 Lester H. Glasser, Wollaston, Mass.
 Preston Slosson, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Walter Reuther, Detroit, Mich.
 Rev. D. D. Brady, Jackson, Mich.
 Rev. Clarence D. Oberlin, Muskegon, Mich.
 Mr. Isadore L. Goode, Pontiac, Mich.
 Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Judge John A. Weeks, Minneapolis, Minn.

Charles J. Turck, president, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
 Dr. Homer Rainey, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo.
 Mrs. Leon Denison, Kansas City, Mo.
 William S. Lynch, Fall River, Mass.
 Daniel J. McCarthy, Central Labor Union, Fall River, Mass.
 Rev. Robert M. Savidge, Quincy, Mass.
 Rt. Rev. W. A. Lawrence, Diocesan House, Westnut Street, Springfield, Mass.
 Rev. Thomas Bridges, Wollaston, Mass.
 William Haber, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Fred M. Butzel, Detroit 26, Mich.
 Rev. James C. Mead, Jackson, Mich.
 Rev. O. Walter Wagner, Jackson, Mich.
 Mrs. J. F. Stetson, Muskegon, Mich.
 Mrs. Margaret C. Banning, Duluth 2, Minn.
 Jerrold Stoll, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Mr. Lyman Powell, St. Paul, Minn.
 Hodding Carter, editor, Delta Democratic Times, Greenville, Miss.
 Rev. W. C. Burton, Kansas City, Mo.
 Joe Z. Miller, Commerce Trust Co., Kansas City, Mo.
 Mrs. Fred Suddarth, Kansas City, Mo.
 Mrs. Walter C. Wells, Kansas City, Mo.
 Hon. Vincent J. Murphy, City Hall, Newark, N. J.
 Clair S. Wightman, State Teachers College, Paterson, N. J.
 Rev. Frederic M. Adams, Trenton, N. J.
 Mrs. Edward M. Yard, Trenton Committee for Unity, Trenton 8, N. J.
 Rex Stout, Brewster, N. J.
 Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, Charles Cadman Memorial Center, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Rev. Judson Fiebiger, Brooklyn 10, N. Y.
 Mrs. Henry A. Ingraham, Brooklyn 5, N. Y.
 Rev. Earl F. Adams, New York City.
 Isaac L. Asofsky, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, New York City.
 Joseph Beck, United Service for New Americans, New York City 7.
 Dr. Viola W. Bernard, New York City 21.
 Mrs. Edith T. Bremer, American Federation of International Institutes, New York City.
 Mr. Frank Tyler, Kansas City, Mo.
 Mrs. E. V. Cowdry, St. Louis, Mo.
 Dr. Miriam West, New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Frank Aydelotte, Princeton, N. J.
 Prof. Albert Einstein, Princeton, N. J.
 Judge Phillip Forman, Trenton, N. J.
 Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Albany, N. Y.
 Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Bronxville 8, N. Y.
 Mrs. Ida Cook Farber, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Mrs. Clara Friedman, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Dr. Harry E. Fosdick, Bronxville, N. Y.
 Ernest Angell, New York City.
 Paul Baerwald, New York City 7.
 Adolph A. Berle, Jr., New York City.
 Mrs. Richard Bernhard, New York City 21.
 Algernon Black, Society of Ethical Culture, New York City 23.
 Thomas D'Arcy Brophy, New York City.
 Mark Brunswick, New York City 11.
 O. C. Carmichael, Carnegie Foundation, Advanced Education, New York City 18.
 Anna H. Clark, New York City.
 Dr. George S. Counts, New York City.
 Stephen Duggan, New York City.
 Mrs. Irving M. Engel, New York City 21.
 Rev. George B. Ford, New York City.
 Lloyd K. Garrison, New York City.
 Alexis Goldenweiser, New York City 25.
 Lester Gutterman, New York City 17.
 Shelby M. Harrison, New York City.
 Mrs. Selma Hirsh, American Jewish Committee, New York City.
 Quincy Howe, New York City.
 E. W. Huebsch, New York City.

Stanley M. Isaacs, New York City 17.
 Prof. Philip Jessup, New York City.
 Percival Brundage, New York Unitarian Service Committee, New York City 5.
 Charles C. Burlingham, New York City.
 Chancellor H. W. Chase, New York University, New York City.
 Dr. Edward R. Clinchy, New York City.
 Hon. Samuel Dickstein, New York City.
 Alexander Dushkin, New York City.
 Rev. Richard M. Fagley, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York City 10.
 Mrs. C. Beresford Fox, YWCA, New York City.
 Arthur F. Goldsmith, New York City.
 Gordon Hamilton, New York School Social Work, New York City 10.
 Mrs. Bessie Hillman, New York City.
 Howard W. Hopkirk, Child Welfare League of America, New York City 10.
 Walter M. Howlett, New York City 5.
 Miss Mary E. Hurlbutt, New York School of Social Work, New York City 10.
 Carlos Israels, New York City.
 Dr. F. Ernest Johnson, New York City.
 Miss Clara Kaiser, New York City.
 Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy, New York City.
 Dr. Frank Kingdon, New York City.
 Miss Ruth Larned, International Migration Service, New York City.
 Mrs. Herbert Lehman, New York City 21.
 Dr. Henry N. MacCracken, New York City 16.
 Mrs. Sophia A. Olmsted, New York City.
 William S. Paley, CBS, Inc., New York City 22.
 Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Court of Special Sessions, New York City 13.
 Walter W. Pettit, New York City.
 Judge J. W. Polier, New York City.
 Reuben Resnik, United Service for New Americans, New York City 7.
 Edwin Rosenberg, Glensder Textile Corp., New York City.
 Dr. Robert W. Searle, New York City.
 Edward S. Skillin, Jr., The Commonweal, New York City.
 Dr. Samuel Joseph, New York City.
 H. V. Kaltenborn, New York City.
 Dorothy Kenyon, New York City 4.
 Rev. Emil N. Komora, Catholic Committee for Refugees, New York City.
 Mrs. Wales Latham, New York City.
 Robert S. Lynd, New York City.
 Henry E. Muller, New York City.
 Margaret Olson, American Association, UN Nations, New York City 21.
 James R. Parsons, Jr., New York City.
 David Petegorsky, American Jewish Congress, New York City 23.
 Charles Poletti, New York City.
 Arthur Upham Pope, New York City.
 Charles A. Riegelman, New York City.
 Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League, New York City 16.
 Wolfgang Schwabacher, New York City.
 David Sher, New York City.
 Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, New York City.
 Dr. Philip M. Stimson, New York City.
 Norman Thomas, president, Post War World Council, New York City.
 Miss Alexandra Tolstoy, Tolstoy Foundation, New York City 10.
 Carl Van Doren, New York City.
 Oswald G. Villard, New York City.
 Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, United Council of Church Women, New York City 10.
 Max Weinreich, New York City.
 Rev. E. Graham Wilson, Presbyterian Board Home Missions, New York City 10.
 Msgr. P. J. Tronalone, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
 Miss Agnes Rix Kidder, executive director, YWCA, Rochester, N. Y.
 Rev. Cecil E. Pearson, South Glen Falls, N. Y.
 Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Westport, N. Y.
 Dr. Frank P. Graham, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Miss Nelle Morton, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 Max Stern, United Service for New Americans, New York City.
 Michael Straight, New Republic, New York City.
 Rev. Norris L. Tibbetts, Riverside Church, New York City 28.
 Frank Trager, Anti-Defamation League, New York City.
 Dr. Henry Van Dusen, New York City.
 Constance Warren, New York City.
 Frank L. Weil, New York City.
 Louis S. Weiss, New York City 7.
 Elmer Maude, Citizens Action Committee, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
 Rev. Philip A. Swartz, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Mrs. Floyd Crews, Scarsdale, N. Y.
 Mrs. Malcolm E. Peabody, Syracuse 3, N. Y.
 Dr. W. H. Morgan, Asheville, N. C.
 Rev. Charles Jones, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 Rev. Howard Wilkinson, First Methodist Church, Charlotte, N. C.
 Prof. Robert Cushman, Duke University, Durham, N. C.
 Tarrt Bell, American Friends Service Committee, Women's College, Greensboro, N. C.
 Rev. Allyn Robinson, Raleigh, N. C.
 Rev. Hubert Dukes, Federated Church Study, Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Rev. Noble Elderkin, Akron 2, Ohio.
 James Jackson, Beacon Journal, Akron, Ohio.
 Judge Robert M. Gorman, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Rt. Rev. Henry W. Hobson, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
 David Solomon, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Rev. Orville Jones, Columbus, Ohio.
 Dr. Carl E. Wittke, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
 Prof. G. Edwin Osborn, Enid, Okla.
 Frederick M. Hunter, Oregon State System of Higher Education, Eugene, Oreg.
 Mrs. Verne Dusenbery, Portland, Oreg.
 Judge John R. Mears, Portland, Oreg.
 David Robinson, Portland, Oreg.
 Robert Frazier, Greensboro, N. C.
 Maynhilde Gullander, Women's College, Greensboro, N. C.
 Rev. Lee C. Sheppard, Committee for North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.
 Rev. Homer Harrington, Episcopal Church Study, Grand Forks, N. Dak.
 Marshall Bragdon, City Hall, Room 105, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Rev. Burton S. W. Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 John J. Hurst, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
 Rev. Benjamin M. Herbster, Norwood, Ohio.
 Rev. James M. Lotz, Shaker Heights, Ohio.
 Miss Mary P. Corre, Walnut Hills, Ohio.
 Mrs. Earl Foster, Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Dr. Henry J. Berkowitz, Congregation Temple Beth Israel, Portland, Oreg.
 Irving Enna, Portland 6, Oreg.
 Dr. Peter H. Odegard, Reed College, Portland, Oreg.
 Dr. Raymond B. Walker, First Congregational Church, Portland, Oreg.
 Dr. Hertha Krause, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Jacob Billikopf, Bankers Securities Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
 Mrs. Kathleen Hanstein, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
 L. C. Christopher, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Miss Marion Hathway, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Hyman Rubin, Columbia, S. C.
 Dr. Lyman V. Cady, Fisk Union Church, Nashville, Tenn.
 Mortimer May, May Hosiery Mills, Nashville 10, Tenn.
 Mrs. Dorothy C. Fisher, Arlington, Vt.
 C. Irving Dwork, Alexandria, Va.
 Mrs. Charlotte Lloyd, Alexandria, Va.
 Arthur Barnett, American Friends Service Committee, Seattle, Wash.
 W. Walter Williams, Continental Inc., Seattle, Wash.
 Rev. Seth R. Huntington, Salem, Oreg.

Rufus M. Jones, Haverford, Pa.
 Stephen M. Tkatch, Greek Catholic Union USA, Munhall, Pa.
 Thomas S. Gates, Philadelphia 2, Pa.
 D. Robert Yarnall, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Charles Denby, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Mrs. Alex Lowenthal, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Rev. Marshall Wingfield, First Congregational Church, Memphis, Tenn.
 Elizabeth G. Gardiner, Nashville 4, Tenn.
 Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Tex.
 Mrs. Burton Musser, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Prof. Waldo H. Heinrichs, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
 Sam Levering, Ararat, Va.
 Ed Starin, Seattle 1, Wash.
 Mrs. E. F. Stern, Seattle 2, Wash.
 Rev. Kenneth D. Claypool, First Congregational Church, Walla Walla, Wash.
 Leo Crowley, Madison, Wis.
 Prof. Leonard Ball, Madison, Wis.
 Earl Harrison, Philadelphia, Pa.
 William S. Bernard, New York.
 Irving M. Engel, New York.
 Allen T. Burns, New York.
 Miss Elizabeth Campbell, International Institute, New York.
 Mrs. Kathaleen Hambly Hanstein, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Gilbert Harrison, American Veterans Committee, New York.
 Walter Dushnyck, New York.
 George J. Hexter, American Jewish Committee, New York.
 Peter Jurchak, Lawyers Building, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
 James Kerney, Jr., Trenton Times, Trenton, N. J.
 Read Lewis, Common Council for American Unity, New York.
 Mrs. Isabel Elder, Madison, Wis.
 Charles G. Bolte, American Veterans Committee, New York.
 Maj. George Fielding Eliot, New York.
 Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, American Federation of International Institutes, New York.
 Rev. William S. Gibbons, New York.
 Joseph Godson, Jewish Labor Committee, New York.
 Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain, Columbia University, New York.
 Elias A. Cohen, New York.
 Raymond Disco, National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York.
 Miss Elsie Harper, National Board, YWCA, New York.
 Dr. Leland Rex Robinson, New York.
 Lessing J. Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pa.
 Max H. Sorensen, National Commander, Catholic War Veterans, New York.
 Dr. A. L. Warnshuis, Church World Service, New York.
 Edward T. McCaffrey, Post National Commander, Catholic War Veterans, New York.
 Allen T. Burns, New York.
 Dr. Leland Rex Robinson, New York.
 Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, New York.
 James A. Farley, New York.
 Dr. Virginia C. Gildersleeve, New York.
 William Green, Washington, D. C.
 Hon. F. H. LaGuardia, New York.
 Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, New York.
 Philip Murray, Washington, D. C.
 Edward M. O'Connor, National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York.
 Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
 T. C. Cashen, Railway Labor Executives Association, Washington, D. C.
 Major Gen. William J. Donovan, New York.
 Mrs. Harper Sibley, Rochester, N. Y.
 Hon. Edward R. Stettinius, Rapidan, Va.
 Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Edward A. O'Neal, New York.
 Mrs. David M. Levy, New York.
 John Nuveen, Jr., Chicago, Ill.

EXHIBIT No. 9

Year	Total world quota	Amount of quota used	Percent of quota used	Amount of quota unused	Percent of quota unused
1930.....	153,724	141,497	92.0	12,227	8.0
1931.....	153,724	54,118	35.2	99,606	64.8
1932.....	153,724	12,983	8.4	140,741	91.6
1933.....	153,724	8,220	5.3	145,504	94.7
1934.....	153,774	12,483	8.1	141,291	91.9
1935.....	153,774	17,207	11.2	136,567	88.8
1936.....	153,774	18,675	12.1	135,099	87.9
1937.....	153,774	27,762	18.0	126,012	82.0
1938.....	153,774	42,494	27.6	111,280	72.4
1939.....	153,774	62,402	40.6	91,372	59.4
1940.....	153,774	51,997	33.8	101,777	66.2
1941.....	153,774	36,220	23.5	117,554	76.5
1942.....	153,774	14,597	9.5	139,177	90.5
1943.....	153,774	9,045	5.9	144,729	94.1
1944.....	153,879	9,394	6.1	144,485	93.9
1945.....	153,879	11,623	7.5	142,256	92.5
1946.....	153,879	29,095	18.9	124,784	81.1
Total.....	2,614,273	559,812	21.4	2,054,461	78.6

EXHIBIT No. 10

RUMOR VERSUS FACT

(By Commissioner Carusi)

The importance presently being attached to the subject of immigration and its controversial aspects has given rise to a variety of stories concerning the administration of the immigration laws. This interest is natural. The stories—or rumors—fall into two patterns and coincide with the known attitude of those advocating stricter immigration laws or those advocating more lenient immigration laws. However, difficulties are now arising because these rumors are being used by both sides in an endeavor to support their claims.

Some rumors give the impression that the Immigration and Naturalization Service is responsible for importing a fabulous number of European refugees. This, of course, is not true. The Immigration and Naturalization Service imports nobody. It admits those persons to whom the law grants admission; it excludes all others. Moreover, a large number of refugees have not entered the United States either legally or illegally. All but a very few of those who have come to this country have entered the United States legally for permanent residence or as visitors or transients. In order to be admitted in any one of these categories the aliens must be in possession of immigration visas required by law and issued by the American Consuls abroad. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has no control over the number to be issued nor the choice of persons to whom they should be issued. The only numerical control provided by law relates to immigrants who come to the United States for permanent residence from countries affected by the quota law of 1924, as amended. The sole responsibility of the Service is to make certain that arriving aliens possess the documents required by law and that they meet the other requirements of the law with respect to admissibility.

Other rumors imply that large proportions of those persons who are admitted to the United States are of one faith or that they have strong tendencies towards certain foreign political philosophies. A preponderance of immigrants from any one religious faith is a matter of chance influenced by economic or other factors which may persuade particular groups to migrate to the United States at any given time. Such a preponderance, if it occurs, is not a violation of law nor does any alien's religious affiliation bear upon his admissibility into this country. As to those having foreign political philosophies, the law requires the exclusion on political grounds, only persons who are anarchists or who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law, or who disbelieve in or are opposed to

organized government, or who advocate certain specified acts consistent with these prescribed doctrines. Any arriving immigrant who falls within one of these classes is ordered excluded.

This statement would not be complete without referring to those who compose our staff of officers. They are loyal Americans who are earnestly and faithfully performing their duties and vitally interested in the preservation of our form of government. They are free to exercise their functions honestly.

Still other rumors repeatedly infer that millions of European refugees are crossing our borders illegally. These rumors may stem from the fact that many Mexicans are illegally crossing the southern border of the United States in quest of work. These illegal Mexican entrants are being apprehended and returned to Mexico by the Immigration Border Patrol at the rate of 15,000 per month. If we may judge from protests that we are receiving from the area along the Mexican border, our expulsions of Mexicans are depleting the labor supply to an extent which may exceed the current rate of illegal entries. Be that as it may, these people are neither Europeans nor refugees. Attempted illegal entries from the European area are less than 100 per month; most of these aliens are stowaways who arrive on vessels in groups of from 2 to 10. Practically every one of these stowaways is apprehended by the captain of the vessel before he reaches port and is then turned over to our officers at the pier. They are being returned whence they came by the steamship companies which brought them.

In this connection I should add that we have not escaped the criticism that our enforcement of the law is so strict that we heartlessly exclude pitiful refugees, or send back to misery or death those who had the good fortune to find temporary haven in this country.

Every major function of the Service is carried on pursuant to laws passed by Congress and court decisions (many of the latter by the Supreme Court of the United States), which are binding upon the Service and represent long experience in the legislative and judicial fields. All our statistics are available to the Congress and are summarized in our annual report which is a public document. Because of the technical nature of our statistical reports, misinterpretations are sometimes placed upon them or the proper distinction is not made by persons outside the Service concerning the various types of admissions. Notwithstanding our desire to compile and make available all the statistics useful in the administration of the law or helpful to other public and private interests concerned in the immigration problem, we cannot anticipate every question that may be asked and we are often unable immediately to furnish the particular information requested.

I have stated in past issues of the Monthly Review that the law-enforcement problems which are currently confronting the Service are the greatest in its history and are constantly increasing. The interest of every individual in this subject is welcomed. It is highly desirable that everyone who has genuine concern with the situation be in possession of all the facts we have at our disposal.

As I indicated at the outset, the administration of our immigration laws is at once important and controversial. The Congress fixes the basic policy; we administer the law. It is not for me to criticize or argue with those who have and express views on this subject, one way or another. Yet I cannot escape the notion that proved or provable facts form the most reliable basis for the determination of any problem—no less this one.

EXHIBIT No. 11

[From the New York Times, April 27, 1947]

GREAT FUTURE HERE BASED ON POSSIBLE PRODUCTIVITY—TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND ENVISAGES RESULTS OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND DEMOCRACY

(By Russell Porter)

At a time of great economic change in the world, economists of the Twentieth Century Fund, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research foundation endowed by the late Edward A. Filene of Boston, have made a study of the likely trend of the national economy in the United States during the remainder of the postwar transition period, estimated to end by 1950, and the ensuing real postwar decade from 1950 to 1960.

This monumental project, news of which was announced last week, has taken 3 years and the efforts of a staff of 20 experts directed by Dr. J. Frederic Dewhurst, the fund's economist.

Despite the postwar drift toward various forms of socialism and communism elsewhere, the survey is optimistic about the future of free enterprise and democracy in the United States. Barring war, depression, and unemployment or other major errors, it finds that the American economic system is fully capable of repeating and even surpassing its sensational achievements of the past, including its wartime miracle of production. And it shows how this can be done without adopting any Utopian sociological schemes or making any drastic changes in our economic or political system.

CENTURY OF FOUNDATION

America's highly productive economy today, it is pointed out, is based upon solid foundations built up slowly but steadily over the past century. In spite of periodical strikes, depressions, unemployment, and economic wrangling, as stressed by Evans Clark, executive director of the fund in his foreword, the American economic system has provided this country with the greatest productivity and the highest standard of living in the world, enjoyed by the largest proportion of the population.

Facts and figures in the report show in great detail the phenomenal growth of productivity—output per man-hour—since 1850. It is made plain that this has been due chiefly to the harnessing of mineral power (water, coal, electricity, natural gas) to supplement human energy. The use of mineral power has increased 343 times in the century, raising the value of output per man-hour almost 5 times, while decreasing the workweek 33 percent. Electric energy at 1 to 4 cents per horsepower-hour, it is pointed out, does work that would cost 50 cents an hour if done by a horse, and \$1 an hour or more if done by a man.

It is shown that faith in technological progress, not fear of technological unemployment, has given this country its economic strength, the basic foundation for its social gains and political freedom. New inventions ruin some businessmen, and labor-saving devices make some workers unemployed temporarily, but the benefits to the people as a whole tremendously outweigh the harm. If the canal boats and the livery stables had been kept in business by laws or monopolies of businessmen or unions to prevent technological change, we would have no great railroad system and no huge automobile industry today to provide work and travel for the millions.

PREVIEW OF FUTURE

By projecting the rising economic curve of the past into the future, the survey makes possible a preview of the American economy of the 1950-60 decade. This is not a forecast, it is emphasized, but a conservative study of the capacity of our economic system, in terms of plant and equipment, labor force, and natural resources, to turn out the production necessary to meet estimates made by nutritional and other experts of the demands and needs for all types of goods and services required to insure the entire American people an adequate standard of living.

A vast potential field for expanding economic and social horizons is shown in terms of more production and employment, more national income, more food, clothing, houses, automobiles, and other goods; fewer hours of work; more leisure; more opportunities for recreation, education, and culture. The picture displayed is one of an increasingly dynamic, rather than a mature or dying, economy.

Having arrived at estimates of production and consumption, the economists next sought to find out how far these fell short of meeting the probable needs of the American people as a whole for minimum standards of health and decency. The idea was to raise a "floor" for everybody without lowering the "ceiling" for those who now enjoy a standard of living above the minimum level.

It was found that filling all needs in 1950 would require a gross national product (in terms of 1944 prices) of 200 billion dollars instead of a probable 177 billion dollars and consumer expenditures of 129 billion dollars instead of 116 billion dollars.

Under forced draft at the wartime peak in 1944, the total product was 199 billion dollars. At 1944 prices, it was only 107 billion dollars in 1929, 128 billion dollars in 1940 and 150 billion dollars in 1941, by far the most prosperous prewar year this country enjoyed. Consumer expenditures were 76 billion dollars in 1929, 87 billion dollars in 1940 and 93 billion dollars in 1941.

ESTIMATES FOR 1960

For 1960, there would be the need for a gross national product of 219 billion dollars instead of a probable 202 billion dollars; for consumer expenditures, one of 144 billion dollars against 134 billion dollars.

Thus, instead of one-third of the American people being "ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed," to quote a familiar phrase, the disparity would be only 13 percent in 1950 and 8 percent in 1960. The figures indicate a steady potential growth to a point where the poorest American citizen can enjoy a decent standard of living without leveling down the rest of the population.

The present state of over-full employment is expected to give way by 1950 to a condition of "normal" full employment. It is estimated that the labor force will number 60,000,000 in 1950 with unemployment limited to 3,000,000 or 5 percent (generally conceded to be compatible with reasonably full employment). That means 57,000,000 at work, or 10,000,000 more than in 1940. There will be 60,200,000 at work in 1960 and 3,200,000 unemployed, according to these estimates.

Compared with 43 hours in 1940 and 47 hours in 1944, the workweek is expected to average 41 hours in 1950 and less than 38 hours in 1960, with the 5-day week and annual vacations virtually universal. A century ago Americans worked 70 hours a week, and as late as the First World War days, 50 hours in factories and 70 hours on farms.

From 1850 to 1944, a labor force that increased only 9 times produced 27 times as much total national income, despite steadily shortening hours. In the same period "real" per capita income increased more than 4 times.

CONDITIONS FOR ADVANCE

Certain conditions and problems are involved in the actual achievement of these goals. The estimates are based upon assumptions of world peace, industrial peace at home, no big strikes to interrupt production, the avoidance of a major depression, and the maintenance of conditions of business activity, production, and employment relatively as good, which means considerably better in actual fact, than prevailed throughout the last half of the 1920's until the economic collapse at the end of 1929.

It is also assumed that the economic system can fill the wartime pent-up demand and get back to normal by 1950 without suffering a serious recession such as occurred in 1920-21 after the First World War as a result of excessive distortion of the wage-price structure. The report expresses a warning against American business and labor pricing themselves out of their markets. However, there is nothing in the report that precludes the economic system overcoming such a recession and going ahead to full prosperity in the next decade, as happened in the 1920's.

By far the most important assumption is that the productivity of the American economic machine will continue to increase at the average rate that has prevailed over the past century—that is, about 18 percent per decade. If we could keep up the rate of increase that accompanied the 20 years from 1920 to 1940—more than 30 percent per decade—our gross national product could fill nearly all estimated needs by 1950, with almost no one at all, theoretically, in the class of "ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed." But the estimates used are based upon the more conservative view of potential productivity.

The report makes it clear that productivity is the key to our future. Maintenance of our economic strength, preservation of our social gains, defense of our democratic system, success of our foreign policy depend upon the continued growth of our productivity. This in turn depends more closely upon intangible, psychological factors than upon physical ones.

Thus it poses a problem in the human relations of American industry. As a Nation we have spent billions of dollars on research in the physical sciences and have been well repaid in technological progress, but we have done comparatively little to develop the social sciences that deal with human relations and might guide us on the reactions of American workers and consumers to this problem.

We have the economic resources, power, and technical know-how to achieve our goals, but do we as a people have the will, the fortitude and the clear-headedness to drive ahead in spite of all obstacles and fears? Can we keep capital or labor or both from putting productivity in chains to protect vested interests? Can we meet the modern demand for security in an industrial society and still keep our incentives to progress? Can we do this without giving up the American way of life?

The report raises these questions, but it does not answer them. It cannot do so, of course; nothing can do it but history. But it points the way. It implies that neither prosperity nor depression is inevitable; which we get will depend upon what we do about productivity. It is made perfectly plain that productivity accounts for the great achievements of our past, and that without productivity all these glowing estimates of the future must be scrapped.

EXHIBIT No. 12

OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS OF PERSONS IN UNRRA DISPLACED PERSONS CAMPS

The figures given below comprise a partial list of the occupations among the 850,000 people now in UNRRA displaced persons camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Compiled in the summer and fall of 1946, it is not complete because at the time the survey was made there was a lack of trained personnel available. However, it is the most accurate list available anywhere. It must be borne in mind that of the 850,000 persons in the DP camps, more than 150,000 are children and about 250,000 are women not engaged in any occupation other than caring for their families.

Agriculture

Farmers (all types)-----	77, 270	Millers-----	1, 191
Agronomists-----	5, 440	Other agricultural workers----	10, 099
Lumbermen-----	704		
Hunters, fishermen-----	723	Total-----	95, 427

Construction and maintenance

Architects-----	657	Blasters-----	89
Bricklayers-----	1, 812	Painters-----	1, 719
Carpenters-----	5, 603	Plumbers-----	532
Construction machine operators-----	232	Riggers-----	154
Furnacemen-----	419	Riveters-----	105
Dredgemen-----	68	Sawmill operators-----	405
Draftsmen-----	760	Steel workers-----	572
Electricians-----	3, 491	Surveyors-----	474
Enginemmen-----	355	Other construction and maintenance workers-----	2, 507
Glaziers-----	382		
Masons-----	839	Total-----	21, 175

Miscellaneous processing

Clothing machine operators-----	1, 768	Textile workers-----	4, 244
Coopers-----	161	Woodworkers-----	3, 111
Leather workers-----	936	Other processing workers-----	5, 669
Paper workers-----	258		
Rubber workers-----	206	Total-----	16, 732
Power plant installers-----	377		

Metal Trades

Electroplaters-----	91	Millwrights-----	234
Foundrymen-----	348	Welders-----	856
Forgemen-----	505	Toolmakers-----	301
Heat treaters-----	150	Other metal trade workers-----	1, 202
Machine operators-----	1, 307		
Machinists-----	1, 731	Total-----	7, 608
Metalsmiths-----	882		

Health and sanitation

Dentistry-----	1, 203	Physicians, surgeons-----	1, 763
Dietitians-----	66	Pharmacists-----	974
Hospital attendants-----	1, 135	Sanitary engineers-----	165
Midwives-----	509	Veterinarians-----	397
Nurses (all types)-----	4, 057	X-ray technicians-----	69
Optometrists-----	72	Other health and sanitation	
Ophthalmologists-----	46	workers-----	958
Pediatricians-----	145		
Physical therapists-----	235	Total-----	11, 794

Professions and arts

Artists, sculptors-----	1,122	Librarians-----	208
Athletic instructors-----	412	Musicians-----	1, 715
Clergymen-----	1, 354	Recreation leaders-----	167
Chemists-----	842	Social workers-----	130
Child-care workers-----	682	Teachers:	
Engineers:		Academic-----	7, 319
Civil-----	1, 252	Vocational-----	966
Electrical-----	678	Technical-----	693
Industrial-----	483	Occupational advisers-----	42
Mechanical-----	834	Writers-----	731
Mining-----	221	Other professional and arts-----	3, 439
Professional entertainers-----	1, 968		
Lawyers-----	1, 607	Total-----	26,865

Special services

Bakers-----	3, 470	Projectionists-----	253
Barbers-----	2, 883	Shoe and harness makers-----	9, 551
Blacksmiths-----	1, 983	Undertakers-----	59
Bookbinders-----	357	Upholsterers-----	398
Butchers-----	3, 652	Waiters-----	1, 912
Cooks-----	3, 658	Kitchen help-----	2, 857
Firefighters-----	210	Laundrymen-----	377
Gardners-----	2, 636	Linotypists-----	208
Domestics-----	22, 066	Locksmiths-----	8, 396
Jewelers-----	250	Opticians-----	94
Photographers-----	821	Tailors' seamstresses-----	22, 695
Piano tuners-----	43	Watch repairers-----	997
Policemen-----	2, 103	Other special service workers-----	9, 322
Pressmen-----	232		
Printers-----	554	Total-----	102, 042

Communication, transport, and supply

Airplane mechanics-----	519	Seamen-----	970
Airplane pilots-----	226	Teamsters-----	230
Auto mechanics-----	4, 495	Telegraph operators-----	375
Auto body repairmen-----	1, 815	Telephone operators-----	752
Drivers-----	10, 510	Teletypists-----	114
Craters-----	294	Tire rebuilders-----	90
Telephone and telegraph repair-		Warehousemen-----	877
men-----	644	Other communication, transport,	
Linesmen-----	247	and supply-----	1, 884
Radio operators-----	214		
Radio repairmen-----	717	Total-----	27, 850
Railway workers-----	2, 877		

Mining, chemical, and processing

Ceramic workers.....	307	Quarrymen	277
Glass blowers.....	340	Other mining, chemical, and	
Miners	948	processing workers.....	959
Petroleum workers.....	148		
Steel mill workers.....	277	Total	3, 256

Administration

Auditors, bookkeepers.....	7, 060	Interpreters	1, 003
Business executives.....	5, 180	Typists	1, 528
Office clerks.....	14, 977	Other administrative, clerical,	
Sales clerks.....	8, 405	and commercial.....	1, 676
Office machine operators.....	456		
Office managers.....	1, 022	Total	41, 618
Stenographers	311		

Other classifications

Laborers	8, 897	Housewives	6, 322
Inexperienced	9, 458		
Students	7, 810	Total	32, 487

EXHIBIT No. 13

Distinguished refugees

NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS WHO CAME TO THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1633

Name	Field	Name	Field
Peter J. W. Debye.....	Chemistry.	Maurice Maeterlinck.....	Literature.
Albert Einstein.....	Physics.	Thomas Mann.....	Do.
Enrico Fermi.....	Do.	Otto Meyerhof.....	Biochemistry.
James Franck.....	Do.	Wolfgang Pauli.....	Physics.
Victor Francis Hess.....	Do.	Otto Stern.....	Do.
Otto Loewi.....	Pharmacology.	Sigrid Undset.....	Literature.

REFUGEES LISTED IN WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA (1944-45)

Name	Field or occupation	Country of birth or last residence
Maurice Abravanel.....	Music—conductor.....	Greece.
George Balanchine.....	Dancer.....	Russia.
Walter Curt Behrendt ¹	Architect.....	Germany.
Ernst Berl ²	Chemistry.....	Austria.
Hans Albrecht Bethe ²	Physics.....	Germany.
Charles Boyer.....	Actor.....	France.
Karl Brandt.....	Agricultural economist.....	Germany.
Paul Breisach.....	Music—conductor.....	Austria.
Marcel Lajos Breuer.....	Architect.....	Hungary.
Goetz A. Briefs.....	Economist.....	Germany.
Adolf Busch.....	Music—violin.....	Do.
Salvador Dali.....	Art.....	Spain.
Peter J. W. Debye ²	Chemistry.....	Netherlands.
Fernando de los Rios.....	Diplomat—political science.....	Spain.
Antoine de Saint Exupery ¹	Aviator—author.....	France.
Albert Einstein ²	Physics.....	Germany.
Kasimir Fajans ²	Physical chemistry.....	Poland.
Nina Fedorova.....	Writer.....	Russia.
Enrico Fermi ²	Physics.....	Italy.
Lion Feuchtwanger.....	Writer.....	Germany.
James Franck ²	Physical chemistry.....	Do.
Philipp Frank.....	Physics.....	Austria.
Rene Fülöp-Miller.....	Writer.....	Rumania.
Jean Gabin.....	Actor—Movies.....	France.
Richard Benedikt Goldschmidt ²	Zoology.....	Germany.
Oskar Maria Graf.....	Writer.....	Do.
Walter Gropius.....	Architecture.....	Do.

¹ Deceased.
² Listed also in American Men of Science.

Distinguished refugees—Continued

REFUGEES LISTED IN WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA (1944-45)—Continued

Name	Field or occupation	Country of birth or last residence
Jacques Hadamard ¹	Theoretical mathematics	France.
Laszlo Halasz	Music—Conductor	Hungary.
Oscar Halecki	History	Poland.
Victor Francis Hess ²	Physics	Austria.
Hans Heymann	Economist	Germany.
Paul Hindemith	Music—Composer	Do.
Hajo Holborn	History	Do.
Harry Horner	Art director—Movies	Austria.
Vladimir Horowitz	Music—Pianist	Russia.
Werner W. Jaeger	Classical philology	Germany.
Herbert Janssen	Singer	Do.
Otto Klemperer	Music—Conductor	Do.
Wolfgang Köhler ²	Psychology	Esthonia.
Hans Kohn	History	Czechoslovakia.
Erich Wolfgang Korngold	Composer—Conductor	Austria.
Karl Landsteiner ¹	Medical research	Do.
Lotte Lehmann	Singer	Germany.
Erich Leinsdorf	Music—Conductor	Austria.
Kurt Lewin ²	Psychology	Germany.
Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein	Political science	Austria.
Otto Loewi ²	Pharmacology	Germany.
Emil Ludwig	Author	Do.
Maurice Maeterlinck	Poet—Dramatist	Belgium.
Bronislaw Malinowski ¹	Anthropology	Poland.
Alfred Manes	Economics—Insurance	Germany.
Erika Mann	Author—Actress	Do.
Heinrich Mann	Writer	Do.
Thomas Mann	Author	Do.
Otto Marburg ²	Neurology	Austria.
Jacques Maritain	Philosophy	France.
André Maurois	Writer	Do.
Leonor Michaelis ²	Medical research	Germany.
Ludwig Mies van der Rohe	Architect	Netherlands.
Darius Milhaud	Music—Composer	France.
Nathan Milstein	Music—Violinist	Russia.
David Mitrany	Political science—Author	Rumania.
Ferenc Molnar	Author	Hungary.
Frank Munk	Economics	Czechoslovakia.
Carl Alexander Neuberg ²	Biochemistry	Germany.
Otto Neugebauer ²	Mathematics	Austria.
Jarmila Novotna	Opera singer	Czechoslovakia.
Erwin Piscator	Theater director	Germany.
Luis Quintanilla	Artist—Painter	Spain.
Wilhelm Raab ²	Medicine	Austria.
Louis Raemaekers	Art—Cartoonist	Netherlands.
Max Reinhardt ¹	Theater—Director	Austria.
Erich Maria Remarque	Author	Germany.
Jules Romain	do	France.
Arthur Rosenberg ¹	History—Government service	Germany.
Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy	Law—Social philosophy	Do.
Bruno Rossi ²	Physics	Italy.
Reinhold Rüdenberg ²	Electrical engineering	Germany.
Curt Sachs	Musicologist—Critic	Do.
Artur Schnabel	Pianist	Austria.
Arnold Schoenberg	Composer—Teacher	Do.
Rudolf Serkin	Pianist	Czechoslovakia.
Igor Stravinsky	Music—Composer	Russia.
Alexander Sved	Singer	Hungary.
Harald Ulrik Sverdrup ²	Meteorologist—Oceanographer	Norway.
Gabor Szegő ²	Mathematics	Hungary.
George Szell	Conductor—Pianist	Czechoslovakia.
Joseph Szigeti	Violinist	Hungary.
Paul Johannes Tillich	Theology—Philosophy	Germany.
Ernst Toch	Composer	Austria.
Arturo Toscanini	Conductor	Italy.
Robert Ulich	Education	Germany.
Sigrid Undset	Author	Norway.
Herbert von Beckerath	Economics	Germany.
Martin Wagner	Architect	Do.
Bruno Walter	Conductor	Do.
Kurt Weill	Composer	Do.
Kranz Werfel ¹	Author	Czechoslovakia.
Herman Weyl ²	Mathematics	Germany.
Vera Zorina	Dancer	Norway.
Carl Zuckmayer	Author—Playwright	Germany.
Stefan Zweig ¹	Author	Austria.

¹ Deceased.² Listed also in American Men of Science.

Distinguished refugees—Continued

REFUGEES LISTED IN AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE (1944)

Name	Field or occupation	Country of birth or last residence
Felix T. Adler	Physics	Switzerland.
Leo Alexander	Neurology, psychiatry	Austria.
Andras Angyal	Psychiatry	Hungary.
Ludwik Anigstein	Medical microbiology	Poland.
Camillo Artom	Biochemistry	Italy.
Pierre V. Auger	Physics	France.
Reinhold Baer	Mathematics	Germany.
Georg Barkan	Biochemistry, pharmacology	Russia.
Clemens Ernst Benda	Neuropsychiatry	Germany.
Tibor Benedek	Dermatology	Hungary.
Oscar Benesi	Anatomy	Do.
Max Bergmann	Chemistry, biochemistry	Germany.
Peter Gabriel Bergmann	Physics	Do.
Ernst Berl [*]	Chemistry	Czechoslovakia.
Felix Bernstein	Biometry	Germany.
Eric W. Beth	Physics	Austria.
Hans Albrecht Bethe [*]	Theoretical physics	France.
Erwin R. Biel [*]	Climatology, meteorology	Austria.
Z. William Birnbaum	Mathematics, statistics	Poland.
Jacob A. B. Bjerknes	Meteorology	Sweden.
Felix Bloch	Physics	Switzerland.
Konrad E. Bloch	Biological chemistry	Germany.
Robert Bloch	Botany	Do.
Salomon Bochmer	Mathematics	Poland.
Richard Brauer	do	Germany.
Leon Brillouin	Physics	France.
Jan O. M. Broek	Economic geography	Netherlands.
Walter V. Burg	Analytical chemistry	Germany.
Ernst Caspari	Genetics	Do.
Hans M. Cassel	Physical chemistry	Do.
Arturo Castiglioni	History of medicine	Italy.
Erwin Chargaff	Chemistry	Austria.
Claude Chevalley	Mathematics	South Africa.
Victor Conrad	Climatology, geophysics	Austria.
Richard Courant	Mathematics	Germany.
Sergio De Benedetti	Experimental physics	Italy.
Peter P. H. De Bruyn	Histology	Netherlands.
Peter J. W. Debye [*]	Chemistry, electrical engineering	Do.
Paul F. de Gara	Bacteriology, immunology	Austria.
Max Dehn	Mathematics	Germany.
Max Delbrück	Biology	Do.
Alexis B. Dember	Physics	Do.
Tamara Dembo	Psychology	Russia.
Konrad Dobriner	Medicine, biochemistry	Germany.
Jean Dufrenoy	Plant pathology	France.
Tilly Edinger	Vertebrate paleontology	Germany.
Maximilian R. Ehrenstein	Chemistry	Do.
William F. Ehrich	Pathology	Do.
Albert Einstein [*]	Theoretical physics	Do.
Hans Michael Elias	Embryology	Do.
Boris Ephrussi	Zoology	Russia.
Paul Erdős	Mathematics	Hungary.
Immanuel Estermann	Physics	Germany.
Kasimir Fajans [*]	Physical chemistry	Poland.
Ugo Fano	Theoretical physics, biology	Italy.
Enrico Fermi [*]	Physics	Do.
Ernst Fischer	Physiology	Germany.
Piero P. Foa	Experimental medicine	Italy.
Heins L. Fraenkel-Conrat	Biochemistry	Germany.
James Franck [*]	Physics	Do.
Fritz W. Fromm	Chemistry	Do.
Frieda W. Fuchs	Microbiology	Do.
Walter M. Fuchs	Chemistry	Austria.
Sergei I. Gaposchkin	Astronomy	Russia.
Hilda Geiringer	Mathematics	Austria.
Kurt Godel	do	Czechoslovakia.
Richard B. Goldschmidt	Zoology	Germany.
Ernest F. Goldsmith	Internal medicine	Do.
Kurt Goldstein	Psychiatry, neurology	Do.
Michael Golomb	Mathematics	Do.
Bernhard Gottlieb	Dental pathology	Poland.
Emil J. Gumbel	Mathematical statistics	Germany.
Paul György	Pediatrics	Hungary.
Fritz Haas	Zoology	Germany.
Jacques Hadamard [*]	Theoretical mathematics	France.
Viktor Hamburger	Zoology	Germany.
Poul Arne Hansen	Bacteriology	Denmark.
Zaboj Vincent Harvalik	Physical chemistry	Yugoslavia.
Bernhard Haurwitz	Meteorology	Germany.
Thorleif G. Hegge	Psychology, education	Norway.
Ernst D. Hellinger	Mathematics	Germany.
Edward Helly	do	Austria.
Olaf Helmer	do	Germany.

^{*} Listed also in Who's Who in America.

Distinguished refugees—Continued

REFUGEES LISTED IN AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE (1944)—Continued

Name	Field or occupation	Country of birth or last residence
Max Herzberger	Optics	Germany.
Leo Hess	Internal medicine	Austria.
Paul F. A. Hoefler	Clinical neurology, neurophysiology	Germany.
Victor Francis Hess ¹	Physics	Austria.
Jörgen Holmboe	Meteorology	Norway.
Imre Horner	Physiological chemistry, immunology	Hungary.
Hugo Ittis	Botany, genetics	Czechoslovakia.
George Jaffe	Theoretical physics	Russia.
Fritz John	Mathematics	Germany.
Henri A. Jordan	do	Belgium.
Franz J. Kallmann	Psychiatry	Germany.
Boris G. Karpov	Astronomy	Russia.
Gerhard Katz	Pharmacology	Germany.
Walter Kempner	Medicine, physiology	Do.
Paul Kimmelstiel	Pathology	Do.
Heinrich G. Kobrak	Medicine, physiology	Do.
Ervand Kogbetliantz	Mathematics	Russia.
Wolfgang Köhler ¹	Psychology	Estonia.
Zdenek Kopal	Astronomy	Czechoslovakia.
Arthur Korn	Mathematics, physics, electrical engineering	Germany.
Maurice Kraitchik	Mathematics	Russia.
Hartwig Kuhlénbeck	Anatomy, neurology	Germany.
Ernst Lachman	Anatomy	Do.
Rudolf Ladenburg	Physics	Do.
Gustav Land	Astronomy	Do.
Helmuth Landsberg	Geophysics	Do.
Rolf Landshoff	Theoretical physics	Do.
Karl O. Lange	Aeronautical meteorology	Do.
Willy Lange	Chemistry	Do.
Alois Langer	do	Czechoslovakia.
Charles P. Leblond	Endocrinology	France.
Philippe Le Corbeille	Engineering	Do.
Irene Levis	Chemistry	Germany.
Fritz Levy	Clinical pathology	Do.
Frederick H. Lewey	Neurophysiology, neuropathology	Do.
Kurt Lewin ¹	Child psychology	Do.
Hans Lewy	Mathematics	Do.
Leopold Lichtwitz	Medicine	Do.
Julius E. Lips	Anthropology	Do.
W. Siegfried Loewe	Pharmacology	Do.
Otto Loewi ¹	Pharmacology, physiology	Do.
Charles Loewner	Mathematics	Czechoslovakia.
Julian P. Maas	Physiology	Belgium.
Adolf Magnus-Levy	Internal medicine	Germany.
Szolem Mandelbrojt	Mathematics	Poland.
Otto Marburg ¹	Neurology	Germany.
Erich A. Marx	Physics	Do.
Lore Marx	Obstetrics, gynecology	Do.
Walter Marx	Biochemistry	Do.
Walther Mayer	Mathematics	Austria.
Otto Meyerhof	Biochemistry	Germany.
Leonor Michaelis ¹	Physical chemistry	Do.
Rudolph L. B. Minkowski	Astronomy, physics	France.
Richard von Mises	Mathematics	Austria.
Stanislaw Mrozowski	Physics	Poland.
Ernst Mylon	Experimental medicine	Germany.
Erwin Neter	Bacteriology, immunology	Do.
Carl A. Neuberg ¹	Biochemistry	Do.
Otto Neugebauer ¹	Mathematics, history of science	Austria.
Hans Neurath	Biochemistry, physical chemistry	Do.
Lothar Wolfgang Nordheim	Theoretical physics	Germany.
Josef Novak	Gynecology, obstetrics	Czechoslovakia.
Severo Ochoa	Medicine	Spain.
Isaac Opatowski	Mathematical physics, applied mechanics, mathematical biology	Poland.
Balint Orban	Oral histology	Hungary.
Wolfgang Pauli ¹	Physics	Austria.
Francis Henri Perrin	Physical chemistry	France.
George Placzek	Physics	Czechoslovakia.
George Polya	Mathematics	Hungary.
Richard Prager	Astronomy	Germany.
Peter Pringsheim	Physical chemistry	Do.
Wilhelm Raab ¹	Internal medicine, pathological physiology	Austria.
Eugene I. Rabinowitch	Physical chemistry	Russia.
Hans Rademacher	Mathematics	Germany.
Otto Redlich	Physical chemistry	Austria.
Wilhelm Reich	Sexeconomy	Do.
Fritz Reiche	Theoretical physics	Germany.
Richard Kohn Richards	Pharmacology, therapeutics	Poland.
Maria A. Rickers-Ovsiankina	Psychology	Russia.

¹ Listed also in Who's Who in America.

Distinguished refugees—Continued

REFUGEES LISTED IN AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE (1944)—Continued

Name	Field or occupation	Country of birth or last residence
Meinhard Robinow	Pediatrics	Germany.
Hans R. Rosenberg	Organic chemistry	Do.
Arthur Rosenthal	Mathematics	Do.
Otto Rosenthal	Biochemistry	Do.
Bruno Rossi ³	Physics	Italy.
Reinhold Rüdenberg ³	Electrical engineering	Germany.
Henri S. Sack	Applied physics	Switzerland.
Michael A. Sadowsky	Applied mathematics	Russia.
Mario Giorgio Salvadori	Civil engineering	Italy.
William George Sawitz	Parasitology	Germany.
Otto Schales	Chemistry	Do.
Marcel Schein	Physics	Czechoslovakia.
Rudolf Schindler	Gastroenterology	Germany.
Joseph Z. Schneider	Chemistry, economics	Czechoslovakia.
Klaus Schocken	Physics	Germany.
Guenter Schwarz	do	Do.
Martin Schwarzschild	Astronomy, astrophysics	Do.
Carl L. Siegel	Mathematics	Do.
Robert Simha	Physical chemistry	Austria.
Rolf Singer	Mycology	Germany.
Roman Smoluchowski	Physics	Poland.
Karl Sollner	Chemistry	Austria.
Hertha D. E. Sponer	Physics	Germany.
Joseph Stasney	Pathology, hematology	Hungary.
Gabriel Steiner	Neuropathology	Germany.
Curt Stern	Zoology	Do.
Otto Stern	Physics	Do.
Harald Ulrik Sverdrup ³	Oceanography, meteorology	Norway.
Wojciech Swietoslawski	Physical chemistry	Poland.
Pol Swings	Astronomy, astrophysics	Belgium.
Otto Szasz	Mathematics	Hungary.
Gabor Szegő ³	do	Do.
Alfred Tarski	Mathematics, logic	Poland.
Edward Teller	Physics	Hungary.
Siegfried J. Thannhauser	Medicine	Germany.
Carl H. W. Tiedcke	Chemistry	Do.
Gerhard Tintner	Mathematical economics	Do.
Franz Urbach	Physics	Austria.
Theodor von Brand	Physiology, parasitology	Germany.
Fritz J. von Gutfeld	Bacteriology	Do.
Arthur von Hippel	Electrical engineering	Do.
Heinrich B. Waelsch	Biochemistry	Czechoslovakia.
Wolfgang Wasow	Mathematics	Switzerland.
Andre Weil	do	France.
Herman Weil	Chemistry, metallurgy, physics	Do.
Alexander Weinstein	Mathematics	Russia.
Arnold Weissberger	Organic chemistry	Germany.
J. Richard Weissenberg	Histology, embryology, zoology	Do.
Heinz Werner	Psychology	Austria.
Herman Weyl ³	Mathematics	Germany.
Maria Wiener	Bacteriology	Czechoslovakia.
Heinrich Albert Wieschhoff	Anthropology	Germany.
Rupert Wildt	Astronomy	Do.
Ernest Witebsky	Bacteriology, immunology	Do.
Frantisek Wolf	Mathematics	Czechoslovakia.
Werner Wolff	Psychology	Germany.
Bohdan Zawadzki	do	Poland.
Antoni Zygmund	Mathematics	Do.

³ Listed also in Who's Who in America.

EXHIBIT No. 14

IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION POLICY—OUR POPULATION IS GROWING OLDER AND WILL GROW SMALLER

We have studied the contribution immigration has made to our population history and indicated the abrupt decline in the number of immigrants and foreign-born in the last two decades. We have also noted briefly the integration of the immigrant into the American population patterns. We now have to consider our current population trend in detail to determine particularly whether this trend points toward or away from the desirability of further immigration. The question we are concerned with is whether on the basis of actual population estimates

for the balance of the twentieth century, it is desirable that immigration should play a part in our population pattern. Furthermore, we can anticipate to a degree what the specific role of immigration might be in the unfolding American population pattern.

The latest forecast of future population trends for the United States predicts the following population by decades beginning 1950: ¹

July 1, 1950-----	145, 460, 000	July 1, 1980-----	163, 877, 000
July 1, 1960-----	153, 375, 000	July 1, 1990-----	164, 585, 000
July 1, 1970-----	159, 847, 000	July 1, 2000-----	163, 312, 000

¹ Population Special Report No. 7, September 1946, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

THE END OF OUR POPULATION GROWTH

The peak population of 164,585,000 (based on estimates of median fertility, median mortality, no net immigration) will be reached in 1990 after which there will be a slow decline.

This forecast represents an expected increase of about 25 percent in the next 50 years compared with an increase of 100 percent in the 50 years before 1940.

It is true that there has been a spurt in the birth rate from 1941 to 1945 inclusive, when there were nearly 15,000,000 births, or two and one-half million more than in the period between 1936 and 1940. Nevertheless, the indications are that this is a short-term trend, which, while it will raise the population peak over previous estimates by some seven million, will not interfere with the long-term trend. A careful study of a similar rise in the English birth rate comes to the conclusion that the rise in that country is due to the increase in the number of marriages resulting from war and postwar factors; moreover, this study concludes that this rise will not stem the decline of the British population, which in 1970 will be several million less than now.²

Between 1920 and 1924 an average of one and one-half million persons were added to the population each year by natural increase and another four hundred thousand through immigration. A decade later, immigration had practically ceased and the number of persons added by natural increase had dropped to less than one million. The cessation of immigration by cutting off of younger adults has hastened the decreasing rate of population growth. While perhaps not the major factor in the general trend of population decline, the falling off of immigration to a negligible figure has moved closer the day of the declining and static population in the United States.

We have already referred to the decrease in the net reproduction rate to 0.96, or less than the 1.00 per cent needed for the population to reproduce itself. In urban centers, in the period 1935 to 1940, the rate fell to 0.74; in rural non-farm areas it was 1.14; and in rural farm areas it was 1.44. Obviously, it is the rural areas which bolster the low net reproduction rate of the cities.

TABLE XX.—Population projections—European countries, 1940–70 ¹

[In thousands]

	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970
POPULATION TREND DOWNWARD							
Austria.....	6, 660	6, 720	6, 720	6, 680	6, 580	6, 450	6, 280
Belgium.....	8, 310	8, 350	8, 340	8, 270	8, 160	7, 980	7, 760
England and Wales.....	40, 900	41, 100	40, 900	40, 400	39, 600	38, 400	37, 100
Estonia.....	1, 130	1, 130	1, 120	1, 100	1, 070	1, 040	1, 000
France.....	41, 200	40, 800	40, 300	39, 700	39, 000	38, 100	36, 900
Sweden.....	6, 330	6, 380	6, 370	6, 310	6, 210	6, 050	5, 840
Switzerland.....	4, 220	4, 260	4, 260	4, 220	4, 150	4, 050	3, 920

See footnote, p. 75.

² Enid, Charles, Post War Demographic Problems in Great Britain, American Journal of Sociology, vol. XI, No. 5, October 1946, pp. 578–590.

TABLE XX.—Population projections—European countries, 1940–70—Continued

	1940	1935	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970
POPULATION APPROXIMATELY STATIONARY							
Albania.....	1, 100	1, 100	1, 200	1, 200	1, 200	1, 300	1, 300
Denmark.....	3, 820	3, 930	4, 010	4, 050	4, 060	4, 040	3, 990
Finland.....	3, 850	3, 950	4, 000	4, 020	4, 010	3, 980	3, 920
Germany.....	69, 500	71, 200	72, 000	72, 200	71, 800	71, 100	69, 800
Hungary.....	9, 160	9, 320	9, 440	9, 510	9, 530	9, 470	9, 330
Ireland.....	3, 020	3, 080	3, 140	3, 190	3, 230	3, 240	3, 240
Northern Ireland.....	1, 300	1, 330	1, 360	1, 370	1, 380	1, 390	1, 380
Latvia.....	1, 990	2, 010	2, 010	2, 000	1, 980	1, 950	1, 910
Lithuania.....	2, 460	2, 530	2, 580	2, 630	2, 660	2, 670	2, 660
Norway.....	2, 930	2, 980	3, 010	3, 020	3, 000	2, 950	2, 870
Scotland.....	5, 050	5, 150	5, 210	5, 230	5, 220	5, 170	5, 090
POPULATION INCREASING							
Bulgaria.....	6, 320	6, 550	6, 790	7, 000	7, 170	7, 280	7, 320
Greece.....	7, 180	7, 530	7, 830	8, 100	8, 350	8, 570	8, 640
Italy.....	44, 200	45, 700	47, 000	48, 100	48, 900	49, 400	49, 500
Netherlands.....	8, 840	9, 230	9, 550	9, 780	9, 950	10, 000	10, 000
Poland.....	35, 200	36, 700	38, 100	39, 400	40, 400	41, 000	41, 400
Portugal.....	7, 620	7, 980	8, 290	8, 550	8, 780	8, 960	9, 090
Rumania.....	20, 300	21, 300	22, 200	23, 100	24, 000	24, 800	25, 300
Spain.....	25, 600	26, 400	27, 000	27, 500	27, 800	28, 000	27, 800
U. S. S. R.....	174, 000	189, 000	203, 000	216, 000	228, 000	240, 000	251, 000
Yugoslavia.....	15, 200	15, 800	16, 400	17, 100	17, 700	18, 200	18, 500

¹ Based on Notestein, Frank W., et al. Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union—Population Projections, 1940–70, League of Nations Publication, Geneva, 1944, p. 56, table 2.

EXHIBIT NO. 15

House Military Affairs Report 2740, Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, states that military authorities estimate that it cost our Government \$1 per day per displaced person. By United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's estimate it is stated that it costs about \$1.46 per day per displaced person. On December 31, 1946, there were 420,864 displaced persons in the United States zone who were in camps and 167,286 out of camps making a total in our zone of 588,150. The United States zone includes those under our care in Germany and Austria. In addition, there are 38,766 displaced persons in Italy: which is not allocated by zones.

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Fellows (chairman) presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order.

Congressman N. M. Mason, our colleague from Illinois, is here, and we are very glad to hear from you, Mr. Mason.

STATEMENT OF HON. N. M. MASON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am appearing this morning to testify in favor of H. R. 2910, a bill that proposes to admit 400,000 displaced persons to the United States—100,000 per year for the next 4 years. I want to be as brief and concise as I can in my statement, and then I shall be glad to answer questions.

I became interested in the plight of these unfortunate displaced persons when I learned that some 240,000 Polish soldiers who fought with the Allies in all the European theaters of action, oftentimes spearheading the attack, are now men without a country. I attended a conference with General Bor, commander of these Polish soldier exiles, when he was here about a year ago to offer his soldiers for service as occupation troops in Germany to relieve the same number of American soldiers now on duty in Germany. The heroism these Polish soldiers demonstrated all through the war on battlefields in France, Italy, and in Germany—heroism proven time and again through the centuries by their ceaseless struggle for liberty and independence—entitles them, and others like them, to sympathetic consideration at our hands. Their bitter opposition to communism, their love of liberty, and their attachment to a democratic form of government prove them to be the kind of people this Nation needs at the present time.

There are about 1,000,000 refugees or displaced persons now under the care of the United States and Great Britain. About four-fifths

of them are Poles, White Russians, and Ukrainians, and others, practically all of them refusing to be repatriated because of their opposition to communism and to the regime now governing their countries. There is no room for them in the economy of the countries where they are now living, and they would not want to work with their old enemies anyway, even if they could.

As to the present cost, we are now paying out about \$150,000,000 a year to support these people. When the International Refugee Organization is set up and operating under the United Nations, our share will be smaller, but it will still be more than the \$75,000,000 which is our direct contribution to that organization, because our occupation forces will still be confronted by these people in our zones. General McNarney has said that their presence accounts for a noticeable proportion of the troop strength we are compelled to maintain in occupied areas.

Mr. George Meader, counsel for the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, after a trip to Europe, reported:

Displaced persons are presently requiring the attention of some 800 United States Army officers and men, of whom approximately 500 are devoting full time to this duty. An estimated 10 percent of the effort of many military service troops in the American zone is also devoted to displaced persons. Approximately 1,400 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel aided by some 600 personnel of various voluntary agencies are also caring for displaced persons.

Now, if the United States, as one of the countries not devastated by war, will take the lead in taking care of these displaced persons by accepting its fair share of them, other nations will follow suit.

In trying to answer the question, What is our fair share? we must remember two things: First, that 400,000 is less than half of the quota numbers that could not be and were not used during the war. Second, this group will be taken in over a 4-year period, not all at once. One hundred thousand people a year—less than one-tenth of 1 percent of our population—cannot substantially hurt our economy in 4 years.

Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, we should stress the point that H. R. 2910 is a temporary measure, and is strictly limited in its provisions and application. It sets no precedent for further immigration. It does not attempt to change the quota system in any way. It does not make any permanent changes, in principle or otherwise, in our immigration laws. It preserves all of the screening devices we have so carefully built up over so long a period.

In this connection I would like to file with the committee as a part of my statement a description of those screening devices as they now exist because I think they are generally not well enough understood and the public tends to worry needlessly about the possibility that undesirables are or will be admitted.

Mr. FELLOWS. That permission is granted.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

MEMORANDUM ON THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES APPLICABLE TO DISPLACED PERSONS UNDER H. R. 2910

Before issuing a visa to any prospective immigrant, displaced person, or other, the consul, who is the responsible issuing authority, must satisfy himself that—

1. The applicant is properly identified, including proof of nationality, present and former residences, etc.
2. The applicant's character is up to the standards set by the existing immigration laws. These are strict and detailed. Among other requirements it must be shown that the applicant is not—
 - (a) A criminal.
 - (b) Insane or feeble-minded.
 - (c) Afflicted with a dangerous disease.
 - (d) Subversive or otherwise a threat to national security.
 - (e) Immoral.
 - (f) Illiterate.
3. In addition to these requirements, it must also be shown that the prospective immigrant is not likely to become a public charge. This showing normally includes two elements—(a) that the applicant is capable of earning a living and (b) that some responsible person or organization provides a written guaranty that he will not become a public charge.

In normal times, the duty of conducting the exhaustive investigation these restrictions make necessary falls upon the consul and his staff. Now, however, the military authorities carry the greater share of this burden. In the existing circumstances, this is an advantage since it permits utilization of the counter intelligence and other information which has been collected by the armies of occupation and which includes a wealth of data from captured official files (such as the Nazi Party lists) which would normally not be available to a foreign consular staff or its investigators. There is also available the record of the applicant's health, conduct, and associations during the period of his residence in ex-enemy territory as a displaced person.

These aspects of the current situation all contribute to the probability of a much more effective screening system than is possible in normal times. And it is confidently to be anticipated that the screening of displaced persons under H. R. 2910 will be detailed and effective in unusually high degree.

It should be added that, after the screening process abroad is completed and the individual actually arrives in the United States, he is again examined in detail by the United States Immigration authorities, and if any defects in his compliance with the laws are discovered, he may be excluded at the time of entry or later deported.

Mr. MASON. I think this description is very reassuring on this point.

Mr. Chairman, I also want to touch a little upon the humanitarian side of this matter. The displaced persons are the ones who suffered most from the war, and they are the last to get the opportunity of rehabilitating themselves. They are sturdy, able people, most of them young. They had to be to survive what killed so many of their fellow slave workers under the Nazis. And they want desperately to start work, to start rebuilding their lives. They can contribute to our country spiritually and physically if we will let them. Spiritually they will bring us their love of freedom and the fruits of their experience in fighting for it and in learning at first hand how foreign ideologies threaten it. Physically, they will bring agricultural and other skills and the willingness to enter domestic service which is now notoriously scarce in the United States.

That is why I said, off record, in the beginning, that I had a thousand muscles screaming for one of these refugees to dig my garden.

Mr. GOSSETT. We have about 25,000 or 30,000 of them already over here. Have you tried hiring any of those?

Mr. MASON. We tried to hire anybody that would work and I had to do it or Mrs. Mason would have had to do it in place of me.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you have any idea how many of these 400,000 you want so benevolently to bring over here, would work, if we brought them over here?

Mr. MASON. I have an idea that every single one would work.

Mr. GOSSETT. If you judge the future by the immediate past, you cannot draw that conclusion.

Mr. MASON. Yes; we can, because the refugees that have already come here, in every single instance, are working, and are self-supporting, and not one penny from our Government is being spent on them.

Complicating this problem of the displaced persons in connection with our immigration laws, and making it vitally necessary that something should be done to relieve the impossible situation that confronts us, is the Executive order issued by the President last December. In carrying out that Presidential order the State Department and the Justice Department assigned to the displaced persons 90 percent of the total quotas of the various countries from which these displaced persons come. This allows only 10 percent of present quotas for the regular visa applicants; therefore, very few regular visa applicants can come in. Since the greater part of our European emigrants today consist of parents and relatives of naturalized American citizens already here, the President's order prevents families from becoming reunited, thus working a hardship upon many naturalized American citizens. The President's order upset the regular established procedure for issuing visas, a procedure that had been in effect for over 20 years. Under that procedure all persons applying for visas were listed and the quota filled from that list, the names taken in the order of application.

The passage of the Stratton bill would do away with or replace the Executive order that now operates. As I stated before, under that order, 90 percent of the number of immigrants permitted to enter each year under the quotas for central and eastern European countries is assigned to these displaced persons and is charged to the quota. If H. R. 2910 becomes law there would be no further need of the executive order.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. You were serving on the Immigration Committee at the time this Executive order was promulgated in December 1945?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Was our committee or any member of our committee consulted about that Executive order?

Mr. MASON. We were not, and we felt very badly about it, and we opposed that Executive order, and we protested in a letter under orders from the committee to the President, and never received an answer to that letter.

Mr. GOSSETT. The gentleman is eminently correct.

I have often wondered under what authority the President issued such an order.

Does the gentleman know? I do not.

Mr. MASON. I do not know because it is in direct violation, as I see it, in my opinion, of our regular quota laws.

Mr. GOSSETT. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Mason, were not the immigrants to come in within the quotas?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. So would that be a violation of the quota law? All entering were chargeable to national quotas?

Mr. MASON. It is a violation of the quota laws, sir, in my opinion, in that special Executive consideration is given to these people as over and against the regular visa applicants.

Now, I want to give you an illustration of that, and it points up this objection that I had to the Executive order.

Mrs. Marzetta, an Italian resident, a grandmother of a lieutenant commander in the Navy, a graduate from Annapolis, a former pupil of mine, has been trying to come to this country. The father and mother of this lieutenant commander are naturalized citizens living in Oglesby and the father attended my night school several years.

They have not been able to get this grandmother here to take care of her in her last few years, because of the quotas, and because the 90 percent has been assigned to these others.

She is not a refugee. She is a legal resident of Italy.

Mr. GOSSETT. I might say to the gentleman that that is not an isolated case. There are hundreds of such cases.

Mr. MASON. No; I know of dozens.

But I am citing that because of the fact that I am personally interested in the family, and in this young man who went to Annapolis. I assigned him to Annapolis, and he served in the Navy all during this war, in the Pacific.

Mr. GOSSETT. And it is shameful that that lady cannot come in under the regular quotas as anticipated by the Congress.

Mr. MASON. It is.

Mr. CELLER. But was not the President actuated by even a higher law than the immigration law, the law of humanity?

Mr. MASON. I suppose that that was his reason for issuing the order.

Mr. GOSSETT. Does the gentleman know who wrote that order, as a matter of fact?

Mr. MASON. I do. At least, it was told the committee at that time that it was the Presidential adviser, Judge Rosenman, who wrote that order for him.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is my understanding.

Mr. MASON. And neither the State Department nor the Justice Department was even consulted about the order in advance.

Mr. GOSSETT. I think the gentleman is right.

Mr. CELLER. That is all water over the dam, is it not?

Mr. GOSSETT. It is not water over the dam. It is still running over the dam.

Mr. CELLER. But that does not militate against your espousal of this bill.

Mr. MASON. Not at all.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I urge favorable action on H. R. 2910 for the following reasons:

(1) It will greatly reduce the cost to us of taking care of these people.

(2) It will give the unfortunate people themselves a chance to start life anew and work out their own salvation.

(3) It will bring into this country the kind of people, by and large, that we need as citizens—people having the qualities that are necessary and desirable in a democracy.

(4) It provides that we shall assume only our fair share of the burden and the responsibility that rests upon the Allied Nations in connection with these displaced persons.

(5) It provides for very careful screening and preserves the immigration standards contained in our regular quota laws.

(6) It is the just, the humane, the Christian, the right thing for us to do.

For the above-listed reasons and many more that could be listed, I urge your committee to report the Stratton bill favorably.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Mason, you say that these people are the kind of people who are desirable and necessary to our democracy.

I take it, then, that you do not agree with the statements made at the last hearing by a member of the committee that these people are Communists?

Mr. MASON. In my opinion, sir—and we have many evidences to back that up—the great preponderance of these displaced persons are displaced persons because they object not only to communism but to the puppet governments that have been set up in their home countries, and they do not want to go back and submit themselves to that, and because of that fact, and because of their love of liberty, and because of their objection to that form of government, I say they are the kind that we need and want in our democratic government.

Mr. CELLER. It is very significant, also, is it not, that the American Communists are not urging us to open our gates to these displaced persons, which is proof positive that they are not Communist, and that they are anti-Communist?

Mr. MASON. Along that line, I have here the United States Weekly News, by David Lawrence, one of the best-posted men in the United States, and he says that—

Both France and the Netherlands would also like to get these, but France hesitates to import Poles, Balts, or Yugoslavs who have refused to return to their homes in the Russian sphere. French Communists object to such refugees as anti-Soviet.

And our Communists object to these refugees for the same reason.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, just a minute, Mr. Mason.

Mr. MASON. Yes, Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have not heard of any of our Communists objecting to these.

Mr. MASON. Haven't you?

Mr. CELLER. Have you heard any Communists advocating their admission?

Mr. GOSSETT. Some of the Communist press expressed themselves as being very hostile to what they allege to be an attitude of this committee. I happened to read some of that yesterday.

Now, all of the ultraliberal organizations, such as Americans for Democratic Action, are espousing and strongly advocating this bill.

Mr. MASON. I think you are mistaken, Mr. Gossett, about that.

Mr. GOSSETT. I may be, but I would like to hear about it.

Mr. MASON. Because all of the ultra-Red organizations are opposed to this on the same basis that the French Communists are opposed to it.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have not received any resolutions or memorials or letters from any of them to that effect.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Mason, is not that your point, that if they have not received any letters or recommendations or resolutions from the Communists, because of that absence does it not show that the Communists do not want these people, and if they wanted them in they would be very vigilant, and they would be very alert to send those letters and recommendations?

Mr. MASON. That, of course, Mr. Celler, would be your interpretation of their lack of action.

Mr. Gossett's interpretation of their lack of action is different, and mine might be a different one. But these are all personal interpretations of this lack of action, and I do not think it has any bearing directly on the problems that are facing this committee.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am not assuming that it does, except that the gentleman injected that into his statement.

Mr. CELLER. Which gentleman?

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Mason said that the Communists were all opposed to this bill.

Now, I have always assumed that the Daily Worker and P M pretty well spoke the party line, and both of those publications apparently are strongly supporting this bill.

Mr. MASON. I have not seen one word in either of those publications, and I would like to have you show me one word in which they said they favored this bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes, sir; they called me a benevolent undertaker.

Mr. GRAHAM. And I am huge-jowelled.

Mr. MASON. Of course, Mr. Chairman, I have sat at the rostrum on these immigration problems for 10 years, and I have been called many names myself, so probably that is only a part of it.

Mr. FELLOWS. Read P M, and you will find a whole page devoted to it.

Mr. CELLER. PM is not a Communist paper, and I will say that without any fear of contradiction. It is absurd to call PM a Communist paper.

Mr. FELLOWS. We are not calling it a Communist paper.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Gossett called it a Communist paper.

Mr. FELLOWS. He said that he had not seen anything in PM. He stated that he had not read it.

Mr. CELLER. Excuse me. Mr. Gossett did bracket PM with the Daily Worker and I deny that the PM is a Communist paper.

Mr. FELLOWS. I do not want to discuss that.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, is all of this byplay part of the testimony?

I am through unless you have some questions that you want to ask me.

Mr. FELLOWS. I have no questions.

Mr. GOSSETT. I want to say that the gentleman who has just testified is a fine, Christian gentleman, one of the best citizens in this country.

Mr. MASON. Thank you, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. He himself is a Scotch immigrant.

Mr. MASON. An English-Welsh immigrant.

Mr. GRAHAM. A Welsh immigrant.

Mr. GOSSETT. And I do not believe you will find any of his type, a very, very few, less than one-hundredth of 1 percent, if there are that many of them, in the present displaced persons camp.

Mr. MASON. There is not one of them, Mr. Gossett, because they would not be displaced persons.

Coming from England and Wales, they are not displaced persons, and their quota has never been oversubscribed, and there is an abundance of quotas for the English and Welsh right now.

Mr. CELLER. I want to compliment the gentleman, because——

Mr. MASON. Now, don't let's make this a love feast.

Mr. CELLER. He is not only an eminent Christian gentleman but a firm believer in the Bible that was given to the world by Christians and Jews.

Mr. MASON. And the reason that I am is that my name is Noah, and every one of the 13 children that were born to my parents had Bible names, and perhaps that is one reason that I was pretty well grounded in the Bible in early youth.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, Mr. Mason.

Are there any further questions?

(No response.)

Mr. FELLOWS. Now Captain Trevor has got to get away from town. I am going to call him as the next witness.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, I am going to have to leave rather early. I received a petition in the mail this morning, that, if there is no objection, I would like to read into the record at this particular point.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well; proceed.

Mr. GOSSETT. We had some testimony yesterday about the abundance of housing and here is a petition from my home town, of Wichita Falls, signed by around 30 colored citizens. It is addressed to me and to Senator Taft and to Congressman Wolcott and to the Honorable Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and to the Honorable Carroll Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee:

From: Negro voters of Wichita Falls, Tex.

Subject: The general housing bill.

An intensive study of housing as the No. 1 problem facing Negroes convinces us that comprehensive national legislation is essential to slum elimination and provision of decent housing within financial reach of various racial and income groups. Efforts of local governments and citizenry to relieve intolerable living conditions are vitiated by lack of tools to attack basic cost, land, and production problems. In the face of unprecedented need, public housing is at a standstill, nothing is being built for moderate-income families. All of the social evils incident to the housing shortage and slum life persist and racial tensions continue to mount in the wake of competition for space and shelter. The need for a national-housing policy, coordinating agency, and Federal aids for land assembly and lower costs, have been clearly established. It now lies solely within the power of the Congress to give us an opportunity to break the housing blockade in our communities. Therefore, we, the undersigned, do urge the prompt passage

of the general housing bill, S. 866 (H. R. 2523), and do earnestly solicit your support, as witness our several signatures below.

I simply offer that as evidence of the fact that the housing problem has not been solved.

Mr. CELLER. I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we do not allow any of these aliens that might come in under this bill to go into Mr. Gossett's district, that is all.

Mr. GOSSETT. I want to take care of my colored friends first.

Mr. FELLOWS. Captain, would you state your full name and whom you represent, for the record?

STATEMENT OF JOHN B. TREVOR, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COALITION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. TREVOR. My name is John B. Trevor. I represent the American Coalition, and I have set forth in my prepared statement a few comments on that organization.

Mr. CELLER. What is the American Coalition, Mr. Trevor?

Mr. TREVOR. The American Coalition is an association of 85 outstanding patriotic societies of the country who are represented on the board by their chief executive officer and one delegate.

Mr. CELLER. Was not the American Coalition named in an indictment of alleged seditionists by a Federal grand jury, and it was charged that the alleged defendants, with the coalition plotted "to interfere with, impair, and influence the loyalty, morale, and discipline" of the armed forces, and "to cause insubordination, mutiny, and refusal of duty" among soldiers and sailors?

Mr. TREVOR. The indictment to which you refer stated that among the organizations which it was alleged were used by the people under indictment was our organization.

Now, as a matter of fact, those organizations had no connection or relationships whatsoever with our organization.

I want to say this further, Mr. Congressman, that throughout the periods when the President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, issued an order that none of the regular services, like the FBI, and the Military Intelligence, and the Naval Intelligence, could make any investigation into subversive groups in the absence of an overt act, I was requested by some officers in the Navy to assist in the situation, and I, through the Coalition, employed an investigator to go into the whole ramifications of the Bund and we submitted reports regularly to the Office of Naval Intelligence in New York regarding the activities of the Bund, and all those reports were forwarded direct to the Navy Department in Washington and reports of special interest I personally forwarded to Mr. Hoover, the Director of the FBI.

In other words, we filled a complete lapse in the operations of these Government departments by supplying them with information as to what was really going on among subversive groups.

Mr. CELLER. Were the following associated at any time with the Coalition: James True, Elizabeth Dilling, who were defendants in the sedition trial?

Mr. TREVOR. No.

Mr. CELLER. Was John E. Kelly, convicted as an unregistered Franco agent, connected with the Coalition?

Mr. TREVOR. No. As a matter of fact, I personally went to the Military Intelligence officer in New York and tried to get him to investigate Kelly long before any action was taken.

Mr. CELLER. But you admit that the Coalition was named in that indictment that I mentioned?

Mr. TREVOR. It was referred to in the indictment. It was not named as a party to the alleged crime.

Mr. CELLER. Was it not coupled with the phraseology that I indicated—

to interfere with, impair, and influence the loyalty, morale, and discipline of the armed forces?

Mr. TREVOR. Those statements are absolutely false.

Mr. CELLER. They were in the indictment; were they not?

Mr. TREVOR. They were; but the indictment, as I understand, was quashed.

Mr. FELLOWS. Say that again. What happened to the indictment?

Mr. TREVOR. It was quashed.

Mr. GRAHAM. For the sake of the record, where was this indictment filed?

Mr. TREVOR. Here in Washington.

Mr. GRAHAM. And do you know the number of it?

Mr. TREVOR. No, sir. I can supply you with all the information and can supply you with a complete statement.

Mr. GRAHAM. And the final disposition of the indictment, whether it went to trial or not.

Mr. TREVOR. No; it never went to trial.

Mr. GRAHAM. Then I think it is entirely improper to introduce anything of that character if it did not come to trial.

Mr. CELLER. I just wanted to find out the facts. The answer can be given and the answer was given.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman himself was the head of the Military Intelligence in the New York area during the World War I.

Mr. TREVOR. That is right.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, the question would have been ruled incompetent, irrelevant, and immaterial, if that question had been asked by Mr. Celler in court.

Mr. CELLER. Now, where there is smoke there is fire, and the indictment means something and the indictment, for purposes of a congressional hearing, is evident. We are not a court of law.

Mr. GRAHAM. I move for decency.

Mr. GOSSETT. The gentleman represents the Coalition—85 patriotic societies.

Mr. TREVOR. That is right, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. Would it be out of order to have those societies listed and placed in the record?

Mr. TREVOR. I have that list here. I will supply it. And I would also like to offer a list of 27 organizations that especially requested that their names be incorporated in opposition to this bill.

Mr. GOSSETT. I would like to have that in the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, that will be incorporated in the record.

Mr. CELLER. And after the names have been placed in the record, I reserve the right to comment on some of those organizations.

Mr. FELLOWS. Would you read those organizations now?

Mr. TREVOR (reading) :

American Defense Council;
 Americanism Defense League;
 American League for Good Government, Inc.;
 American Vigilant Intelligence Federation;
 American War Mothers;
 American Women's Legion;
 Associated Chapters, Order of De Molay of Pennsylvania;
 Associated Farmers of California, Inc.;
 California Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America;
 Colonial Order of the Acorn, New York Chapter;
 Congress of States Societies;
 Connecticut Daughters of the American Colonists;
 Dames of the Loyal Legion of the United States;
 Daughters of America, National Council;
 Daughters of America, District of Columbia Council;
 District of Columbia Commandery, Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War;
 District of Columbia Society, Order Founders and Patriots of America;
 Eugenics Society of Northern California;
 First Motor Corps Unit, No. 12, Massachusetts State Guard Veterans;
 Fraternal Patriotic Americans, State of Pennsylvania, Inc.;
 General Court, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America;
 General Pershing Chapter, American War Mothers;
 General Society of the War of 1812;
 Illinois Society of War of 1812;
 Immigration Restriction League;
 Junior Order United American Mechanics, New Jersey;
 Junior Order United American Mechanics, New York, Inc.;
 Junior Order United American Mechanics, Pennsylvania;
 Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic;
 Massachusetts Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America;
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery in Chief;
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of New York;
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania;
 Military Order of the World Wars;
 National Camp, Patriotic Order Sons of America;
 National Commandery, Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War;
 National Constitution Day Committee;
 National Council, Sons and Daughters of Liberty;
 National Society, Daughters of the Revolution;
 National Society, Daughters of the Union, 1861-65;
 National Society for Constitutional Security;
 National Society for Constitutional Security, Chapter I;
 National Society of New England Women;
 National Society, Patriotic Women of America, Inc.;
 National Society, Service Star Legion;
 National Society, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims;
 National Society, Sons of the American Revolution;
 National Society, Sons of the American Revolution in California;
 National Society, United States Daughters of 1812;
 National Society, United States Daughters of 1812, State of New York;
 National Society, Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company;
 National Woman's Relief Corps;
 New Jersey Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America;
 New Jersey State Society, Daughters of the Revolution;
 New York City Colony, National Society of New England Women;

New York Society, United States Daughters of 1812;
 Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America;
 Order of Independent Americans, Inc., State Council of Pennsylvania;
 Order of Three Crusades 1096-1192, Inc.;
 Pennsylvania Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America;
 Philadelphia Protestant Federation;
 Regular Veterans Association;
 Rhode Island Association of Patriots;
 Rhode Island Daughters of the American Colonists;
 Rhode Island Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America;
 Society of Colonial Wars in the District of Columbia;
 Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York;
 Society of New York State Women;
 Society of Old Plymouth Colony Descendants;
 Society of the Daughters of the United States Army;
 Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts;
 Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War;
 Southern Vigilant Intelligence Association, Inc.;

Mr. CELLER. Is that the American Vigilant Intelligence?

Mr. TREVOR. Southern.

Mr. CELLER. What was it?

Mr. TREVOR. The Southern Vigilant Intelligence Association, Inc.

Mr. CELLER. The Southern Intelligence? I did not hear that.

Mr. TREVOR. The Southern Vigilant Intelligence Association, Inc.

[Continuing reading:]

State Council (District of Columbia) Sons and Daughters of Liberty;
 State Council (Massachusetts) Sons and Daughters of Liberty;
 Tax Evils Committee of Council Bluffs, Iowa;
 The Federation of Huguenot Societies in America;
 The Wheel of Progress;
 Veterans of Foreign Wars of United States, Department of Delaware;
 Veterans of Foreign Wars of United States, Morley S. Oates Auxiliary, No. 701;
 Westchester Security League;
 Wisconsin Chapter, Daughters of Founders and Patriots;
 Women's National Defense Committee of Philadelphia;
 Women of Army and Navy Legion of Valor, United States of America.

Then most of these are duplicated in the list requesting special representation.

I wonder, Mr. Chairman, in view of the attack that has been made upon me by Mr. Celler—

Mr. CELLER. I did not make any attack upon you personally. I made the attack upon the Coalition.

Mr. TREVOR. It is the same thing.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is what he is appearing for.

Mr. CELLER. I did not attack him.

Mr. TREVOR. You will permit me to read an item from the New York Times of May 3, 1924?

Lauds Celler's Vote Against Italian Ban—Ambassador for Italy Also Calls Attention to Immigration Conference in Rome.

I would like to say that the Ambassador was Mussolini's Ambassador to the United States.

In a letter addressed by Prince Gelasio Caetani, the Italian Ambassador, to Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, concerning the pending immigration bill, the Ambassador felicitates Mr. Celler on his speech in the House in

opposition to restrictive immigration, and thanks him especially "for the frank and open position that you have taken in upholding the dignity of my race."

Mr. Celler and others who fought the Johnson bill said that it unduly discriminated against the peoples of southern Europe, notable Italians, in favor of immigrants from northern Europe and the British Isles.

Prince Caetani's letter contains no criticism of those who supported the measure.

Copies of Prince Caetani's letter have been forwarded by Representative Celler to a number of Italian newspapers. In an accompanying letter Mr. Celler directs attention to the Rome conference on immigration and expresses the hope that it will have the effect of softening "our hitherto harsh attitude toward Italian immigration." He says in part:

"Don Gelasio Caetani speaks of an international conference of immigration and emigration to be held under the auspices of the Italian Government at Rome, May 15.

"I am sure a great deal of good will come out of this interchange, which is to be technical rather than diplomatic in character. I fervently hope that results of this conference will be the softening of our hitherto harsh attitude toward Italian immigration. It is not passing strange that the conference is summoned by that very Government against whose nationals the immigration law recently passed by Congress bears most heavily.

"I say with a great deal of pride that I voted against this unjust bill, which for neither rhyme nor reason reduced the Italian quota to practically a negligible figure.

"The Department of Labor of the United States is sending two officials to this conference. I hope that they will bring back an unbiased opinion concerning Italian immigration that may lay the foundation for amendments to the immigration bill which will make it wholesome, just, and liberal."

Mr. CELLER. What is the date of that?

Mr. TREVOR. That is from the New York Times of Tuesday, May 13, 1924.

Mr. CELLER. I am very happy to have that brought up, because I reaffirm today every single word that I uttered way back in 1924, because I felt then, and I feel now, that the Johnson Act set up what was called superior classes and advocated Nordic supremacy, and among Nordics included the Germans, who also developed a theory, or tried to develop the theory, of Herrenvolk and Slavenvolk, superior people and slave people. See what the Hitler theory of "superior people" brought us.

All the Aryans and Nordics were to be superiors, and all the rest of the people of the globe were to be the slaves.

Now, the theory that I inunciated in that letter, to my mind, is eminently sound and proper. I stand by that letter.

Mr. GOSSETT. The gentleman is not contending that our immigration laws embody those principles?

Mr. CELLER. It certainly does, because, as I stated in that letter, the present immigration laws by virtue of the Johnson Act, discriminated deliberately against the peoples from southern and eastern Europe and favored unduly the people from northern and western Europe, and therefore you did say in that bill, or rather in that act, that there were some peoples who were better or superior than others, and I deny that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Can we please go along on this, Captain?

Mr. TREVOR. May I make some comment on that?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes; but briefly, so that we can get along here.

Mr. TREVOR. Oh, very briefly.

I merely want to say that the provisions of the national-origins revision of the Quota Act were especially designed so that there could be no basis whatsoever for any ground of discrimination against the immigrants from any nation.

Mr. CHELF. Was it not drawn upon the basis, the whole idea, of the number of people then in the United States from foreign countries?

Mr. TREVOR. No, sir. It was based on an analysis of the whole population of the United States, and all the contributions which have been made to it from the time of the first settlement down to 1920. It covered an analysis of all the people.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, it took a break-down of the total population at that time?

Mr. TREVOR. It took a break-down, yes, of the total population at that time.

Mr. CHELF. And if the Italian quota was low, then there were few Italians in the country at that time; right?

Mr. ROBSION. Would the gentleman permit me to interrupt?

Was not that based on the census of 1890?

Mr. TREVOR. No, sir. The national-origins system was not based on the census of 1890.

Mr. ROBSION. The act of 1924 was based upon the origins by the census of 1890.

Mr. TREVOR. That was a temporary provision, sir, and the reason why the Senate insisted particularly on the abandonment of that system was because it did embody discriminations between nations.

The national-origins system, which is now in force, abolished all ground whatsoever for any claim that there was discrimination between any nations.

Mr. ROBSION. It is based on origin? I mean, the quota is based on origin.

Mr. TREVOR. An analysis of populations, instead of on any census.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes.

Mr. TREVOR. It was not based on any individual census. It was made on the basis of the whole population and the contributions to it since the beginning of the Republic.

An analysis was made by Dr. Hill, the Director of the Census, who was chairman of the committee, and he performed a very remarkable piece of work.

Mr. CHELF. Captain, as I understand it, the English had more people here, so the English got a larger quota.

Mr. TREVOR. The people of English origin.

Mr. CHELF. That is what I mean.

Mr. TREVOR. And so on down the line. Every country got its fair share.

Mr. CELLER. Would you not say that the result would be the following:

For example, the English quota, or the Great Britain quota, some 66,000, or thereabouts, the Italian quota being—what is it, 5,000?

Mr. TREVOR. 5,000, I think. I can give you the figures right away if you want them.

Mr. CELLER. 5,802. Would you not say that because of such a discrepancy that there is unequal treatment and therefore discrimination?

Mr. TREVOR. No, sir; because there were hardly any Italians in the country before 1870.

Mr. GOSSETT. Captain, is not this supposed to be an Anglo-Saxon country? We are an English-speaking nation, are we not?

Mr. TREVOR. Yes; but this thing was supposed to be absolutely fair to everybody.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am not referring to the city of New York. Of course, that is not strictly an English-speaking section.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, you do not mean that.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am talking about the United States. The United States is an English-speaking nation, is it not?

Mr. TREVOR. I assumed it was.

Mr. CELLER. There are some portions of Texas which are German speaking.

Mr. GOSSETT. They are fine people.

Mr. CELLER. Certainly they are fine. They are all fine. Everyone is as good as anybody else, and I must challenge a statement which seeks to discriminate and infer that some people are inferior to other people. Certainly, New York City's people are every bit as good as the people of your Texas.

Mr. TREVOR. That was one reason why the Congress adopted the quota system of national origins, because it was fair to all people.

Now, Mr. Celler, you must admit that what you are objecting to was that the Italian quota was cut from something like 42,000 down to what really the legitimate quota of the Italian race entitled it to.

Now, I am not saying anything against the Italians. I am not saying anything against any race that is given a quota or any nation that is given a quota. They all got their fair share under the system now in force.

Mr. CELLER. You admit that the Italian people have made very splendid contributions to the American culture and economy and has advanced its arts and its refinements?

Mr. FELLOWS. Nobody can question that.

May I interrupt a moment, and read the law, one short paragraph, into the record?

It is entitled, "Annual quota for fiscal year beginning July 1, 1927."

Minimum quota:

(b) The annual quota of any nationality for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1929, and for each fiscal year thereafter, shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that nationality origin (ascertained as hereinafter provided in this section) bears to the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920; but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100.

That is the way the law reads today.

Mr. TREVOR. May I proceed with my prepared statement, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

I am also going to put into the record the status of the immigration quota allotments at this point.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

Quota area	Annual immi- gration quota	Quota area	Annual immi- gration quota
Afghanistan.....	100	Luxembourg.....	100
Albania.....	100	Monaco.....	100
Andorra.....	100	Morocco.....	100
Arabian Peninsula.....	100	Muscat.....	100
Australia.....	100	Nauru.....	100
Belgium.....	1,304	Nepal.....	100
Bhutan.....	100	Netherlands.....	3,153
Bulgaria.....	100	New Guinea.....	100
Cameroons.....	100	New Zealand.....	100
Cameroun.....	100	Norway.....	2,377
China.....	100	Palestine.....	100
Chinese (racial).....	105	Philippine Islands.....	50
Czechoslovakia.....	2,874	Poland.....	6,524
Danzig.....	100	Portugal.....	440
Denmark.....	1,181	Raunda and Urundi.....	100
Egypt.....	100	Rumania.....	377
Estonia.....	116	Samoa, Western.....	100
Ethiopia.....	100	San Marino.....	100
Finland.....	569	Saudi Arabia.....	100
France.....	3,086	Siam.....	100
Germany.....	27,370	South West Africa.....	100
Great Britain and North Ireland.....	65,721	Spain.....	252
Greece.....	307	Sweden.....	314
Hungary.....	869	Switzerland.....	1,707
Iceland.....	100	Syria and Lebanon.....	123
India.....	100	Tanganyika Territory.....	100
Iran.....	100	Togoland (British).....	100
Iraq.....	100	Togoland (French).....	100
Ireland (Eire).....	17,853	Turkey.....	228
Italy.....	5,802	Union of South Africa.....	100
Japan.....	100	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	2,712
Latvia.....	236	Yap and other Pacific islands.....	100
Liberia.....	100	Yugoslavia.....	845
Liechtenstein.....	100		
Lithuania.....	386	Total.....	153,879

Mr. FELLOWS. Go ahead, Captain.

Mr. TREVOR. I represent the American Coalition as its president. The headquarters of our organization is located in room 315 of the Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

For the information of recently elected Members of Congress, permit me to say that the board of directors of the American Coalition is composed of the chief executive officer and one delegate from each of the 85 patriotic, civic, and fraternal societies of the association.

I appear before this committee under authority of a resolution adopted at our last annual convention held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., on January 24 of this year. The resolution was unanimously adopted after an amendment from the floor to include specific objection to any relaxation of the existing law which might prevent the entry of refugees.

This resolution reads as follows:

Whereas there is growing evidence of a determined effort by foreign blocs, here and abroad, to break down our immigration laws; and

Whereas, for a period of 8 years prior to the outbreak of World War II, the unemployed in the United States ranged from 8,000,000 to 12,000,000 people; and

Whereas we have demobilized millions of men and women from the armed services of the United States who must be given an opportunity for employment; and

Whereas there is a critical shortage in housing for our people in general and our veterans in particular: Be it therefore

Resolved, That for the purpose of protecting the interests of all our citizens, and particularly our veterans, and for the purpose of excluding foreign elements imbued with political ideologies wholly at variance with our constitutional

system of government, the American Coalition, in annual convention assembled, urges upon the Congress that all immigration into the United States be suspended, except the wives and minor children of citizens, and that the admission of refugees and displaced persons shall not be permitted, either by special legislation, unused quotas, or Executive order.

Mr. Chairman, in addition to the general authority conferred upon me at the annual convention of the American Coalition, I have received communications from the officers of 27 societies requesting me to represent their organizations in their individual capacity. Their purposes, of course, is to emphasize their support of the American Coalition's position in opposition to H. R. 2910 and similar bills. Also, we have received a telegram signed by Mr. C. M. Goethe, of Sacramento, stating that the California Immigration Restriction League, of which State Senator Grant is president—asking that this society be registered as a member of the American Coalition and that I should represent it today in opposition to the bills now before your committee.

We have also received a telegram from an organization which is not included in the American Coalition signed by Mr. Henry Ward, representing the Immigration Restriction League of Boston, requesting me to represent them in opposition to H. R. 2190 and bills of a similar nature.

Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that it is the intention of your committee to concentrate its attention on H. R. 2910, sponsored by Mr. Stratton.

Furthermore, from facts set forth in an article signed by Frank Kelly, published on May 17 in the New York Herald Tribune, I gather that H. R. 2910 is expressive of the administration's immigration policy.

Mr. Chairman, permit me to preface my remarks by stating categorically that the American Coalition and the individual societies which I have been asked to represent are emphatically opposed to Mr. Stratton's bill and to any bills of a similar nature. The title of this bill sets forth, in effect, that it is emergency legislation. We have found by experience during the past 12 years that emergency legislation is usually the forerunner of appeals to make such legislation permanent. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, we are convinced, for reasons which I shall elaborate later in the course of my remarks, that H. R. 2910 is the spearhead of a drive by the foreign blocs to ultimately abolish the national-origins quota system.

Mr. ROBSION. I wonder if the gentleman will permit me to interrupt for a question?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. Of course this particular legislation is not temporary. It is permanent. I mean, those persons who come in under it are here and remain here permanently if they desire; is not that it?

Mr. TREVOR. Of course, sir. But what I mean is that the effect of the bill continues for a period of 4 years, and it does not go, at the present moment, beyond that. That is what I meant by the distinction from this other matter.

However that may be, Mr. Chairman, insofar as this bill sets forth, we are living in an emergency period. I cannot say to you too forcefully that the provisions of H. R. 2910 are in direct opposition to a condition of affairs in the United States which represent a real emer-

gency for Americans in America, an emergency which not only affects all civilians throughout the United States, but also an emergency which has a direct bearing upon the conditions of life which now confront those gallant men and women who, throughout the recent war, were incorporated in the armed services of the United States.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will point out to the committee that "the housing crisis is just as acute as ever and even threatens to become more serious. From New York to San Francisco, from Milwaukee down to New Orleans, the situation is much the same for veterans and nonveterans. About 40 percent of the men who were in uniform still are living doubled up with friends or relatives, or occupying other makeshift quarters; and nearly 25 percent of all married veterans are without homes of their own." That statement, Mr. Chairman, in regard to the housing crisis, I have quoted from an important article signed by Lee E. Cooper, published in the New York Times, Sunday, May 25, 1947.

This deplorable state of affairs, Mr. Chairman, is not the only emergency of an economic character which faces all the people, civilians and veterans alike, now dwelling within the borders of the United States. I am referring now to the fact that unemployment is becoming a threat to the existence of every working man and woman. Let me be specific.

On May 19, 1947, the New York Daily News published the fruits of its investigation into the unemployment problem of New York City. The gist of its investigation is that between 400,000 and 500,000 people in New York City are now out of employment, while the figure given for the total number of employed in New York City is 2,600,000. These facts make evident that the situation is really becoming serious in that city. With the ratio of unemployed standing at approximately 1 to 6 still employed, it is amazing to me that any representative from that city should sponsor legislation to permit the entry of a single additional immigrant into the United States.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Trevor, just a minute.

Have you had occasion to check those figures with the Daily News in any way, or just take it on face value?

Mr. TREVOR. I am going to offer some corroboration, sir.

Mr. CELLER. What makes you think that there are between 400,000 and 500,000 people unemployed in New York City? I know of no such figures. I know of no such unemployment, and I can speak, I think, with some degree of authority, because I am very much interested in New York City. I hail from New York City.

Mr. TREVOR. Will you permit me to proceed with some corroboration of this?

Mr. CELLER. Go ahead.

Mr. TREVOR. In corroboration of these findings by the research staff of the Daily News, I submit, Mr. Chairman, for the consideration of your committee, an article in the New York Times, of May 25. The title of this article reads as follows:

Jobless Here Put Over 400,000 Level.

The text of the article begins by saying:

Unemployment within New York City has increased steadily and there are now slightly more than 400,000 unemployed here, Mr. Joseph Tierney, metropolitan area director, New York State Employment Service, disclosed in an interview last week.

The articles goes on to say:

As of May 16, 288,000 persons applied for unemployment insurance, according to statistics gathered by Mr. Tierney's office. Of these, 202,000 were civilians and 86,000 veterans applying for Federal readjustment allowances also administered by the State. Moreover, an additional 65,000 exhausted unemployment insurance benefits as of the same date and Mr. Tierney estimated that at least two-thirds may be regarded as still unemployed.

Mr. CELLER. Just a minute, Mr. Trevor. The figures indicate about 282,000 veterans and nonveterans who have sought some sort of aid from the Federal Government, either unemployment aid, or compensation, or other aid. That does not mean that there are 400,000 people out of work, or 500,000 out of work.

Mr. TREVOR. I am quoting one of the greatest newspapers in New York, as you, I think, will recognize, the New York Times, quoting official statements by officers of the State. I am not making any comment on it. I am simply presenting it as factual evidence from official sources, published by a highly reputable newspaper.

Mr. ROBSION. Who is the man that they are quoting now? What is he?

Mr. TREVOR. Mr. Tierney. They quote Mr. Joseph Tierney, metropolitan area director, New York State Employment Service.

Mr. ROBSION. He would deal directly with this particular problem of employment and unemployment, would he not?

Mr. TREVOR. Obviously, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. And he takes in the whole city, not only of New York City but the metropolitan area?

Mr. TREVOR. Yes; and the article is headed, as a result of discussions of this question with him, which corroborates exactly the findings of the Daily News.

Mr. CELLER. The metropolitan area of New York City takes in about 14,000,000 people and I assure you even if there were 400,000 people out of work, that would not be a large proportion because there are always some unemployed. There is always a transitory period from one job to another and I do not think that those figures, if you consider the entire New York area, are very consequential.

Mr. TREVOR. Well, sir, it is very consequential to the people who are unemployed.

Mr. CELLER. Certainly.

Mr. TREVOR. Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I will now broaden the base of our domestic emergency to include statistics covering all the 48 States. In response to an inquiry addressed to the Bureau of the Census, we received the following information:

1. Total unemployed persons as of April 6, 1947 to April 12, 1947, the latest available figures—2,420,000.

Mr. CELLER. What was the total employed during that period?

Mr. TREVOR. We did not ask that, sir. We were interested in the people who were unemployed.

Mr. CELLER. I am interested in the comparison.

Mr. TREVOR. Of all families in the United States 50 percent received yearly money incomes of \$2,400 or less. Included within this group it was reported that—

- (a) Ten percent of all families received a money income under \$500 yearly;
- (b) Nineteen and one-half percent of families received a money income of under \$1,000.

Mr. Chairman, I venture to suggest to the committee that the housing shortage, the unemployment situation, and the substandard living conditions of a large section of our people are much more of an emergency situation for the Congress to consider than the admittedly deplorable political and social conditions which exist throughout Europe and Asia at the present day.

Mr. Chairman, I trust that when you are giving consideration to these matters you will remember that if H. R. 2910 should be enacted by Congress into law and all the existing quotas now authorized by the Immigration Act of 1924 should be filled, over 250,000 people a year would enter the United States, and in the 4 years covered by H. R. 2910, 1,000,000 foreigners would enter the United States.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, you know, Captain Trevor, that the quotas have never been filled for many years, and there is no likelihood that they will be filled.

Mr. TREVOR. Congressman Celler, I recognize the fact that certain quotas have not been filled, but the transportation situation is now very similar to what it was after World War I. The people cannot get out. But they want to come, and the best evidence is this bill of Mr. Stratton's that wants to admit 400,000 people from an area that in the last fiscal year, I think, contributed only about 11,000 to the quota but that was simply a question of transportation. That was not a question of because they did not want to come.

Mr. CELLER. Let us get a few figures at that point.

The annual possible quota was 153,879.

In 1944, only 9,394 quota immigrants came in.

In 1943, only 9,045.

In 1942, 14,597.

And as a matter of fact, in some of the prior years, more people went out of the country than came in. That is, there were more emigrants than there were immigrants.

Mr. TREVOR. I contend, sir, that the transportation situation is very similar to what it was after the last war.

Now, if you will remember, and you were in Congress at that time, and heard the debate, you will recall that there was an official estimate that there were about 10,000,000 afloat in Europe at that time and that over 2,000,000 White Russians were wandering around the world trying to find a refuge, and at the same time the Congress recognized by overwhelming majority that this country could not stand further dilution of its basic stock or our political institutions would be doomed.

Now, the theory of that was that all the people of central, southern, and eastern Europe have for generations lived under paternalistic governments, and their whole tradition was of dependence on authority from above, and not individual initiative.

Mr. CELLER. You know, this argument of original stock was advanced a hundred years ago when people were trying to come in. Those early comers always deplored the coming of the late comers.

For example, the English did not want the Dutch to come in.

The Dutch did not want the Germans to come in.

The Germans did not want the Italians to come in.

And so on and so forth. We have always had arguments in our history. There have always been those who claimed that those who are already here are the better ones and those who want to come in are not so good and should be kept out.

Mr. TREVOR. It is not a question of not so good. They may be superior. But the people who founded this country, who came to this country in the early days, gave us a Constitutional Government which embodies freedoms which exist in no other country in the world.

Mr. CELLER. Yes; but after those founding fathers gave us that government, many foreign strains came in and bettered the economy with their contributions of brain and brawn and gave us a land which has the highest standard of living of all the world.

Mr. TREVOR. You say that these other strains bettered the country. Then you have a discrimination against the basic stock, Mr. Celler.

Mr. CELLER. No; I have not. I say the basic stock is no better or no worse than the later comers.

Mr. TREVOR. Pardon me. I was just quoting you. You said they bettered the country after the basic stock came over.

Mr. CELLER. No; I said that they advanced the economy of the country so that we have the highest standard of living in the world.

In other words, these people—later comers—who were deplored by the earlier comers nonetheless contributed much to our economy and will continue to contribute much to our economy.

Mr. ROBSION. I would like to make an observation there. I was a Member of Congress in 1921 when we passed the rather substantially restrictive immigration law, the law of 1924.

Now, as I recall, about 1924, the Congress made special efforts to have the whole southern section of Europe pretty thoroughly investigated, first, to ascertain what the number of people wanting to come to the United States was, and would want to leave their homes in Poland and in Italy, trying to get shipping, and the ships had been booked ahead for passage for some 2 or 3 or 4 years to get the people drawing toward the ports to find a way to get passage when the shipping was short.

Now, one of the main purposes in fixing the quotas on a basis of origin is the question of assimilation. As I recall the figures at that time, up to the time of the close of the Civil War, perhaps less than 5,000 people had come to this country from eastern and southeastern Europe. And on the question of assimilation, they wanted to fix this quota so that the number of people that were here, of all kinds, and as you stated, there was no desire to discriminate against any people who were here—

Mr. TREVOR. No.

Mr. ROBSION. Except those of the Asiatic races. They were not put on the quota basis at that time, but it was a question of assimilation.

Mr. TREVOR. That is right, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. In other words, you have more English here, and more Dutch, and more Swedes, and so forth, than you had eastern and southeastern Europeans, so we wanted to build an immigration that the people that were here would readily assimilate.

Mr. TREVOR. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION. Because of those who are now complaining, like my friend, Mr. Celler, there really were practically none of them here

when the Revolution was fought, when the Constitution was written and adopted, and when the War of 1812 was fought, and the Mexican War or the Civil War, and it was not reasonable to suppose that they would be indoctrinated with our American democracy such as those who had been here and had participated in those achievements in building this country.

Now, there is no purpose or desire—there is none on my part—to discriminate against any people or any nation. We wish to put it on a basis where those that do come, in relation to those who were here, could be more readily assimilated into American institutions, American ideals, and American life.

Mr. TREVOR. Of course, the Congressman is absolutely correct, and I was intimately associated with both the Democratic and the Republican members of the House committee and that was the exact purpose. They did not want to discriminate against anybody or any nation but they wanted to limit the quotas and limit the kind of people who were coming in to those who could be readily assimilated—just exactly as you stated, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. As I say, there was no desire to discriminate. It was just a question of more ready assimilation, and that is what you want.

Mr. TREVOR. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION. It was not even a partisan matter.

Mr. TREVOR. It was not a partisan matter.

Mr. ROBSION. Many Democrats and many Republicans favored this legislation, and some Democrats and some Republicans were opposed to it, just as they are on this question.

Mr. TREVOR. As a matter of fact, I can tell you from my personal knowledge that although that was a Republican-dominated Immigration Committee of the House, Mr. Raker, of California, was the man who assigned the job—and he was a Democrat—of writing the committee report. And there was absolute unity of that committee with the exception of Mr. Sabath and Mr. Dickstein. Those were the only two on the committee that disagreed. All the others, Democrats and Republicans, had one idea—just the idea you, sir, have expressed.

Mr. CELLER. Captain, I want to say this, that there has always been resentment against the coming of the alien ever since we were a Nation.

I made some study of the situation. For example, I wish to quote from Niles' Weekly Register, a very popular publication at the time. On September 18, 1819, an editorial in Niles' Weekly Register said this:

The tide of emigration still sets to the United States. Never before, perhaps, except in the last year, did so many persons from Europe reach our shores. * * * We regret that it is so. * * * We have always until just now greeted the stranger on his arrival here with pleasure. There was room enough for all that would come. * * * Now, however, our population in most of the maritime districts and in some parts of the interior also seems too thick * * * and that hitherto sure refuge of the industrious foreign emigrant, the western country, is overstocked by domestic emigration.

I read you from the Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United State from Foreign Immigration, by an American, S. F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. He said as follows:

Then, we were few, feeble, and scattered. Now, we are numerous, strong, and concentrated. Then, our accessions of immigration were real accessions of strength from the ranks of the learned and the good, from the enlightened mechanic and artisan and intelligent husbandman. Now, immigration is the

accession of weakness, from the ignorant and vicious, or the priest-ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany, or the outcast tenants of the poorhouses and prisons of Europe.

That was written in 1835.

In 1859, I read from the *Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godwin*:

The prodigious influx of Irish during the past 20 years has created a large Irish class apart from the rest of the people—poor, ignorant, helpless, and degraded, condemned by Americans, used as tools by politicians of all parties, doing all the hard work and menial duties of the country, and filling the jails and almshouses almost to the exclusion of everybody else.

In 1873, I read from a book by Joseph P. Thompson, entitled "*Church and State in the United States*":

A very large percentage of vice and crime in the United States, especially in the great cities, is chargeable to European immigration. The police statistics of New York show that the vast majority of prisoners arrested for criminal offenses are of European birth; and of these, again, the great majority are natives of Ireland.

In 1898, I read from an *Annual Report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics*:

Immigrants from Northern Europe—Danes and Swedes—interfere very much with the keeping up of the wages in the trade. That is the principal thing we find fault with.

Native Americanism with its antagonisms to the foreign born cropped out in the Know-Nothing Parties of 1850 and the American Protective Association of the late 1880's and early '90's and the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's and the present-day American National Party, America Firsters, and Christian Fronters.

Lincoln in 1854 rejected the endorsement of the Whigs and the Know-Nothings. He said:

Who are native Americans? Do they not wear the breechcloth and carry the tomahawk? We pushed them from their homes, and now turn upon others not fortunate enough to come over as early as we or our forefathers. Gentlemen, your party is wrong in principle.

Then he told this story:

I had an Irishman named Patrick cultivating my garden. One morning I went over to see him, and asked how he was getting along.

"Mr. Lincoln, what do you think of these Know-Nothings?", he asked me.

I explained what they were trying to do, and asked Pat why he had not been born in America.

"Faith," he replied, "I wanted to but my mother wouldn't let me."

And so on and so forth through our history we have had arguments of the type that you have been making this morning. Yet, fresh streams of immigrants entered to enrich the cultural, artistic, financial, and industrial wells of the Nation.

Mr. TREVOR. Mr. Chairman, will you permit me to say, in really elaborating what the Congressman on your right said, that Sam Gompers, the head of the American Federation of Labor, exposed the system that was going on in the period that you speak of, in which he showed that an organization headed by a man named Nissim Behar, under a fine name—National Liberal Immigration League—of perfectly unimpeachable character, was being financed by the operators of coal mines and factories and other employment organizations who were seeking to get the cheapest labor they could from Europe. And the cheapest labor came from southern and eastern Europe.

That is what they wanted.

Mr. ROBSION. It was what they called contract labor.

Mr. TREVOR. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. They hired great numbers there, and that is when the Italian immigration was the heaviest. It began in 1890, and for a few years there it sometimes ran as many as 1,000,000 a year.

Mr. TREVOR. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION. And perhaps more coming here to help build our railroads and operate our coal mines and other public works.

Mr. CELLER. Yes. But I am trying to show you that in all periods of history, there were people who made outcry against the new immigrants. They were against the Danes, as I indicated, against the Swedes, against the Germans, against the Irish; and we eventually became proud of them, despite earlier protests.

Despite the hatred against them, the Irish came; the Danes came; the Swedes came; and the Germans came. And our country advanced.

Mr. TREVOR. Just take note, Congressman, what we are contending for. We are contending for absolute fairness, absolute abolition of any discrimination or favor of any race or of any national group which has ever contributed to our population.

Now, this Stratton bill inverts that policy 100 percent. It throws the whole preponderance of the contribution to those sources of labor supply which the big manufacturers were exploiting in those days that I am speaking of.

The steamship companies were employing a social worker who filled the Senate hearings with testimony of the most high-sounding humanitarian stuff, and that social worker was in the pay of the steamship companies.

Mr. ROBSION. Doesn't the Stratton bill do another thing?

Now, here we propose to bring in, say 400,000, I believe; and they say it is an emergency. And therefore, with this shortage of transportation facilities, then this 400,000 would not be allocated, as you say, to the entire quota all over the world, but that would be a special class here that would come in first, would it not, if we say it is an emergency and we must act now? Would it not?

Mr. TREVOR. It is class legislation, in other words.

Mr. CELLER. Class legislation to those who are unable——

Mr. ROBSION. And it would knock out and prevent, perhaps, many thousands of very——

Mr. CELLER. It does not interfere with quotas. The quota goes on just the same.

Mr. ROBSION. No; but with the shipping—that is where the preference would come, in bringing them in now, because you are now confronted with the same situation——

Mr. CELLER. Didn't you say, Mr. Trevor, there were plenty of ships?

Mr. FELLOWS. Just a minute, please. Mr. Robsion has the floor.

Mr. ROBSION. You are confronted with the same situation now as after the other war; that many persons did not get in before the passage of the act of 1924 because of lack of shipping.

But this would be a preferred class. It should be, if they are going to pass this bill. If it is well-bottomed and ought to pass, it is an emergency, because we want to take them off the taxpayers and bring them to this country. Then that would shunt back others to a sec-

ondary position—others who would come under the quota—would it not?

Mr. TREVOR. I am told that that situation actually exists today, but I am not in a position to prove it.

Mr. ROBSION. But I think it is true that there is a shortage of shipping.

Mr. TREVOR. Oh, there is a shortage of shipping.

Mr. ROBSION. Then I say that would deny those persons who had been selected under the quota to come from coming here until these others had the first chance at the ships.

Mr. TREVOR. That is our opinion, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. If that is not going to be done that way, then you are not going to carry it out as an emergency; are you?

Mr. TREVOR. Why, no, sir. It is class legislation to favor some particular group.

Now, we do not contend that there is not a deplorable situation in central Europe. But there is an equally deplorable and probably more deplorable situation all over Asia.

I venture to say there are probably 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 people now in a vastly worse condition in Asia. But I am sure Mr. Celler would not advocate the passage of a bill to admit 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 Chinese into the United States; would you, sir?

Mr. CELLER. I have not advocated any such bill.

But I want to say to you, sir, that if you go down to the Maritime Commission—and I have been down to the Maritime Commission—you will find facts which disprove what you have stated and what my distinguished colleague from Kentucky has stated with reference to a dearth of ships.

There is exactly the same number of ships afloat today as there were in 1940, just before we entered the war. There is no shortage of ships.

You can charter any ship you want from the Maritime Commission. You can buy all the ships you want from the Maritime Commission.

So there is no shortage of ships at the present time.

Mr. TREVOR. Well, sir, would you deny that special favor is given to this class of immigrants?

Mr. ROBSION. Whether that is true or not, you do give a preference to this particular group over other persons who come in under the quota, and hold back those who would come in under the quota.

Mr. CELLER. No.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes. You are going to have to do it if you make it an emergency. If you are going to make it effective, you will have to do it.

Mr. TREVOR. Certainly. And as I understand it, sir, I do not want to quote from people who have given me information—but as I understand it, it is very difficult for anybody except this special class to get on a ship or to get a visa.

Mr. CELLER. Now, first we were told that the discrimination was because of a shortage of ships and the real immigrant could not get berths on the ships.

Mr. TREVOR. I did not say that, sir.

Mr. CELLER. That was advanced.

Now, I tell you there is a sufficient amount of ships, and now we are told that there is going to be discrimination in favor of this group.

Of course, this is a discrimination in favor of this group, because they are a special class, driven like dried leaves before the chilly winter blasts. And out of a spirit of humanity we ask that they be given a favor and be given a preference.

I admit that there is a preference given to them, because we ask that you bring them in outside the quota, without reference to the quota. But the quota law remains the same, and those who can come in under the quota will come in.

But there is a distinction. I am very anxious to emphasize that distinction, to give favor of these people, because of their hopeless and helpless condition.

Mr. TREVOR. I am not quite sure, Mr. Chairman, where I left off; but I think I pick it up here.

We think, Mr. Chairman, that such additions to our population in the light of the facts which I have set forth above would be a wholly unwarranted and dangerous burden upon our American economic system.

Of course, Mr. Chairman, I and my associates are fully conscious of the fact that there is a school of thought in the United States which holds that the more immigrants we admit into our body politic the greater our prosperity will be. This viewpoint, as you can see by reading the Congressional Record of the past quarter of a century, has been repeatedly voiced by opponents of restriction upon immigration into the United States. I trust, Mr. Chairman, that you will allow me to observe in this connection that if there was the slightest basis in fact for such an argument, China, with its 450,000,000 people living in misery and squalor, should be the most prosperous country in the world. We might even add that, if there was a vestige of truth in this theory, the British Indian Empire would be rolling in wealth instead of having its teeming millions ever hovering on the brink of famine and actually existing at other times under conditions of undernourishment.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, let me refer back once more to the title of H. R. 2910. The title states, as of course you know, that it is characterized as a bill "to authorize the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy," and so on and so forth.

Frankly, Mr. Chairman, we resent the imputation that the people of the United States have not already done more—indeed, I may say, far more—than its fair share in the acceptance of refugees. As I understand the situation, Mr. Chairman, we have admitted somewhere in the neighborhood of 600,000 refugees, a total far larger, I am advised by competent authority, than has been accepted by any other country in the world.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to inject here into my prepared statement a brief remark, and that is this, that as I read the tables published in what appears to be an authoritative book, that we have taken 23.5 percent of the Jewish refugees and that Canada has taken 1 percent, Australia 1.1 percent, and South Africa has taken 1 percent.

If you are interested in the book, Congressman, I have it right here, and I will give you the sources.

Mr. CELLER. I think your figures are correct.

Mr. TREVOR. You think they are correct?

Mr. CELLER. I think they are correct. But I think Australia and Canada have been very derelict in that regard.

Mr. TREVOR. The book I refer to is *The Jewish Refugee*. The authors' names are Arie Tartakower and Kurt R. Grossmann. It is published in New York by the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American-Jewish Congress on the World Jewish Congress, the date being 1944.

That is the book. I can give you the page and reference and all the rest of it. But you say it is correct?

Mr. CELLER. I think it is correct.

Mr. TREVOR. In other words, we have taken 23 times as many as Canada, Australia, and South Africa have taken, and they have vast areas of undeveloped agricultural land which could perfectly well be utilized.

Mr. ROBINSON. May I say on that point that that is what it showed to have come in legally.

Mr. TREVOR. That is legal entries.

Mr. ROBINSON. That is the legal entries. But that does not include the great numbers who have come in over the Mexican border and the Canadian border and by ships and planes and every other way.

Mr. CELLER. You would not say that that type of immigrant comes over the Mexican border, would you?

Mr. TREVOR. Which? This type?

Mr. CELLER. This Jewish type.

Mr. TREVOR. These people I assume entered legally and are legally recorded.

Mr. CELLER. You are just referring to that particular class of immigrants.

Mr. TREVOR. I just quoted the book.

Mr. CELLER. Yes.

Mr. TREVOR. And I assumed that those gentlemen who wrote the book accurately analyzed the figures. I do not know. But I believe that it is substantially correct, and I think you will agree with me on that point.

Mr. ROBINSON. But that is not supposed to include the countless thousands of seamen that have abandoned their ships and lost themselves in America, and others that have come in.

Mr. TREVOR. I am not discussing that at all.

As a matter of fact, as the Congressman knows, I think the number of people across the border was something like 76,000,000 people.

Mr. FELLOWS. In a year?

Mr. CELLER. 76,000,000 in a year?

Mr. TREVOR. I think so.

Mr. CELLER. 76,000,000?

Mr. FELLOWS. The figures show that. And 37,000,000 of those were aliens every year that cross the border.

Mr. TREVOR. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. That means we would have a population of God knows how many millions, if 76,000,000 crossed the border every year, and they remained here.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is a matter of record.

Mr. ROBINSON. A lot of them have gone back or been sent back.

Mr. TREVOR. There is an explanation for that in part.

Mr. FELLOWS. Of course, any one of them could cross 10 times, and that would be in the 37,000,000; isn't that correct?

Mr. TREVOR. Absolutely correct. But the only point is that where there is a mass of 76,000,000 people passing over the border, the possibilities of illegal entry are infinite.

Mr. CELLER. Yes. But aren't most of those American citizens going in and out of the country with passports?

Mr. FELLOWS. Thirty-seven million are aliens.

Mr. TREVOR. Thirty-seven million are classified as aliens.

Mr. CELLER. But they have passports. We have God knows how many traders, students, ministers, visitors, tourists, coming into this country from all parts of the world. They come in and go out.

Mr. TREVOR. Did you read, may I ask, Congressman, the Commissioner's report on the border patrol about the thinly covered border?

Mr. CELLER. The Commissioner is going to testify.

Mr. TREVOR. Yes. That is perfectly all right with us. But I am not making any reference. I want to emphasize the fact of illegal entrants. I am sticking to figures that are demonstrable and proved.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, when you take that 76,000,000 and the 37,000,000 aliens, those are the persons of whom we have record. Of course, that does not include those that have crossed the border and of whom there is no record made, does it?

Mr. TREVOR. If I recall the statements made in the report of the Commissioner of Immigration correctly, he states that an illegal entry, once he has gotten by the border, is lost.

Mr. CELLER. Yes. But Captain Trevor, let us be frank about this. There are 36,000,000 Americans with American passports that are going in and out: tourists, merchants, visitors in transit, priests, ministers, religious officials, students, and so forth.

And in addition thereto, there are people from England and from Ireland and from France, Sweden, Norway, China, and India who are traders, who are also students, who are also visitors, who come in and go out.

So it would be unfair to infer that, subtracting 37,000,000 from 76,000,000, you would have 39,000,000 people who are coming into this country illegally.

Mr. FELLOWS. Nobody is inferring that.

Mr. TREVOR. Congressman, I never made any such assertion. I am reading from the record of the Commission.

Mr. ROBSION. That is the millions of whom there is a record.

Mr. TREVOR. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, that does not include those who come in surrepticiously, does it?

Mr. TREVOR. No. And the report says them come in surrepticiously. That is an increasing problem today.

I am not making any comments on the figures. I am making no estimates as to what the illegal entrants are.

You, sir, I am sure, will admit that there is a vast number of illegal entries into the United States.

Mr. CELLER. Surely there is, and we know that most of them come from pan America.

Mr. TREVOR. Let me add also, Mr. Chairman, that the American people have suffered over 1,000,000 casualties and have expended over

\$268,000,000,000 in saving the British and French Colonial Empires. These vast spaces contain acres with a density of population far less than that of the United States and are capable of extensive agricultural development.

As I have elaborated upon this subject and offered a solution for the problem of displaced persons in a statement which I submitted to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in 1944, I will not take up the time of this committee by repeating what I said then, but I will confine myself to offering to the committee reprints of this statement.

Mr. Chairman, in the course of my opening remarks, I stated that I would elaborate later in my argument upon the proposition embodied in the title of H. R. 2910, that there be admitted into the United States a number of immigrants equivalent to a part of the total quota numbers unused during the war years.

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that as I interpret the text of H. R. 2910, there is nothing whatsoever in it that would prevent there arising thousands upon thousands of so-called hardship cases which have been the curse of the Immigration Committees of Congress and of the Congress itself ever since the day that the first quota act to restrict immigration was adopted.

I will even go so far as to say that if this bill ever became a law and was administered by persons who seemed to have more of a heart for the troubles of Europeans than they have for the calamities of their own people, the apparent limit of 400,000 immigrants would become something for the antirestrictionists to laugh at.

I refer, of course, to the possibilities which would be afforded to the 400,000 aliens covered by the provisions of H. R. 2910 to secure the entry of certain classes of aliens as nonquota immigrants.

I wish to insert there in my remarks that that, of course, refers to the possible ultimate naturalization of these people and their receiving the benefits accorded them under the law relating to wives and minor children.

Possibly the members of the committee have seen the article published in the current issue of Life magazine, entitled "100 Girls and a Dionne," in which it is set forth that a Canadian manufacturer has arranged for the entry of 100 girls selected from a concentration camp in central Europe to work in his factory for the munificent salary of \$10 a week for 2 years, with the proviso that \$6 be held back to cover the cost of board and lodging. Out of the magnificent surplus of \$4 a week—now take note of this, please, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee—it is expected that the weeping relatives will later be brought over to Canada to reunite the families.

At that point, also, I would like to insert a brief statement in my prepared remarks.

What happened in Canada, with slight variation, might happen here. The displaced persons who may enter the United States under the provisions of H. R. 2910, if it becomes a law, are logical candidates for sweatshop exploitation.

They are also almost certain to gravitate into Communist labor unions. And inasmuch as the Commissioner of Immigration states in his annual report there is an increasing tendency for young women to enter the United States for purposes of prostitution, we have

three possible deplorable consequences which may result from the adoption of H. R. 2910.

Mr. CELLER. Just a minute, there, Mr. Trevor.

Do you find any sweatshop condition now existing under the labor unions that we have, in New York, particularly?

I do not think you will find a sweatshop in New York under the aegis of the International Ladies Garment Workers or Amalgamated Clothing Workers Unions. They have done away with the sweatshops.

The labor unions are seeking to prevent conditions that are called sweatshop conditions.

Now, I defy you to come to New York, where there were sweatshops years ago, to find any of the conditions that you mentioned, or the possibility of any such conditions.

What makes you say that these immigrants who come over here—and you have heard Congressman Mason say that they were anticomunistic—what makes you say that they will join communistic unions?

Mr. TREVOR. I want to be very respectful of Congressman Mason. But what does he really know about the character of these people?

I have discussed the matter with Army officers and civil officers of our Government who have been over there who are afraid to come to this committee and testify because they think reprisals will be made against them.

Mr. CELLER. Have you read the Eisenhower report, a report made by a very distinguished soldier? It militates against everything you say with reference to these people's being possible Communists or joining Communist unions.

What makes you say, Captain, that women coming over here will go into prostitution? What proof have you got of that?

Mr. TREVOR. I say that the Commissioner of Immigration in his annual report—I will show you the page, if you would like, and read you from the report.

I am beginning in the middle of a sentence.

Mr. FELLOWS. What page is that?

Mr. TREVOR. Page 8 [reading]:

There are still many Europeans in Cuba who wish to come to the United States. The increase in the number of young women who are attempting to enter the United States for purposes of prostitution, all are indications that the Service must anticipate new attempts to enter the United States illegally.

Mr. CELLAR. How can you force a conclusion from that that the immigrants embraced under the Stratton bill, the women, particularly, would enter prostitution? And don't you know, also—

Mr. TREVOR. May I interject there?

Mr. CELLER. Just a minute.

Don't you know, also, that these immigrants are screened, and if they are prostitutes, they are excluded?

Mr. TREVOR. I suppose the Congressman is familiar with the infamous practices of the Hitler regime in regard to morals in Germany.

Mr. CELLER. What has that got to do with the screening of these women?

Mr. TREVOR. It has a great deal to do, because I formerly was an intelligence officer, and I know that we did our best to screen.

But be practical, Congressman. How on earth could you screen a lot of foreigners as to whether they are concealed Nazis, or Communists, or Fascists, or something of that kind?

We object to all of them, without any discrimination.

Now, I venture to say that the best you can get or hope to get out of this crowd are a lot of people who are willing to commit perjury to say they were not Nazis, they had no sympathy with nazism, but they would like to get over here.

Mr. CELLER. I do not think those are fair statements to make, that these people will do all the things that you say they will do.

Mr. TREVOR. I do not say that all of them will do it at all. But I say the possibilities are so great that I think the interests of the United States come first.

Mr. CELLER. I think, then, that is an argument for stopping all immigration.

Mr. TREVOR. That is exactly our contention.

Mr. CELLER. That is what you want?

Mr. TREVOR. That is what we would like.

I do not pretend to be a prophet, Mr. Chairman, but from what I have seen, heard, and read of appeals to the Immigration Committee of Congress for the reuniting of families, I think, in your own interest you will never regret pausing to think carefully before you ever give a favorable report on H. R. 2910.

That, Mr. Chairman, is another ground for our objection to H. R. 2910.

Let me now turn, as briefly as may be, to the proposition embodied in H. R. 2910, which would immediately destroy the fundamental purpose for which the national origins system was adopted, and which, in our opinion, would ultimately lead to its complete destruction.

It is our contention that a consolidation of the quotas, as suggested in the title of H. R. 2910 and in other bills now before the committee, would permit the executive branch of our Government, through its subordinates, to favor the entry of would-be immigrants of some races and adversely discriminate against potential immigrants of other races. Inasmuch as an overwhelming majority of both Houses of Congress in 1924 determined to abolish any form of discrimination between the immigrants of all European nations which had contributed to the building up of the population of the United States since the first settlement in North America, I venture to say that the approval of H. R. 2910 would constitute a momentous change in national policy. Discrimination would become enthroned and justice would be stricken from its pedestal.

Furthermore, it is our opinion, Mr. Chairman, that the approval of H. R. 2910 would accentuate and gravely embitter internal racial dissension, and thereby constitute an ever-growing menace to national unity. In plain English, Mr. Chairman, we believe that H. R. 2910 is utterly indefensible and as potentially dangerous a piece of legislation as has ever been submitted to Congress for consideration.

I make this statement advisedly because I am personally aware of the fact that the Congress in the early 1920's was by a very large majority firmly convinced of two propositions—first, that it would be utterly impossible to maintain our American standard of living

unless immigration from every source was drastically curtailed; and, second, that our political institutions could not survive further dilution of the basic strain of our population which gave us liberty, and which established a constitutional form of government in the United States. This viewpoint was embodied in the majority report of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, only two members dissenting, in submitting its bill to restrict immigration into the United States in 1924.

For the information of the committee, Mr. Chairman, I will insert in my testimony the particular paragraph to which I refer, which reads as follows:

Since it is an axiom of political science that a government not imposed by external force is the visible expression of the ideals, standards, and social viewpoint of the people over which it rules, it is obvious that a change in the character or composition of the population must inevitably result in the evolution of a form of government consonant with the base upon which it rests. If, therefore, the principle of individual liberty, guarded by a constitutional government created on this continent nearly a century and a half ago, is to endure, the basic strain of our population must be maintained and our economic standards preserved.

That the danger to our political system was very real and no figment of overheated imaginations is evidenced by the circumstance that one person in five of our population of voting age in 1920 was born outside the United States. This fact is set forth in a very interesting monograph published by the Census Bureau entitled, "Immigrants and Their Children in 1920." On page 295 of this book, you will find the following statement:

* * * the age composition of the immigrants causes them to be of even greater numerical importance among the adult population, so that they number more than one in five among the population of voting age.

This calls attention to the fact that immigration is closely related to the governmental problems of this country, for, as a result of it, a share in the responsibilities of citizenship in this self-governing commonwealth has been given to tens of thousands who were born and reared under other flags, other traditions, and other ideals of government, and to tens of thousands more whose Americanism has been inevitably and indelibly colored by nurture through childhood and youth at the hands of parents born abroad.

Mr. Chairman, if I may be permitted to make a suggestion to the committee, it is that its members read chapter 11 of this monograph in its entirety, as I do not desire to embody in my testimony extensive quotations, however authoritative these sources may be.

Perhaps I should say at this point that thanks to the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1924, the situation set forth above has in some measure improved but, unfortunately, not to such a degree that anyone dare say we are safe. Permit me to illustrate this statement. Taking our population of voting age as enumerated by the census of 1940, it will be observed that there were in the United States at that date 72,703,808 native-born citizens. As against this native-born population, there were 10,495,053 people of voting age born abroad, so that we may say, relatively speaking, that the foreign-born of 21 years of age or over stand in a ratio of approximately 1 to 7 in 1940 as against 1 to 4 in 1920. While this represents some improvement, as I have previously pointed out, the situation is still very critical in those parts of the country where the foreign-born population still rates proportionately very high.

Mr. CELLER. What is critical in those sections?

Mr. TREVOR. Will you permit me to finish the statement, and I will discuss that?

Mr. CELLER. Very well. Go ahead.

Mr. TREVOR. For example, in New England and in the Middle Atlantic States, with some slight variation, the ratio between native-born citizens and people 21 years of age or over born abroad, is approximately as 3 to 1. In New York, the ratio between these two groups is roughly as 2.4 is to 1. The inferences which can be drawn from these indisputable facts are too obvious to make it necessary for me to discuss them before this committee.

Mr. CELLER. I must be dense. But what is obvious?

Mr. TREVOR. It is perfectly obvious that if you increase the proportion of people born abroad and under other traditions of government and other habits of life and other social conditions, and they constitute even one-third or one-fourth of the people of voting age in a congressional district, the effect is bound to be reflected in the national policy.

Now, you must recognize that, Congressman.

Mr. CELLER. No; I do not. I say this: In the first place, the bringing in of 100,000 of these desperate people, hopeless and helpless people, a year would not interfere with the average citizen's activities. He would not even notice it. He would not know anything about it.

That is the first situation.

Secondly, I would like to know what the critical situation is in New York City or in New England or the Middle Atlantic States, where, in the voting population, you have three native-born to one born abroad—all still citizens, however.

What is the critical situation in those areas?

Mr. TREVOR. Will you permit me to go on? I think I explain that somewhat in the succeeding remarks.

It will save the time of the committee.

Mr. CELLER. Go ahead.

Mr. FELLOWS. Proceed.

Mr. TREVOR. Mr. Chairman, I assume that the members of the committee are aware that, from the moment that the tide of immigration from northwestern Europe ebbed and the great torrent of immigration from central, southern, and eastern Europe began to flow into the United States, there became an apparent and ever-increasing tendency of this newer immigration to settle in our most congested centers of population. The fact is, I think, especially true of New York City, where, if my recollection is correct, approximately one-half of the refugees whom we have recently admitted are now congregated.

May I interject here that I think that is very much of an understatement.

This is a particularly unfortunate circumstance, for, as an investigation of subversive movements during World War I by the military authorities disclosed, a very large proportion of the foci of these groups was located in districts in which the newer immigration predominated. That, of course, was a perfectly natural process because as all the repressive agencies of the autocracies of central, southern, and eastern Europe were squeezing out their outstanding revolutionary elements, we permitted them to enter and overcrowd our slums.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, while I recommend that legislation now on the statute books for the exclusion of revolutionaries be restudied, strengthened, and adequate provision made for its enforcement, I suggest that it is folly to place too much reliance upon it. The quality of administration and the personal inclination of persons in high authority are of infinite importance for determining the percentage of success in screening the dangerous from the innocuous elements seeking to enter the United States. A casual reading of the daily press will amply confirm this statement, and the apparent inability of the administration to screen out undesirables from its official staff proves it.

Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, you do not have to take my word for the fact that this newer immigration for whose benefit H. R. 2910 was devised is peculiarly susceptible to the absorption of socialistic propaganda, because the proof of it is set forth by Morris Hillquit in his book entitled "Socialism in Theory and Practice," which was published in 1910. Perhaps I should add for the information of the committee that, while Morris Hillquit was born, I believe, in Russian Poland, he was one of the greatest prophets of the Socialist movement of his generation in America.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, allow me to suggest that the evidence is cumulative, that the real answer to all these problems lies in the suspension of all immigration into the United States, except for the wives and children of American citizens. That is, at least until we have had time to clarify some of the more pressing problems of our internal situation.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, allow me to express the hope that your committee will table H. R. 2910 and all similar proposals.

Now I shall be glad to answer any questions I can, sir.

Mr. CELLER. You have attempted to answer my question about the so-called critical situations in the areas that you mentioned. I do not find that your answer indicates any critical situation in any of those areas.

Countering, I will say that the records of valor and courage of the soldiers, for example, of New York City in this war and the First World War were just as good as the valor and bravery of the soldiers of any other part of the Nation. Labor in New York worked just as assiduously and efficiently and productively as did the labor of any other part of the country. The quality of citizenship in New York is just as good as in any other part of the country. The record of crime among the foreign-born, or rather the foreign-born who are now voters, is even far better than the record of crime of the native-born.

Frederick M. Thrasher, an eminent criminologist, states:

In proportion to their numbers and general population, the foreign-born contribute less to crime in this country at the present time than do native-born Americans.

Scientific studies agree on this point.

Mr. D. A. Southerland, another outstanding criminologist, states:

Immigrants in general contribute less than their quota to the criminal population of the United States. The arrests per 100,000 adult population, for example, in 1937, were 514.2 for native white and 210.1 for foreign white.

I could give you, but I do not want to belabor the record, many other statements from eminent criminologists on that score. So I

will say that the coming of these foreigners and their embracing citizenship has not hurt the American Republic, but has done a great deal of good for the American Republic. And I see no crises in any of those sections where there is a large present preponderance of foreign population.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are you asking him a question?

Mr. CELLER. He can answer if he wishes. But I just wanted to make the statement.

Mr. TREVOR. I would just like to say this, Mr. Chairman, that theoretically, if all the laws were enforced to the limit to eliminate the criminal elements from our immigrants, there should be no criminals among the foreign-born.

Mr. CELLER. That would be the same for the native-born, too.

Mr. TREVOR. No, sir; because the natives are here.

But I mean, theoretically, if the laws which are supposed to screen criminals and people of criminal tendencies and psychopatic inferiority, and all the rest of it were properly enforced, there would be a perfect record for all foreigners entering the United States.

But the statistics do not show that.

Mr. CELLER. If our school system were perfect and there were more schools, maybe we would have perfection, too, in reference to the native born. We have no such perfection, either for the foreigners or the native-born.

Mr. FELLOWS. Has the committee any further questions?

Mr. GOSSETT. I would like to ask the captain a question.

Captain, you gave some figures there comparing the ratio of foreign-born to native-born. Is it or is it not true that we have relatively the largest foreign-born population—I mean, with respect to ratio—of any nation in the world?

Mr. TREVOR. Without an examination of the actual statistics, I would hesitate to make an answer to that question. But generally speaking, I believe it is true.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, my colleague here used the words, "desperate, helpless, and hopeless." He used those adjectives as applying to displaced persons generally.

Now, as a practical matter, however sympathetic you may feel toward people who are desperate, helpless, and hopeless, that class of person furnishes fertile soil for all sorts of alien ideologies and radical philosophies, does he not?

Mr. TREVOR. That is the idea. And I do not blame these people if they gravitate into left-wing unions. I blame ourselves for allowing them to come here. It is perfectly natural.

Mr. GOSSETT. It would be unnatural if they did not, would it not?

Mr. TREVOR. It would be unnatural if they did not. As a matter of fact, Congressman, if I may be permitted to say so, I became an advocate of restriction on immigration after I left the Army in World War I, because of what I saw of social conditions in New York City.

Mr. CELLER. You are a native of New York City.

Mr. TREVOR. I was not born in New York City. I was born a little way up the river.

Mr. CELLER. You are a New York City resident by choice, then?

Mr. TREVOR. If you want the fact, by choice I am an actual legal resident of Franklin County, N. Y. I moved out of New York City because I thought it was more pleasant to dwell in a place where

I was more surrounded by purely an American population. I have a house in New York.

I assume you gentlemen read the Meader report. And if you have not, then I suggest that you read it, because in that report you will find an expression of opinion of the counsel of the committee investigating the conduct of the war, a statement to the general effect that no country would want these immigrants. And he viewed the situation on the spot.

I suggest that the committee incorporate some portions of the Meader report in its record; and if the committee cares to have me do so, I will have some of it copied and submitted.

Mr. CELLER. It was put in the record. The record has the Meader report.

Mr. GOSSETT. Captain, is it not natural and inevitable, as a matter of fact, that a second-generation American is a little more devoted to American institutions than a first-generation American? It takes time for the roots to grow deeper.

Mr. TREVOR. Now, Congressman, I have found some naturalized American citizens, and this, I think, ought to interest Congressman Celler, who are as patriotic and devoted to this country as any people in the whole United States. There is no question about that.

I had some friends among that group. And, as a matter of fact, there was a very prominent Jew who really started me on the road to being a restrictionist.

As I started to say, I think, a few moments ago, I became an advocate of restriction on immigration because of the appalling social conditions which I saw with my own eyes exist in New York City, which Congressman Celler says appear to be more ideal than I think they are.

Would you dispute the fact, Congressman Celler, that in some parts of New York City there are situations where three men live with one woman in a room, and they utilize one bunk together?

Mr. CELLER. I have no such knowledge. I hope you have not. I do not know where you get that knowledge, but I know of no such thing. I do not look for those things.

Mr. TREVOR. I saw places like that with my own eyes, when I was an officer in the Military Intelligence. And it so disgusted me with the conditions that I became an advocate of restriction on immigration, not to exclude any particular race, but because I did not see any hope of eliminating the slum.

I think the slum is the mother of revolutions. I do not care whether it is in Germany, Austria, Poland, or anywhere else. And the slum is the curse of civilization.

I became a restrictionist because I did not see how we could ever eliminate the slum unless we put a stop to the constant influx of people who naturally gravitate into the slums.

Mr. CELLER. Now, you are a New Yorker. You have probably seen some of the splendid slum clearances and the building of splendid houses under the new housing developments in New York City, which in part remove many of the slums.

We are continuing that process. I hope that we will be able to get enough money, and probably some aid from the Federal Government to do away with slums entirely.

Mr. TREVOR. Would you admit this, Congressman, that the Immigration Act of 1924 had made possible the migration of a great many people who were living under perfectly deplorable conditions in the congested centers of the city out into the suburbs where they could live on a better level of life? Would you admit that?

Mr. CELLER. All I know is that out of these immigrants came some fine soldiers. We had a Colin Kelly, of Irish descent, Meyer Levine, of Polish descent, and Don Gentile, of Italian parents, all flying heros.

I could multiply that by hundreds to show you how wonderful have been the exploits of these immigrants and sons of immigrants in the late war.

Mr. TREVOR. I asked the Congressman a question. Of course, it is not my privilege.

Mr. FELLOWS. No.

Have you any further statement to make, Captain?

Mr. CELLER. I want to say this. I used the words, "desperate, hopeless and helpless." These people are all that, because of the despair in which they now find themselves as a result of the harrowing experiences during the war and after.

They are the best evidence of the survival of the fittest; having gone through all those desperate events, they indicated that they have a considerable degree of mental and physical stamina. And to my mind, they would make good citizens.

Mr. TREVOR. I have only one final statement I would like to make, sir, and it is that I think that the official statistics will prove my statement, that the Act of 1924 has made possible the improvement of our slum conditions through the migration of the people who were living under the worst conditions out into the suburbs.

That is all.

Mr. GOSSETT. With all due deference to the chairman's laudable effort to hurry, there is one other point that I want to ask you about here.

We are talking about the slum-clearance problem. That gives me great concern.

I have been reading of late that we have not less than 100,000 Puerto Ricans coming into this country annually. Of course, they are American citizens. But a majority of those are going into New York and settling in the slum districts, I am told.

Do you know anything about that?

Mr. TREVOR. I know something about that, because I got into a great deal of trouble over making an investigation into that Puerto Rican situation in the schools of our city.

I employed three psychologists. And in order to be absolutely fair, I employed one Protestant, one Jew, and one Catholic, so that there could be no question about any religious discrimination in this report.

I will be glad to send you a copy of that report, if you would like to see it.

I might say, generally, that I think the worst element in the city of New York is the Puerto Ricans.

Mr. GOSSETT. The point I was trying to make there is that we have enough native poison to absorb into the national bloodstream, without importing any more, have we not?

Mr. TREVOR. I agree with the Congressman 1,000 percent.

Mr. CELLER. Are there not many Puerto Ricans going out of the country, also, Captain?

Mr. TREVOR. I hope that is true.

Mr. CELLER. I think you will find that is true. I do not know the figures. But there are many that come in, and many go out.

Mr. TREVOR. But, Congressman, have you ever been up in the Puerto Rican district in New York and seen the living conditions up there?

Mr. CELLER. I have driven through it. I have not made any minute examination.

Mr. TREVOR. I suggest that you return there, or that you ask the fire marshal what the conditions are up there.

Mr. CELLER. We have Negro sections that are just as bad. And they come in from outside New York State.

Mr. GOSSETT. The record shows, and the facts are, that when we took over Puerto Rico, they had about 800,000 people there, a population which the islands could not then adequately support.

Now there are 2,500,000, and they are our responsibility. They have to go somewhere. And they are coming to this country.

We have to take care of them. They are our problem.

Mr. TREVOR. They are our problem.

I want to thank the chairman and the committee for their courtesy. Of course, I regret that Congressman Celler saw fit to bring in wholly irrelevant matters and matters which are slanderous by innuendo or absolutely false.

Mr. CELLER. There is nothing personal, Captain, against you. I never did say anything against you personally, but rather only against your organization.

Mr. TREVOR. I represent that organization, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you, Captain.

We will hear now Gen. John Hilldring.

We have kept him waiting for a long time. He is the Assistant Secretary of State.

At this point I have two communications which I will incorporate into the record, without objection.

One statement is from the Regular Veterans Association, signed by the national service officer, Mr. Victor E. Devereaux. Mr. Devereaux encloses the statement of the national commander, Mr. William M. Floyd.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

REGULAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION,
Washington 5, D. C., June 6, 1947.

Memorandum for Mr. Besterman:

In reference to our telephone conversation yesterday, I enclose the prepared statement of Commander Floyd of the Regular Veterans Association regarding H. R. 2910 on which opposition hearings are being held today.

As Commander Floyd is away on a business trip, he will not be able to appear personally and requests that his statement be entered in the record.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

VICTOR E. DEVEREAUX,
National Service Officer.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM M. FLOYD, NATIONAL COMMANDER, REGULAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION, JUNE 6, 1947, IN CONNECTION WITH H. R. 2910

Honorable chairman and gentlemen of this committee, I am the national commander of the Regular Veterans Association, a recognized veterans' organization comprising service men and women now in the active service, as well as veterans of both peacetime and wartime service who have been honorably discharged and who have no Communist blood in their veins.

The Regular Veterans Association is Nation-wide in scope with field units in nearly every State, in the Philippines, Hawaiian Islands and in Alaska. Members-at-large, now in active service, are scattered from Japan to Europe.

I appreciate very much the opportunity afforded me to set forth to the House Judiciary Committee the policies and recommendations of our association concerning H. R. 2910 which is now being considered by the committee.

Under the authority of resolutions adopted by our national convention, we are vigorously opposed to the proposal to admit to the United States 400,000 above and beyond the quotas now established by law. In our opinion these immigrants will largely be undesirables who will be detrimental and constitute a burden to the country in general, and to millions of veterans, their dependents and families in particular.

The United States is no longer the melting pot of a hundred years or more ago. That was recognized in 1921 before there was any restriction on immigration. The hard-working, honest, and industrious people who came to this country from northern Europe in earlier years, eager to adopt the principles and institutions of America as their own and become Americans in fact, were giving way to immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and from Russia. The latter began entering the country at something more than a million each year. By 1914 they comprised more than half of our total population increase.

A large percentage of this element were undesirables in anything resembling comparison with former immigrants. A great many of these immigrants could not or would not give up their foreign customs. They did not mix with others and were reluctant to learn our language or to become real Americans. At the present time there are foreign settlements within the limits of numerous large cities, where no English is spoken. These places especially are breeding places for communism and other subversive activities, where aliens who have never known freedom in the old country think in terms of improving their lot in this country by force. Many of them lacked even elementary education when they came to America, and at the present time are so mentally fogged that they become easy prey for those who continually plot and scheme for the overthrow of our Government. Let us make no mistake about that.

It was during the period from about 1891 to 1920 that gangsterism, anarchism, communism, which is not far removed from anarchy, and subversive activities generally began to get a foothold. This together with an unrestricted flow of immigration created a disquietening and menacing situation. It caused legislation for temporary restriction of immigration in 1921, and restriction by quota became a permanent policy with the Immigration Act of 1924. It is not difficult to visualize what the future of the United States would have been had not the Immigration Act of 1924 shut off a large part of the source of potential revolution by force and violence.

Then was born the subversive effort to blast our immigration laws out of existence. The so-called Communist Party which, in fact, is but the American section of the Communist Internationale with headquarters in the Kremlin in Moscow, has taken a leading part in this particular plot. Aided and abetted by its sympathizers and hangers-on, by unintelligent dupes and star-gazing do-gooders, it has missed no opportunity through the years to undermine our immigration laws.

A good example of the constant picking at our immigration laws was the repeal, in 1943, of the Chinese exclusion laws which had been on our statutes since 1880. Here, the subversive elements rounded up a lot of the pure in heart and sob-sisters who shed crocodile tears copiously over the poor, down-trodden Chinese. In some mysterious way, the United States suddenly had become deeply obligated to China. Repealing the Chinese exclusion laws at once had become a matter of life and death for democracy, said the frothy-mouthed radicals, and their pure-in-heart consorts echoed the sentiment with misty eyes. Because of war hysteria,

our people were easy victims of that sort of bromide. And nobody has ever learned why we suddenly became so deeply obligated to China. Apparently it was assumed that since we had taken on so many burdens and obligations connected with the war, including the plans then being developed for the post-war pay-off in good "old Shylock" greenbacks, supplies, and equipment, we should not shy at so trifling a matter as throwing overboard our immigration laws.

Through the exercise of war powers, thousands of aliens were brought into the country during the war on one pretext or another, a favorite excuse being the need of foreign labor. No doubt many of these have been lost in the shuffle and were never returned to their own countries.

While our immigration quotas permit the entry of about 154,000 aliens a year, it is reported that thousands are entering the country illegally. If these reports are true, it seems that the people should be informed by the proper Government authorities. Representative Arthur L. Miller, of Nebraska, said before the House on January 23, 1947:

"I am disturbed and concerned because of the apparent confusion in the several departments of Government covering the problems of immigration. The American people are not being told the truth. In my efforts to get information on this subject I run into the reluctance on the part of Government agencies to furnish facts and they make statements about a Presidential order prohibiting the giving out of such information. It is utterly impossible to get from the State Department or from the immigration authorities the true picture as to the types of people coming into the United States. Rumors are afloat about large groups coming in weekly * * * Suppression of immigration facts and the slanting of propaganda to favor certain policies should be stopped * * *."

Congressman Miller then suggested that an investigation be made by the proper committee in Congress, to which we add "Amen." A good place to begin would be the Office of Immigration and Naturalization.

Later, Representative Miller, remarked in part on the floor of the House that "* * * Attorney General Clark estimated last June 9 (1946) that 2,000 people a day were entering this country illegally, that is, without visas. This would mean 730,000 a year from this source. The Immigration Service apprehended 85,000 who came in illegally the last 6 months of 1946."

At a round table debate in 1943, Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology at New York University, discussed in some detail the postwar problems of immigration. As a specialist in the field, he stated in part that "* * * a steady, regular, and anticipated emigration does not affect the long-time rate of growth or size of the country of source, nor does it increase the rate of growth of the country of destination. Consequently, it has no power of relieving the evils of overpopulation in countries of the former type, but it may have a very prejudicial effect upon the standards of living and economic conditions in the countries of destination."

The foregoing conclusions are borne out by the fact that immigration in the nineteenth century was desirable and beneficial to America because of generally high type of persons who adopted our country as their home with the determination to help develop it, but that later immigration after the turn of the century consisted largely of undesirables who have done more harm than good.

Yet we have the proposal now before this committee to permit 400,000 so-called displaced persons in Europe to enter this country over and above the quotas. It only offers another opportunity for the subversive elements in our country to further undermine the immigration laws and thus take another step in their attempts to undermine the country.

In his state of the Union message, President Truman asserted that "* * * congressional assistance in the form of new legislation is needed. I urge the Congress to turn its attention to this world problem, in an effort to find ways whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

If the President means that it is a part of our responsibility to assist in getting the devastated countries on their feet, we can agree with him to an extent. It appears that we are doing just that in pouring billions of dollars into Europe and the Orient. If he means that we should continue to import refugees and displaced persons by the hundreds of thousands, then we do not agree with him.

It is our considered opinion that if this Government disregards our immigration laws, and permits an influx of the dregs of Europe, it will have let down the millions of veterans who fought and won two wars at once for this Nation. Great and lavish promises were made to veterans about the housing that was to be provided, about employment—60,000,000 or more jobs it was—and a lot

of other nice things. But now unemployment numbers into the millions, and housing for veterans and for other citizens who are desperately in need of it, appears not to have materialized to any appreciable extent. Unemployment is on the increase, housing seems to be about defunct.

So what about the aliens who it is proposed be brought here in hundred thousand lots outside the established quotas? Are they to become public charges, or will they take over the jobs and the housing, such as it is, and force our veterans and many other American citizens to become the public charges? In any event, the problem deserves a great deal of earnest and serious thought sans any color of dripping sentiment. It is our opinion that the so-called displaced persons would be of some real value if they helped build up their war-torn countries and thus help themselves to become placed persons.

Gentleman, we are opposed to H. R. 2910 and recommend strongly that it be disapproved.

Thank you.

Mr. FELLOWS. The other letter that I wish to offer for the record is from the National Council of the Daughters of America, signed by Mrs. Maud V. Nigh, chairman of the national legislative committee, the National Council of the Daughters of America.

Without objection, that will be incorporated in the record.
(The letter referred to is as follows:)

NATIONAL COUNCIL DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA,
Morgantown, W. Va., May 3, 1947.

HON. FRANK FELLOWS AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

DEAR CONGRESSMEN: As chairman of the national legislative committee of the National Council, Daughters of America, a patriotic fraternal society, I wish to submit the following statement in opposition to bill H. R. 2910, hearings on which we understand are about to begin.

This bill if enacted into law would authorize the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria and Italy, including relatives of citizens or members of our armed forces by permitting their admission into the United States in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota members during the war years.

As the representative of our organization I wish to express opposition to the provisions of this bill. The United States has already contributed an enormous share in the care and upkeep of these people. The original number of displaced persons and refugees in Germany, Austria, and Italy were much smaller than the number of persons in concentration camps at the present time. Why the difference? The original was 400,000, the present estimate is more than a million. It appears to us that this great difference may be caused by infiltration of people from the said nations and other European nations, in the hopes that they may be admitted to the victorious allied countries.

The bill proposes the admission of 400,000 people in 4 years time, this is a large number of people and represents as many as were left in the concentration camps at the close of the war. With the present estimation there are 600,000 people in the concentration camps whose presence entitles them to no rights whatsoever under our immigration laws, and sympathy affords no excuse for the United States to receive them for permanent residence, if we take into consideration the welfare of our GI veterans.

We submit further that the United States has done its full share of duty in regard to these people, and their release from German tyrants who opposed them severely, our armed forces took care of the situation. Inasmuch as there are armies of occupation in Germany, Austria, and Italy, displaced persons belonging to these various countries could be repatriated under military authority, citizens out of their own country could and should be repatriated to their own nations, we owe them no consideration whatsoever, so far as this bill is concerned.

We must oppose any liberalization of our laws and the introduction of thousands of displaced persons into the United States. We do not need them for general welfare, they would contribute little or nothing to the common good, if they were here. They would have to be employed if they came here; we have no room for them, as the jobs in industries are needed for taking care of our veteran soldiers, many of whom are living on Government gratuities. We

must take into consideration the housing situation; many of our veterans and their families are living in trailers and small huts that have been made into living quarters; the introduction of 100,000 persons a year will further complicate this distressing situation—our first consideration must be to the boys who won the war.

As stated above our country has already contributed a large share for the upkeep of these people; some other provision should be taken to return them to their own country, possibly the closing of the concentration camps, but certainly not the bringing of many thousands to the United States, many of whom would become public charges.

We are strictly opposed to the breaking down of restriction immigration under the law of 1917 and the quota regulations under the act of 1924. We do not wish to have these laws interfered with or torn down by acts of Congress such as is proposed in H. R. 2910.

In conclusion we express the opposition of the members of America's largest women's patriotic fraternal society, to this bill and to all related bills. We are opposed to the measure in all its provisions.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. MAUD V. NIGH,
Chairman, National Legislative Committee
National Council, Daughters of America.

Mr. FELLOWS. We could not seem to help this delay, General.

Mr. HILLDRING. That is all right, gentlemen. I am at the disposal of the committee.

Mr. FELLOWS. We are ready, sir, when you are.

Will you state your full name and whom you represent, for the record?

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN H. HILLDRING, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. HILLDRING. I am John H. Hilldring, Assistant Secretary of State, representing the Department of State.

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, I am appearing before this subcommittee today in support of H. R. 2910. The Department of State has already formally expressed its wholehearted endorsement of the aims of this bill, in response to an official inquiry from the chairman of the subcommittee. We also suggested certain technical amendments which we think will improve the bill. Since they are of minor importance as compared to the broad purposes of the bill, I will not repeat our observations here.

My support of this bill is the logical conclusion of by long experience with displaced persons and their problems. I believe that it might be helpful to the subcommittee to have a statement of that experience, and of the conclusions I have reached as to the nature of the D. P. problem.

My contact with this problem began in 1943 when I was Director of the Civil Affairs Division of the Office of Chief of Staff in the War Department. At that time Secretary Marshall, who will testify later, was Chief of Staff. We were actively planning for the invasion of western Europe. Plans for the disposition of displaced persons were included in the over-all program for the conquest of Germany. In addition to being actively engaged in the formulation of those plans, I recommended to General Eisenhower, then Supreme Commander, top-notch military personnel who would specialize in handling displaced persons.

I remained Director of the Civil Affairs Division until March 1946. During this 3-year period, which included two personal trips to Europe,

I was in constant touch with all aspects of the displaced-persons problem. When I left the War Department to become Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes asked me to take charge of all aspects of the displaced-persons problem in the State Department in addition to my basic responsibility for the Occupied Areas of Germany, Japan, Austria, and Korea.

In order to qualify further as an expert witness on this subject, I would like to tell you briefly what this continuing interest in displaced persons has involved during the past 4 years.

Daily, I have seen cables from across the seas on all phases of the displaced persons problem—statistics, requests for advice and instructions, recommendations, investigations, reports, and so forth, in a never-ending stream. I have seen and been responsible for literally hundreds of cables to the other side requesting information, conveying complaints, making suggestions, issuing instructions, and so forth.

I have met frequently with delegations from American organizations interested in different types of displaced persons. They have come with queries, information, advice, and sometimes with complaints. The investigations which have resulted from those complaints have taught us a great deal. When the complaints were ill-founded, we have so advised the complainant. When they were justified, corrective action was taken as promptly as possible. During this period I have had more than written reports on the displaced persons problem. I have been privileged to have first-hand accounts of all angles of the situation from all types of persons fresh from the field—military commanders, newspapermen, Members of Congress, special observers, and outstanding public citizens. I have had frequent occasions to talk to many top-ranking diplomats and military representatives of other countries. In addition, I have visited many DP camps, and talked to many DP's.

So I think I can say with assurance to the subcommittee that I have had a many-sided education in the displaced persons field. I think I have developed an objective, composite picture of the DP situation.

Until now this has been a problem which has taxed the imagination, patience, and resourcefulness of soldiers, diplomats, and administrators. We have now reached the stage where future policy must be determined by the legislators. The opportunity is afforded by H. R. 2910. The future policy will be determined by the Congress whether its action on such a bill is affirmative or negative or inconclusive. The lives and futures of a million men, women, and children hang upon the decision to be made by the Congress. I am appearing before you in the hope that I may be able to present, as briefly and factually as I can, the background information essential to an informed decision.

Certain basic questions are probably uppermost in your minds:

Who are these displaced persons and how do we happen to be responsible for them?

How many are there?

What are their nationalities, ages, occupations, and religion?

What are their attitudes toward work and politics?

What are they costing the United States taxpayer?

What possible alternatives confront the Congress for their future?

The story of how the displaced persons came into our hands is by now a familiar one. I will summarize it very briefly.

The Nazis built up their war machine by ruthless exploitation of non-German labor. They brought into Germany many millions from all Nazi-dominated areas of Europe. They also carried out a ruthless policy of extermination or exploitation of political, religious, and forced labor victims. Millions were annihilated in this process.

When our allied armies liberated Europe, they liberated 8,000,000 of the survivors of these so-called displaced persons. With phenomenal precision our armies succeeded in returning 7,000,000 to their homes, after providing temporarily the necessary food, clothing, medical attention and shelter.

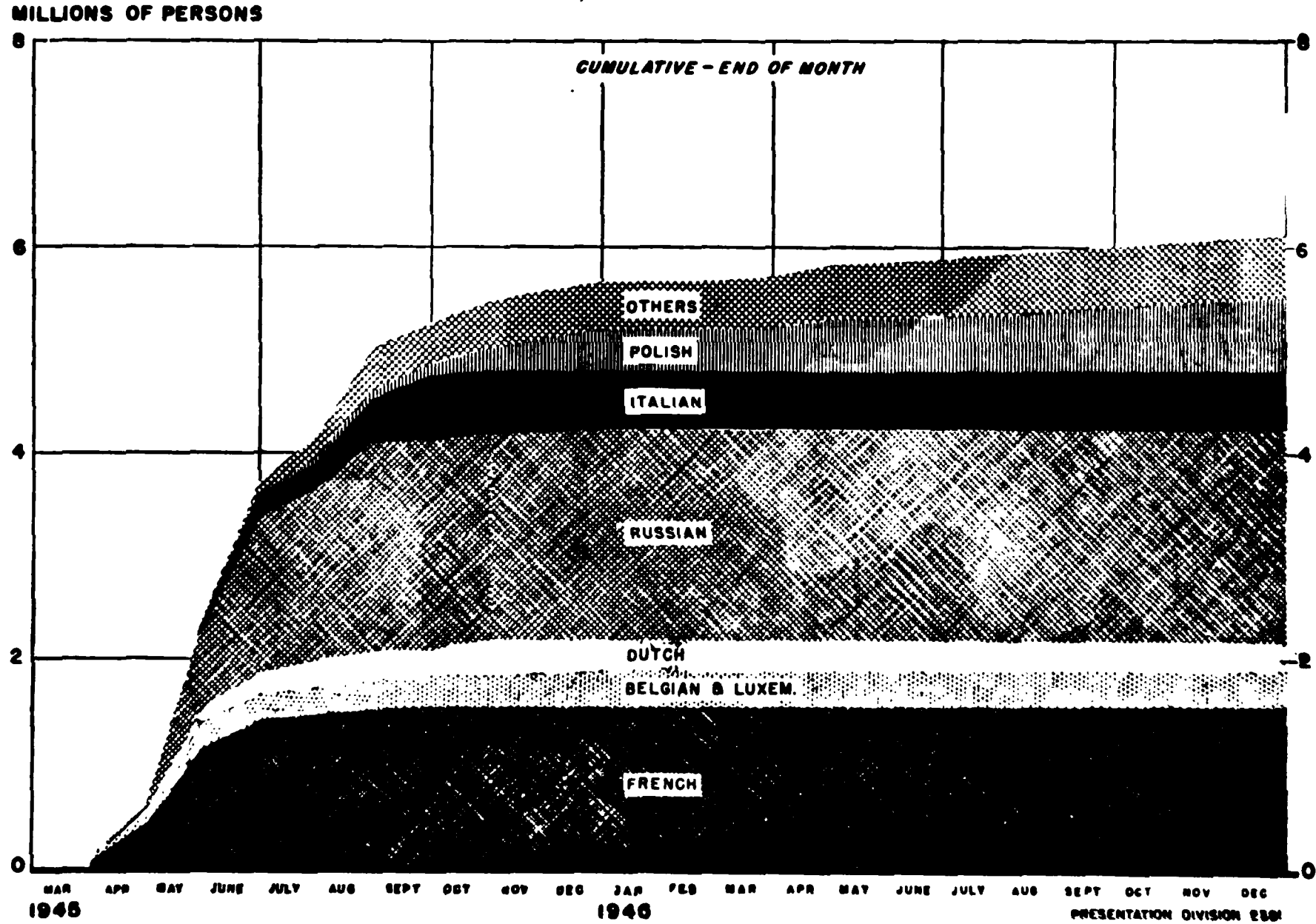
I am submitting to the subcommittee some charts and graphs showing the statistics of this achievement.

Mr. FELLOWS. That may be done.

(Charts, graphs, etc., are as follows:)

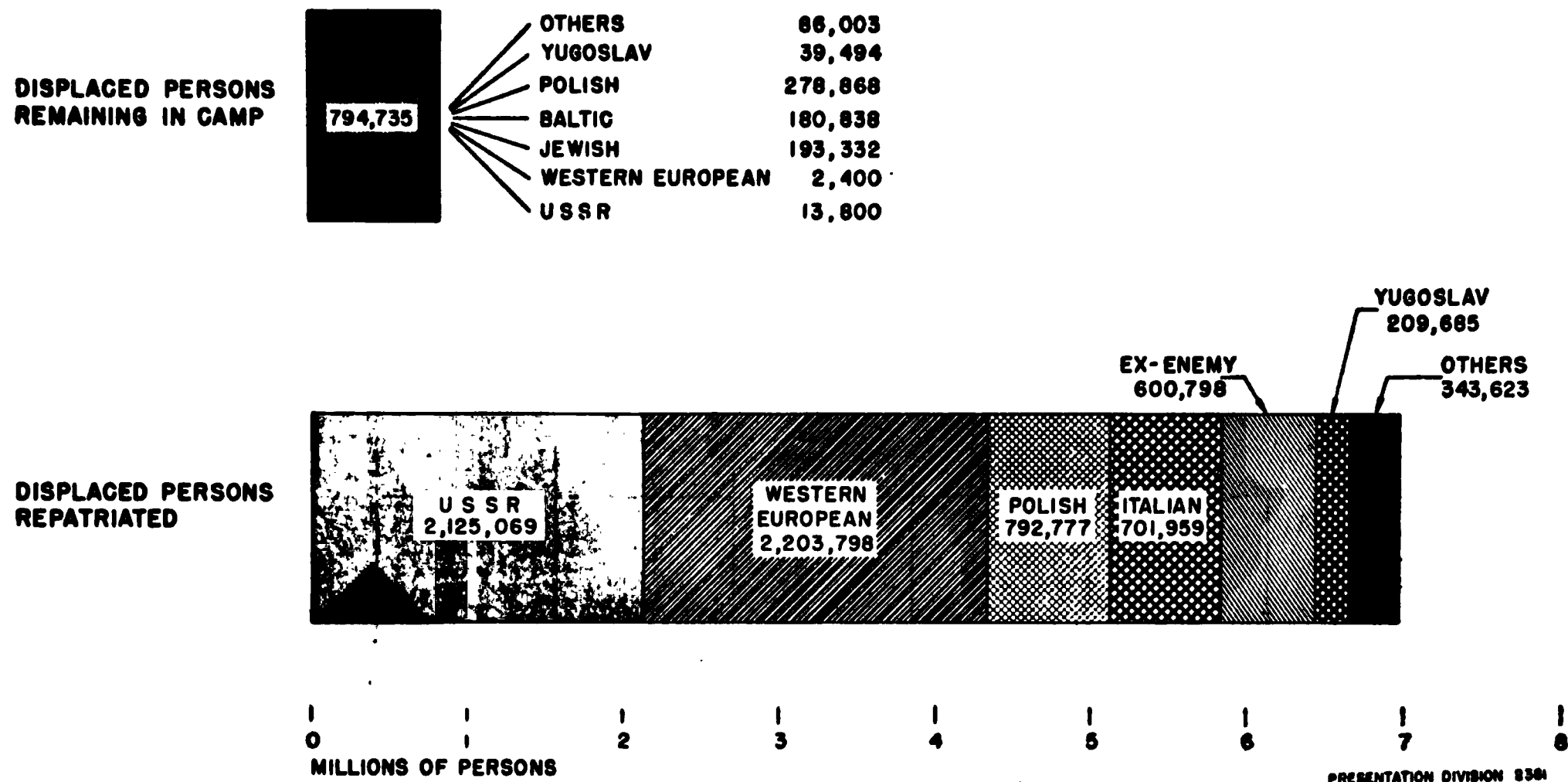
DISPLACED PERSONS REPATRIATED FROM GERMANY

MARCH 1945 - DECEMBER 1946



DISPLACED PERSONS REPATRIATED AND REMAINING IN CAMP

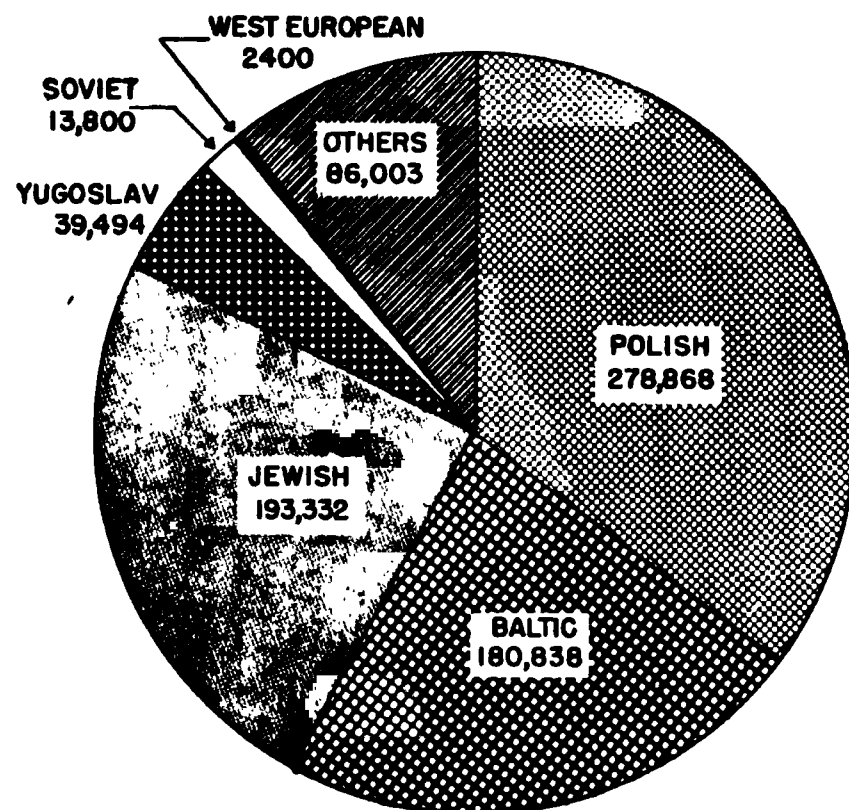
DECEMBER 31, 1946



DISPLACED PERSONS IN CAMP

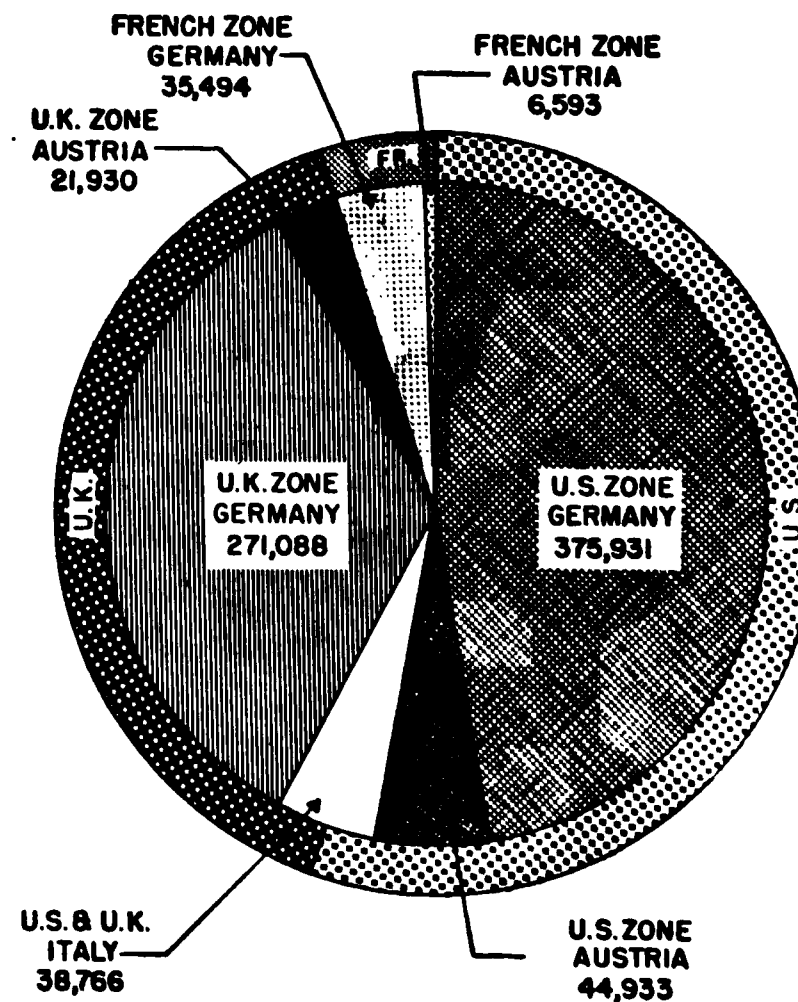
DECEMBER 31, 1946

BY NATIONALITIES



PRESENTATION DIVISION 2381

BY ZONES



NOTE: Displaced Persons out of camp in U.S. areas constitute 73% of all Displaced Persons out of camp.

Displaced persons, Dec. 31, 1945

	United States zone			United Kingdom zone		
	In camp	Out of camp	Total	In camp	Out of camp	Total
Germany.....	¹ 375, 931	142, 419	518, 350	271, 088	15, 675	286, 763
Austria.....	² 23, 046			² 9, 412		
	³ 21, 887			³ 12, 518		
	44, 933	24, 867	69, 800	21, 930	40, 531	62, 461
Italy (not allocated by zones).....						
Totals.....	420, 864	167, 286	588, 150	293, 018	56, 206	349, 224

	French zone			Allied (United States and United Kingdom) in camp	Totals		
	In camp	Out of camp	Total		In camp	Out of camp	Total
Germany.....	35, 494	10, 167	45, 661		682, 513	168, 261	850, 774
Austria.....	² 2, 849						
	³ 3, 744						
	6, 593	9, 010	15, 603		73, 456	74, 408	147, 864
Italy (not allocated by zones).....				² 413, 591			
				³ 25, 175			
Totals.....	42, 087	19, 177	61, 264	38, 766 38, 766	38, 766 794, 735	242, 669	38, 766 1, 037, 404

¹ Not including 34,018 recruited from Polish DP's and employed by U. S. Army in Guard and Service Units.
² In Army camps.
³ In UNRRA camps.
⁴ Includes 3,000 (est.) Royal Yugoslavs, now employed by British Army. To revert to IDP status upon termination of employment.
⁵ In UNRRA camps, exclusively UNRRA responsibility.

Displaced persons in Germany (United States zone), Dec. 31, 1946, by nationality

	In camp	Out of camp	Total
Polish.....	114, 397	39, 788	154, 185
Baltic.....	88, 125	14, 690	102, 815
Jewish.....	124, 572	28, 231	152, 803
Soviet.....	8, 128	11, 805	19, 933
Yugoslav.....	6, 240	11, 684	17, 924
Stateless.....	11, 115	10, 974	22, 089
Belgian and Luxemburg.....	45	1, 627	1, 672
Czech.....	408	5, 967	6, 375
French.....	38	3, 114	3, 152
Norwegian.....	16	178	194
Others and unclassified.....	22, 847	14, 361	37, 208
Total.....	375, 931	142, 419	518, 350

Displaced persons in Austria (United States zone), Dec. 31, 1946, by nationality

	In UNRRA camps	In military camps	Out of camp	Total
Polish.....	1,357	50	2,762	4,169
Baltic.....	1,643	13	991	2,647
Soviet.....	219	0	533	752
Yugoslav.....	362	1,512	4,168	6,042
White Russian.....	4,103	0	2,326	6,429
Persecutees.....	935	0	5,973	6,908
Ukrainian.....	4,344	0	5,096	9,440
Jewish (permanent).....	5,074	372	751	6,197
Jewish (transient).....	4,759	19,841	0	24,600
Stateless.....	129	0	1,708	1,837
Others.....	121	99	559	779
• Total.....	23,046	21,887	24,867	69,800

Displaced persons in Italy, by nationality

	In Allied camps ¹	In UNRRA camps ²	Total
Albanian.....	707	0	707
Austrian.....	22	162	184
Baltic.....	275	16	291
Greek.....	73	768	841
Polish.....	2,579	765	3,344
Soviet.....	248	72	320
Turkish.....	115	19	134
Ukrainian.....	116	0	116
Yugoslav.....	6,947	902	7,849
Jewish.....	(³)	21,288	21,288
Royal Yugoslav ⁴	3,000	0	3,000
Others.....	1,246	1,183	2,429
Total.....	15,328	25,175	40,503

¹ Figures of Nov. 12, 1946. Later figures not available.² Figures of Dec. 31, 1946.³ Separate Jewish break-down not available; included in nationality.⁴ Employed by British Military. Will revert to DP status.*Total displaced persons repatriated, Dec. 31, 1946, by nationality*

	From Germany	From Austria	From Italy	Total
Polish.....	718,019	68,651	6,107	792,777
Soviet.....	2,042,042	78,257	4,770	2,125,069
Yugoslav.....	209,685	31,892	41,005	282,582
Western European.....	2,175,263	20,664	7,871	2,203,798
Italian.....	594,156	107,803	0	701,959
Enemy.....	139,696	457,482	3,620	600,798
Others.....	239,950	77,855	25,818	343,623
Total.....	6,118,811	842,604	89,191	7,050,606

Displaced persons remaining in camps, Dec. 31, 1946, by nationality

	Germany	Austria	Italy	Total
Polish.....	263,555	11,969	3,344	278,868
Baltic.....	178,147	2,400	291	180,838
Soviet.....	11,082	2,398	320	13,800
Yugoslav.....	18,888	9,757	10,849	39,494
Jewish.....	139,284	32,760	21,288	193,332
Western European.....	2,007	15	378	2,400
Others.....	69,550	14,157	2,296	86,003
Total.....	682,513	73,456	38,766	794,735

Mr. HILLDRING. But in one important respect our initial plans were awry. We had assumed that once the fighting was over and transportation became available, practically all of the displaced persons would be eager to return to their former homes to participate in the painful reconstruction of their countries. We had not reckoned sufficiently with the political and social upheavals and the remaking of national maps which had taken place in Europe during the war.

Hundreds of thousands felt that they no longer had a country. They were in fundamental disagreement with the type of new government in power and the new economic pattern. They felt there was no opportunity for them to exist in those areas, much less rebuild their lives there. Others, particularly the Jewish survivors, were stunned by the cataclysmic extermination of 6,000,000 Jews and by the insidious results of some of Hitler's indoctrination in the countries where they formerly lived. As a result, there is an aggregation of a million persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, preponderantly in the zones we govern.

Their fate lies in our hands.

Mr. CHELF. General, why are there more in our zone than there are in the other sections?

Mr. HILLDRING. There are two reasons for that, sir. One is that in the beginning, the displaced persons were about equally divided between our zone and the British.

For one reason or another, the British have done a better job; that is, have repatriated a larger number than we have.

That is one thing.

The other thing is that we afforded haven in 1946 to about 100,000 Polish Jews who were fleeing from persecution as a result of the pogroms in Poland in 1946.

Those are the two principal reasons for the fact that we have the larger number.

I would like to summarize a few basic statistics about the displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy. There are a little more than 1,000,000 in the three countries—850,000 in Germany, 148,000 in Austria, and the rest in Italy.

About 8 out of every 10 displaced persons live in camps or organized communities. About 65 percent are Catholic, 20 percent Jewish, and 15 percent Protestant.

Twenty-one percent of the displaced persons are children up to the age of 18; 66 percent are between the ages of 18 and 44; only 13 percent are above the age of 44.

We have almost 60 percent of the displaced persons in the United States zones and under United States care.

About 17 percent of the displaced persons are Balts, 30 percent Poles, 7 percent Yugoslavs, 20 percent Jewish, and the remainder primarily Ukrainians, Russians, and stateless. These statistics may vary slightly from time to time, depending upon the source. Because of the dislocation in Europe and the intricate political situation in eastern and central Europe and the loss of many identity documents, it is not possible to get statistics which everyone will agree upon. What I have given you is the consensus based upon our best estimates from various sources.

What is the attitude of displaced persons toward work? I would like to spend some time on this question because it is crucial and

basic to the entire question of whether displaced persons would make good citizens of the United States. I must say frankly that there has been a good deal of misinformation about this aspect of the question. Some of it results from fleeting unfavorable impressions based on cursory visits to a few camps. It is most important to view this aspect of the problem in true perspective and not to jump at any conclusions or form any hasty judgments.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt?

Mr. HILLDRING. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. How many camps are there, General?

Mr. HILLDRING. 300 camps.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is in our zone?

Mr. HILLDRING. Our zone, yes.

Since the displaced persons had been brought to Germany for hard labor, it was only natural that upon their liberation they should have had a revulsion against working. It was also only natural that they should have felt that their oppressors, who were responsible for their condition, should perform for them much of the menial work which they had been doing on behalf of their oppressors.

It was also natural that while the displaced persons lived in daily expectation that they would be leaving Germany they should not adapt themselves immediately to employment. In spite of all of these factors, I think that the displaced persons have established a remarkable record for themselves in their attitude toward work. This has become particularly evident after stabilization of conditions during the past year.

About 40 percent of the displaced persons are employable. Of this number about 80 percent in Germany are working in regular jobs, either in camps or otherwise. Many professional, administrative, technical, and manual jobs necessary to the formation of the assembly centers have been filled almost exclusively by displaced persons workers. The collective performance and the sense of responsibility of these workers have been of such a high order that the actual management of the centers has now been delegated to them to a degree far beyond what was initially planned, or hoped for.

Many displaced persons are also undergoing supervised vocational training within the camps and many others hold jobs outside of the camps with the occupation authorities, other Allied agencies, or, in limited numbers, in the German economy. However, shortages of supplies have limited the number of camp jobs. Also, a number of workers live in camps located so far from employment centers that it is not practicable for them to take outside jobs. Further difficulty arises from the fact that the work incentives we are able to offer are not very substantial, as workers paid in reichmarks find that such currency will buy little in Germany and has no foreign exchange value. During the past year, an increasingly large number of displaced persons have shown a willingness to take jobs in connection with German public works. However, practically no displaced persons want to remain permanently in Germany, so they have very little interest in its future stability.

Because the Jews were singled out by the Nazis for particularly brutal treatment, it is understandable that they have no wish to work for or under the Germans. However, just as with other displaced per-

sons, some Jews are now less averse to taking temporary jobs in the German economy.

All responsible reports agree that the average displaced person, far from being lazy, inefficient, and irresponsible, is eager to rebuild his life through hard, constructive work, and is ready and able to accept responsibility.

The caliber of displaced persons as workers should be judged not by their initial attitudes after liberation, nor even by their record of performance, excellent though it has been. In my opinion, their caliber should be judged by their potential ability to work as free men in a free country. Adversity has taught these people to be adaptable. They have many basic skills which could be put to good use, and they are eager to learn others. During the course of these hearings we will give you further detailed information about these skills. I am particularly interested now in stressing to you those qualities and attitudes which cannot be reflected in statistics. I state unequivocally, on the basis of my long experience with displaced persons, that they are made of the stuff of which good American citizens are made.

I know the thought that perhaps comes to some of your minds. You say, we agree that they will be productive economically but will they be able to fit into our way of life?

Let us be frank about it: The question is often asked, are they communistic?

I want to meet this issue squarely. Any statement or innuendo or intimation that the displaced persons in Germany, Austria, or Italy are communistic flies in the face of the basic fact of the situation. That basic fact is that the displaced persons come from areas which have now come to be dominated by the Soviets. They are unwilling and fear to return to those areas precisely because they are now dominated by Communist governments. They are opposed to that type of economy and government. The U. S. S. R. has repeatedly and insistently demanded that we solve the displaced persons problem by forcibly returning all displaced persons to the governments which now control the areas of origin. We are not keeping any displaced persons from returning but we steadfastly refuse to force them to go back.

I come now to the question of the cost of these displaced persons to the American taxpayer. In testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee on a resolution to authorize the United States to participate in the International Refugee Organization, I made the following estimate:

During the fiscal year 1947 the total dollar cost to the United States of caring for displaced persons will amount to approximately \$130,000,000. This figure includes an estimated \$115,000,000 spent by the United States Army, the United States' share of UNRRA expenses for displaced persons, and the United States' contribution to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. If the United States joins the International Refugee Organization, the total expense for the fiscal year 1948 will amount to about \$73,500,000. It is evident, therefore, that even with the tremendous savings to be effected by the IRO, there will be a continuing expense to the American taxpayer until the problem is solved.

I would like to digress for a moment at this point to make absolutely clear the relationship of immigration and the IRO. The IRO

participation bill, which unanimously passed the Senate and is awaiting consideration on the floor of the House after unanimous approval by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, specifically provided that the authority to join the IRO does not commit Congress to any particular policy on immigration. The Department of State has made it clear throughout the discussion on this resolution that it believed that there was nothing in the IRO constitution to compel any country to absorb immigrants and that it is up to Congress to decide what our immigration policy shall be. In other words, the IRO participation bill takes an absolutely neutral position on immigration. We are now in the appropriate forum for such a decision.

I have tried to give the committee a dispassionate analysis of the factual background of the displaced-persons' problem. I would now like to present to the committee our considered view as to the four possible solutions to the problem. The responsibility for choosing one of these possibilities now rests squarely with the Congress, but I hope that I may take this opportunity to recommend the one course which seems to us the most preferable.

First. We would forcibly repatriate all of the displaced persons remaining in our zones. We could use the German police and our own soldiers to round up all of the displaced persons at point of bayonets, load them into trucks and boxcars, and transport them to eastern Europe. Or, as a variation, we could herd them by force into a few collecting points and invite the military and governmental authorities of the eastern European countries to come and haul them off. We have not attempted such a policy to date. We would not attempt such a policy of our own accord.

Second. We could close the displaced-persons camps and turn out the victims of German aggression to fend for themselves amidst their oppressors. The displaced persons do not want to become Germans. The Germans do not want the displaced persons to live among them. Economic conditions in Germany are so bad that displaced persons could not be supported. If Congress approves our membership in the IRO, it will mean that this course has been ruled out by Congress for the coming year, at least. But as long as displaced persons retain that status in Germany the Congress will be faced with a similar decision every year. Unless some other provision is made by Congress, this solution would ultimately have to be adopted by military government.

Third. We could continue indefinitely to maintain displaced persons in camps, segregated from the economy and government of Germany. While this might afford an interim solution, it would not advance the problem any closer to an ultimate solution. On the contrary, such a course would condemn the DP's to a continued life of uncertainty and would dissipate their energies and skills. Moreover, the United States taxpayer would have to continue to pay for their upkeep either through the IRO or on a unilateral basis. Will Congress decide upon this course of action?

Fourth. It is possible to resettle displaced persons in various countries of the world able and willing to receive them. This is the only alternative which, in my opinion, will settle the problem once and for all in a manner consistent with American principles. I do not suggest for a moment that we take all of the displaced persons into our own country. I do say that we who have a majority of displaced persons

now in our hands and subject to our ultimate governmental authority should take the lead in giving some of them a chance to recreate their lives in America. We have done all we can to bring in a maximum number under the existing quota laws; but, as other witnesses have pointed out, the present laws do not permit this as a solution.

We will not lessen our efforts to resettle as many of these displaced persons as possible in Europe and Latin America and to obtain a just solution of the Palestine problem which may enable a large number of displaced Jews to enter the Holy Land. But we cannot pursue these efforts with any degree of success if we ourselves are not willing to help relieve ourselves of our own problem.

During the course of the next few weeks you will hear many witnesses on this subject. They will represent many points of view and many walks of life. They will discuss all aspects of this problem. But when all the testimony is ready to be weighed carefully, Congress will still have to choose among these alternatives:

Forcible repatriation, abandonment to the German economy, indefinite maintenance in camps, or resettlement in various countries, including the United States. In my opinion, H. R. 2910, which accepts the fourth alternative, points toward the right direction. The decision is for Congress.

Mr. FELLOWS. Let me ask you, General, if I may, this:

We have heard the words "fair share" used through these hearings. How did they arrive at the figure of 400,000?

Mr. HILLDRING. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that you did not see the words "fair share" in my statement.

Mr. FELLOWS. I did not.

Mr. HILLDRING. I would like to indulge in a little history of the DP business in trying to answer your question.

A year or 18 months ago, when we had just completed our mass repatriation of displaced persons, getting down toward the end, a little slowly, of the 7,000,000 to be repatriated, we were then hoping and trying to resettle the hard core, the remaining number, whatever it was to be, in countries, in Palestine, resettle them in western Europe, and we hoped in Central and South America.

At that time we were not considering seriously at all any approach to the Congress for assistance in solving this problem. However, as we have pursued these avenues, it has been increasingly apparent to us that that was too easy an outlet. It was not a feasible and possible decision. It was not a possible and feasible method of solving a problem because we encounter resistance to immigration in all areas for all kinds of reasons.

We finally decided, Mr. Chairman, that if we were going to settle the problem, the United States was going to have to act like a leader and set the standard itself by permitting some immigration into this country before we could get other countries to cooperate with us in the solution of this problem.

Now, in arriving at the number, it is a matter of judgment and opinion. We have a large part of the DP's, more than half of them, as our responsibility.

Mr. FELLOWS. What number, under our control?

Mr. HILLDRING. 600,000.

Mr. CHELF. 600,000 or 1,000,000 or 850,000?

Mr. HILLDRING. It is 600,000 of 1,000,000.

Mr. CHELF. Of the 1,000,000.

Mr. HILLDRING. Of the 1,000,000.

It is the judgment of the administration and the State Department, based on all factors, that we should offer admission to this country of approximately 400,000 of these people.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, in this screening process—and you have examined the situation over there—how many—and I know this will have to be a judgment or perhaps a guess—do you think could pass the standards to be set up under this bill on the basis of the 600,000?

Mr. HILLDRING. That is pretty difficult to say, Mr. Chairman. We would not contend that all 400,000 visas will be necessary. It may be that, on a proportional basis, we would not find 400,000 who could pass that test.

Mr. FELLOWS. When you speak of the 400,000—

Mr. HILLDRING. I can only say this—that we do not know how many would be able to pass the test. Of course, as the committee knows, we have no intention to vary from the standards now established for immigrants into the United States, in the slightest.

Mr. FELLOWS. So far as the circumstances will permit.

That is to say, of course, that these unfortunate people have nothing left, no homes, no records, and probably not much of anything else.

Mr. HILLDRING. As far as the investigations are concerned, Mr. Chairman, I think we are in a better shape, my judgment is, to test their suitability for American citizenship, of these 1,000,000 people, than we are of those who normally apply to a consul in a foreign country for admission to the United States.

These people have been under our constant observation now for a period of 2 years. We have a very complete record on them during this period.

We have had the ability to observe them in a very unnatural and in a very trying and difficult circumstance.

It seems to me that if a man or a woman or a child can preserve a record that will meet our standards of citizenship based on his record in these colonies and concentration camps for a period of 2 years—and sometimes they have been very rugged times—that we have as good a guaranty of what kind of man or woman that particular man or woman is as it is humanly possible to get, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, you are speaking of 400,000, and there are 600,000 under our supervision.

What about the other 200,000?

Mr. HILLDRING. We are hopeful, Mr. Chairman, that if we display leadership in the solution of this problem by opening our gates to a number of these people that we will have rallied around us and behind us a similar action on the part of those nations that assist.

Mr. FELLOWS. I can see your problem.

You have a very difficult problem, because of the 200,000 that have to be left over there. Somebody has to tell them that they are not going with us.

Mr. HILLDRING. I have talked to over 40 ambassadors, Mr. Chairman, in respect to this problem.

Now, this is purely a matter of judgment. I feel almost certain that we, having at present the largest responsibility with respect to these people, if we were to make open this opportunity for these unfortunate people, that this country, this Government, would have little difficulty in getting the aid of other nations to resolve the rest of the problem.

Mr. CHELF. And by the same token, get Britain to do something about the Palestine situation; right?

Is that right or wrong, General?

Mr. HILLDRING. I think that is a factor.

Mr. CHELF. Let us talk this thing out.

Mr. HILLDRING. I think that it would have some considerable effect on the solution of that problem.

But, Mr. Chairman, the point I am trying to make is this:

When I sit down with an ambassador and say: "Will you please assist us with the solution of this problem by opening up your gates to 50,000 or 60,000 or 70,000 of them"—and the reason I am talking to him is because I have a large responsibility—this Government has—in this field, today. And before the conversation is over, inevitably, in a very polite and diplomatic way, he says to me:

"What is your country doing about it?"

I am sure if we did something about it, if we did what is proposed in the Stratton bill, that we would not have any trouble, Mr. Chairman, in getting the cooperation of other nations in the world to completely resolve this problem.

Mr. CELLER. Do you care to tell us the names of those nations, or would you rather not?

I do not press it.

Mr. HILLDRING. I think I would rather not, Mr. Celler, for the purpose of this discussion.

Mr. CELLER. Have you a break-down of the occupations of these DPs?

Mr. HILLDRING. We have them, and I can put them in the record.

Mr. CELLER. It might be well to have those in the record.

Mr. HILLDRING. I will be glad to insert them, Mr. Celler.

(See testimony by Lt. Col. Jerry M. Sage, p. 354.)

Mr. CELLER. My good friend from Kentucky, my distinguished colleague, Mr. Chelf, entered a question I was going to ask.

You speak in your statement of the following:

To obtain a just solution of the Palestine problem.

Is it going to be the policy—you do not have to answer this either, if you do not wish to—of our Government to insist upon fulfillment of the terms of the Balfour declaration and the mandate given to the British over Palestine?

Mr. HILLDRING. Mr. Celler, the Palestine question, as you know, is a most involved one. If we were to discuss it at all, I would like to discuss it fully, and after some preparation.

Mr. CELLER. I think it would be well to have that discussion. There is a declared policy of our Government on Palestine as announced in two concurrent congressional resolutions, as announced in the embracing by our Government of the invitation to send members to an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, as embodied in an Anglo-American Treaty on Palestine of 1924, as declared in speeches by Presidents of

the United States, from President Wilson down to and including President Truman; there is the announced policy as embodied in the Palestine planks of the platforms for both parties in the last Presidential election.

Presidential candidates of both parties have made forthright statements in support of these Palestine planks.

That declared policy as announced in all those documents, speeches, and international and national agreements, provides for unlimited immigration of Jews into Palestine and free purchase of land and eventual sovereignty for the Jews in the Holy Land.

That is a clear policy of our Government.

Mr. HILLDRING. I will be perfectly frank with you, Mr. Celler.

I have many problems and troubles in the State Department, but Palestine is not one of them, and before I were to discuss the subject, I would like to confer with the officer of the Department who has the responsibility for that, or to ask him to come before the committee and answer questions on Palestine.

Mr. CELLER. That is a very fair answer.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you have any questions, Mr. Graham?

Mr. GRAHAM. No.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, General.

Mr. HILLDRING. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert.

Would you kindly state your name, sir? Will you also give whom you represent, please?

STATEMENT OF REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT, GENERAL SECRETARY, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Dr. CAVERT. My name is Samuel McCrea Cavert. I am general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Would you like to have me abbreviate the statement, and make it as brief as possible, sir?

Mr. FELLOWS. We would like it that way.

Dr. CAVERT. I shall try to help you in that way.

I am appearing in behalf of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in support of the proposal that the Congress of the United States admit 400,000 displaced persons during the next 4 years.

The fate of the displaced persons is a matter that rests heavily on the Christian conscience. This is evidenced by the great number of expressions of concern voiced in many different denominations covering all parts of the country. These include—

The Northern Baptist Convention;

The Southern Baptist Convention;

The National Lutheran Council;

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church;

The Congregational Christian Council for Social Action;

The American Friends Service Committee (Quaker);

The Women's Division of Christian Service in the Methodist Church;

The Russian Orthodox Church in North America;

The American Unitarian Association;
 The International Board of the Young Men's Christian Associations;
 The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations;
 The Home Missions Council in North America;
 The United Council of Church Women;
 The Mennonite Central Committee;

and at least four others which have taken action since this statement was prepared a week ago.

I add to this list, therefore, the Evangelical Reform Commission on Christian and Social Relations; the Serbian Orthodox Church in America; the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, whose general assembly took action at Grand Rapids, Mich., last week; the United Presbyterian Church, whose general assembly took action at Sterling, Kans., earlier this week.

This widespread concern led the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at its biennial meeting held in Seattle, Wash., December 4 to 6, 1946, to make a special appeal in behalf of the displaced persons. The council is an official federation of 25 national denominations—Protestant and Eastern Orthodox—comprising 142,354 local congregations with a combined membership of more than 28,000,000 persons. The delegated representatives of these 25 denominations at the Seattle meeting adopted a statement which urgently advocated the admission to our country of "so many of the displaced persons as would constitute the fair share of the United States—a share which should not exceed half of the unrepatriables and which would not be less than half of the difference between those admissible under the quota law during the war years and those who actually entered." The resolution then made a direct plea to local churches to cooperate in the resettlement of such displaced persons as may be admitted by Congress, declaring:

That the Federal Council deems it the duty of all Christians, and urges the members of the churches in its membership to aid in making the necessary provision for these homeless people; and

That the Church World Service should be strongly supported by the cooperating churches in assisting to provide for the reception, distribution, and resettlement of these immigrants.

WHY THE CHURCHES ARE INTERESTED

I speak with first-hand knowledge of conditions in the camps of displaced persons in Europe for I had the opportunity of observing them in Germany last summer while I was serving as Protestant liaison representative between the American Military Government and the German Church under appointment by the Secretary of War. As a result of that experience I am convinced that among all the tragic victims of World War II there are none who have a greater claim on our sympathy and help than the displaced persons. They are where they are today because they fled from their homes in eastern and central Europe to escape totalitarian regimes. They are displaced because they are lovers of liberty.

The problem of the displaced person is not the problem of any one racial or religious group. Of the 850,000, or thereabouts, that consti-

tute the unrepatriables, who cannot return to their former homes without the prospect of facing a firing squad or a concentration camp, approximately three-quarters are Christians, many of them belonging to the Protestant and Eastern Orthodox bodies associated with the Federal Council of Churches. Beyond all the humanitarian considerations, therefore, our churches have an added reason for being active in behalf of the displaced persons, for a large percentage of them are of our own household of faith.

I pass on to the more important section on page 4 of my statement, in which I want to emphasize the fact not only of a deep concern about these people, but of a determination of the churches actually to take care of them if and when they are allowed to come to this country.

The churches of our constituency can be counted on to play an important role in the resettlement of the displaced persons that are admitted into the United States. Already they have demonstrated their practical interest in doing so. Through Church World Service, Inc., and the American Christian Committee for Refugees, 400 displaced persons from the camps in Europe have been successfully resettled. Homes have been found for them in 64 different communities in 19 different States. Not one of them is dependent on public charity. They are rapidly becoming useful self-supporting residents of our country.

Mr. CELLER. Are these rural sections as well as urban sections on which they have been settled?

Dr. CAVERT. Yes. There are 64 different communities. I have the break-down of them here. I am afraid that the break-down does not show the specific communities, but it does show by States.

The States, for example, are California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Washington.

There are 64 different communities in those 19 States.

The detailed case records show that they are widely diversified in professional and occupational status. Fifty-six of them, it may be pointed out, are in service occupations, such as household workers and nurses, in which there is a shortage of American personnel.

This is only a slight indication of what the churches are effectively organized to do in resettlement when larger numbers of displaced persons are permitted to enter our country. I cite, as illustrative, the following statements made by responsible executives of national church agencies:

Rev. Charles E. Krumbholz, executive secretary of the division of welfare, National Lutheran Council, says:

The Lutheran Church stands ready to assist in the resettlement program of displaced persons who may be able to come under H. R. 2010.

The National Lutheran Council is in regular and frequent contact with over 8,000 pastors throughout the country, of whom about 50 percent are serving rural and small-town churches. Through these churches in rural communities many hundreds of families can be resettled. It is roughly estimated that several thousand persons can be helped in resettlement and quick adjustment to American life through our Lutheran Church.

I might add parenthetically that of the Protestant displaced persons, considerably the largest percentage is Lutheran. So this statement of the Lutheran Church is significant in that connection.

Mr. GRAHAM. Might I interrupt just a moment?

Dr. CAVERT. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM. Isn't it a fact that the Lutheran Church has a larger membership in this country than any other, aside from the Catholic denomination?

Dr. CAVERT. In these countries from which these displaced persons come, yes, sir, that is true; especially in the Baltic States from which many of the DP's come.

Continuing from Dr. Krumbholz's statement,

The welcome that displaced persons will receive at the hands of the Lutheran Church is evidenced by the entirely unsolicited offers of resettlement opportunities that have already come to our national office. We have only to stimulate further offers in order to secure a large number of additional opportunities. We have withheld an appeal to our people because as yet we have not been able to use all the resources that we now have.

In addition to the churches themselves, the Lutheran group has a whole chain of welfare agencies stretched over the country which are alerted to start operations at once to find opportunities for employment and homes for new arrivals. Already 100 families have been placed and 50 adolescents from the ages of 14 to 18 are being cared for in foster homes through Lutheran child-placing agencies which are fully accredited by the United States Children's Bureau. These agencies can be quickly rallied for work through our national office when the time comes.

Rev. Stanley I. Stuber, executive secretary of the World Relief Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention, writes:

The American Baptist Home Mission Society is at the present time making a survey of homes which might consider taking displaced persons. Moreover, it is creating a Department which will care for the resettlement of DP's after they have been turned over to it from the Church World Service Committee. It also intends to follow through, with personal and spiritual aid, over a period of months and, if need be, years. Northern Baptist have already allocated \$50,000 for this type of work and are ready to supply even more when it is possible to bring displaced persons to this country in terms stated in our resolution.

Rev. G. P. Warfield, associate secretary of the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, says:

Our committee is deeply interested in this project and can assure you that we will call upon the multiplied resources of the Methodist Church to assist us in doing everything possible to help displaced persons who come to the United States of America.

Metropolitan Theophilus, Archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church of North America, has written a letter to all the parishes in his Nation-wide jurisdiction, in which he addresses them as follows:

Organize without delay in every parish a branch of the Russian Orthodox Committee * * * to assist in the resettlement of these Russian Orthodox refugees after their admission to this country. These committees should make themselves responsible for seeing that these newcomers do not become public charges or a burden to their communities.

Latvian Relief, Inc., through Mr. Robert H. Peterson, secretary, writes as follows:

We should like to say that 60,000 Latvian displaced persons could easily be settled in the United States within the period of 4 years, in collaboration with Church World Service and the respective United States agencies.

Latvian Relief, Inc., proposes to work in close contact with Latvian churches and civic and welfare organizations in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, and with Latvian farming colonies in New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Maine, Michigan, Florida, and other States.

The great majority of Latvians are familiar with agriculture and with trades and professions. The Latvian people are sturdy, active, and thrifty. They will take root in America and acclimatize themselves in a minimum of time. They are self-reliant and they will require only some assistance in the very beginning. The loyalty of the Latvian refugees to the United States will be unqualified and unquestioned.

I sometimes hear it argued that obligations to our own people prevent our assisting the displaced persons overseas. I agree that we certainly must take care of our own. But these convincing evidences of constructive help available through many churches and voluntary agencies make it completely clear that a country in as favored a position as ours can both care for its own and also do something significant for the helpless in Europe. Unless we do so I do not see how we are going to be at peace with our own consciences. Moreover, if we do not initiate a real solution for this relatively simple and compassable international problem, what ground have we for hoping for a world of order and peace? Here, in the case of the displaced persons, we can set an example of what it means to live in "one world." This is a good time to recall John Donne's haunting story of the vicar in the English village who was asked from whom the church bell was tolling. In words that have become a classic of spiritual insight he replied:

No man is an island, entire of itself. Every man is a piece of continent, a part of the main. If a clod is washed away by the sea, Europe is the less. Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. Therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Mr. FELLOWS. Dr. Covert, I notice that you used the parable of the good Samaritan.

Dr. CAVERT. Yes; I did in a paragraph that I omitted.

Mr. FELLOWS. But in that case, he did not take him home. He took him to an inn, and left money.

I do not think that is a good illustration.

Dr. CAVERT. I would like to point out that the good Samaritan did what the situation required to save the man.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is right. He took him to an inn and left him funds.

Dr. CAVERT. That is right. And at the present time, that is what we are doing. We are taking them to the inns, which are the camps in Europe. But as we heard from the Assistant Secretary of State a moment ago, it can be only a temporary procedure.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is correct. Only I am wondering whether it is a good parable to us.

Mr. CELLER. Doctor, don't we want to take them in, also?

Dr. CAVERT. I am not particularly interested in arguing the parable. I am very much interested in arguing from what seemed to me to be basic Christian considerations, having to do with our whole attitude toward those who have suffered most through no fault of their own from the war.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have used the parable. I did not.

Dr. CAVERT. Thank you.

Mr. CHELF. Doctor, might I say to you, were it not for that attitude, I would have long since made up my mind. That is one thing that I am holding in my mind, that one point that you just brought up.

Mr. CELLER. How many members does the Council of Churches of Christ in America represent?

Dr. CAVERT. There are 28,000,000 members and 25 national denominations that cooperate in the council.

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you, sir, for your statement and your courtesy.

Dr. CAVERT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. We will adjourn until next Friday at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon at 1:00 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10 a. m., Friday, June 13, 1947.)

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building, Hon. Frank Fellows (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order.

Justice Owen J. Roberts is here this morning.

We are honored to have you before us, and we are ready when you are.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I am ready now.

STATEMENT OF HON. OWEN J. ROBERTS, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT (RETIRED)

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I have felt it an obligation to come down here in person, Mr. Chairman, rather than to write to the committee, because of my tremendous interest in the question that is before you.

I do not know that I can add very much in the way of fact or argument to what you have already heard. But I do want to make a brief statement about the matter.

I am interested in many movements in this country intended to break down as far as possible racial and religious prejudices and feeling. I am glad to say that this project has no color of race or religion in it. You know the proportions and the percentages that are affected by it.

We face this problem, gentlemen, in the UNO and the IRO. The United States has recognized that this is one of the serious problems of the reconstitution of European society.

Recognizing, as we do, the seriousness of the problem, the country has to face and what it ought to do about it.

We have, I am glad to say, resisted the repatriation of these people in the countries from which they fled. We are now, of necessity, holding them in an almost imperialistic way, and it seems to me in quite an un-American way, because these people, as a result of necessities, are now practically interned in concentration camps.

We have to find some way to assert our leadership. I think we have to fulfill the obligations that are on us, arising from the plight of these people. And I fear that our failure to take an affirmative stand

for their relief will be taken by the world as an evidence that we abnegate our obligations of leadership in a world in which we are dedicated to the doctrines of peace and freedom.

Mr. Chairman, if we are really serious in our concern for peace and freedom, we have to prove that by action and not mere words. If the democratic principle for the respect of human integrity and human personality is to survive in this world, we have to see that these people are restored to some decent way of life somewhere.

Now, what are our alternatives?

We have refused the alternative of sending these people back to be put into prison or to be liquidated by governments opposed to them, by totalitarian governments against which they stand.

I do not see how we can reverse that position.

Mr. GRAHAM. Justice Roberts, I do not want to throw you off your chain of thought.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. You will not at all, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM. You will pardon this one question?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Certainly.

Mr. GRAHAM. In view of the unsettled conditions in Europe at the moment—and this is a reflection of correspondence that we have received—do you believe that if conditions were continued as they now are in these camps for, say, a year, then the situation would alleviate itself or not?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I cannot see how it would, Mr. Graham, and for this reason: As I say, I think the alternative of repatriating them is out. That is out for this year. It is out for next year. It is out forever as far as I can see.

Now, the next alternative is that we indefinitely keep them in these concentration camps and see what happens. I cannot envisage anything happening that will alleviate the situation with which they are faced.

With the bar up completely against our sending them back home, with the bar up completely against our saying to the German population, in whose country they are now located, "You have to take these people", with the bar up against their coming into this country, they will stay in concentration camps, it seems to me, indefinitely.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I was just about to say that if we uphold the democratic principle of the dignity of the human being and of the individual's moral right to security and to the pursuit of happiness, we have to take some means to extend that privilege to these wards of ours.

The only way I see that we can do it is to take our fair share of them into this country.

These people have suffered, gentlemen, because of their opposition in which we have the deepest sympathy, their opposition to totalitarian government, to slavery. I think that is a fair evidence that they are a rugged kind of people, that they are the kind of people that the pioneers were that came to this country.

It happens that my ancestors on two lines fled to this country in the late 1700's to escape religious persecution. A great many of these people are injured, all of them, I suppose, because of political and religious beliefs. They are not the kind of drones and they are not

the kind of good-for-nothings that we do not want in this country.

I believe they are people that will make a contribution, just as our ancestors made a contribution when they fled here to escape.

Mr. GRAHAM. In your view, Justice, do you think that we are being asked to take a larger proportion than the other areas or not?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Mr. Graham, that is a very difficult question for me to figure out. I should suppose that 400,000 out of 850,000 would not be out of line. It does not seem to me out of line.

We are having to guess who will follow our example. I have a deep conviction that if the United States makes a great gesture here in the interest of freedom and liberty, then the other countries will follow our example.

I particularly hope that our South American brethren will follow the example. And I do not think that it will be a difficult thing to integrate into our society those that are fit to come of these 850,000 people.

I do not know how many can comply with the regulations of the immigration laws, but I should suspect that a large proportion of them could, and I should think that our fair share would be approximately half.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I do not believe, as I said, that there is any strain on our national economy involved in taking in this infinitesimal group. Most of them, as you know, will come to relatives and friends in this country. A large part of them will be merged in family life that exists here now.

I do not think either the labor problem or the housing problem, or any problem of sustenance, will be serious in connection with it.

But in opposition to the seriousness, whatever it might be, of those problems is the terrifically serious implications of this country's turning its back on destitute people who through no fault of their own have been extruded from their own homes and cannot go back there.

I do not see how we can hold our heads up in the world if we turn our backs on these people. If the place that has been the asylum for those that stood up for the rights of conscience and the rights of political liberty turns its back on those people now and if we say that the United States has changed its attitude of over 150 years, then I do not see how we can hold our heads up.

For over 150 years we have taken people of that kind, and they are the backbone of this country, because they had guts and they had conscience. And I do not believe that we can say, "Now, here are these people with guts and conscience, but we have enough of that kind. We do not want any more."

Mr. GRAHAM. You will pardon me for an interruption. You will understand, Mr. Roberts, that the question I am propounding to you is a reflection of communications we have received.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Quite so.

Mr. GRAHAM. I am thinking in terms of getting your advice.

The question is this: Do you believe within the framework of the United Nations Organization and the IRO that this could be accomplished irrespective of any congressional action on it?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I do not, sir. Now, IRO certainly cannot, any more than can the United States of America, force these people back into their old homes.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is right.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. IRO can help take care of them. IRO can persuade some of them to become German citizens and persuade German communities to take care of them here and there. But it is a piecemeal sort of thing; it is a helpless sort of thing, and it will not solve this problem.

Mr. GRAHAM. Now, I have the corollary to that, and then I shall have finished.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM. Do you believe that in the light of all our experience there will be any breaking down of the fundamental basis of our immigration laws by the admission of these people?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I should not think so, sir.

As I understand it, this is a very narrow bill. This bill simply provides for taking up at the rate of 100,000 a year available people who, when they are taken, will help fill up the lack of use of the quotas over the past years. But as I understand it, it does not let down the bars at all.

For instance, a criminal or an insane person amongst this group could not get in here.

Mr. GRAHAM. They are screened out abroad.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. They are screened out. And we are getting in these 400,000 the kind of immigrants that your House has said shall be in the quotas. So we are not changing the immigration law at all, and I understand that the quotas are still to stand for the future. They are very much smaller than this total, of course.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Justice Roberts, you would not favor a breaking down of those laws?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I certainly would not, sir. That is a terrifically big question, of course.

Mr. FELLOWS. It is too big for me.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. It is too big for this committee to deal with in connection with this special bill. That is my judgment.

In other words, that is a thing for a full-dress investigation of both Houses of Congress in the light of the public sentiment that has developed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. And I would not for a moment advocate any change in the immigration laws of the United States at this moment.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is a study within itself, Mr. Justice.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Indeed it is.

As you know, I am a very strong advocate for forming a federation of the democracies with the United States today. But in all my advocacy of that, I have provided that for a long period of years, 50 or 100 years, immigration shall be within the competence of the nations federating and that there shall be no wide door thrown open for traveling back and forth at will by anybody.

I think that is all I have to say. I am here simply to express my really passionate desire that something be done by this country for these people.

Mr. FELLOWS. We are honored by your presence, Mr. Justice.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. It is an honor to appear here, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any questions?

Mr. GOSSETT. I have a question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. I did not hear the judge's main statement. But I have the greatest respect for his judgment. I want to get his views on this problem.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. They are not worth much, sir, but for what they are worth, I am glad to give them.

Mr. GOSSETT. Judge, I know you feel that this matter should be decided solely on the basis of what is to the best interest of this country. That is true; is it not?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. Absolutely.

Mr. GOSSETT. I personally have not had much sympathy for the argument that we have to do our part and that unless we do our part for the so-called DP's we will aggravate animosity and antagonism among other countries; and that, on the other hand, if we do what is allegedly our part others will fall in line and do theirs.

Now, do we have any assurance whatsoever that other countries, if we take any substantial part of these DP's, will take what is alleged to be their part?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. I believe that we ought to take the action that we think is fair in the light of the international situation, Mr. Congressman, entirely irrespective of what other nations do or do not do. That is the No. 1 consideration. And I take that position for this reason, sir: That I think that morally we cannot afford to turn our backs on this problem.

Now, I was saying before you came in that it seems to me that the United States is faced with these alternatives: We have to reverse the position we have taken in diplomatic roles——

Mr. GOSSETT. In other words, we have to——

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. We have to say, "Let these people go back. If they are murdered, that is too bad. But they are citizens of Estonia, or somewhere, and if they get into concentration camps and get murdered when they get home, that is too bad, and that is not our business."

Now, we have taken the opposite view there. We have said that we will not stand for their compulsory return.

We could let them stay where they are, Mr. Congressman. In that event, I suppose we are not going to let them starve. Now, nobody is going to help us feed them, and we have a very large commitment there if we are going to board them indefinitely.

Then I suppose that we have the other alternative of saying, "It hardly seems right in the light of international conditions to offer to take them all, but we will look at what we think is our fair share, and we will make the great gesture, the democratic gesture, of saying, 'These people who are decent people, who will make decent citizens, we will take. We will solve our part of this problem.'"

Now, I should hope—and I have no more assurance than you have, sir—that the other nations would follow that sort of leadership. If they do not, we will have then the question of what is our obligation further.

Mr. CELLER. Will you yield on that? Do you mind if I ask just one question?

Mr. GOSSETT. I yield, sir.

Mr. CELLER. I am informed that Norway has recently taken several thousand DP's and has agreed to take a fair share in addition. Denmark has already taken quite a number of them.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. I am interested to know that. I did not know it, sir.

Mr. CELLER. And Great Britain has taken several thousand, and has indicated a willingness to take more. We have not been able to secure information as to the additional number that they will take.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. I see.

Mr. CELLER. But those three countries specifically have taken some of the DP's already.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. There is, it seems to me, an enormous opportunity in Central and South America for people of this stamp to get into the industry and get into the economy of the country.

Mr. GOSSETT. Judge, I am interested on that point, because I noticed in the press that South America has expressed a need, if not a desire—and maybe both a need and desire—for several million immigrants within the next few years.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. And then I am impressed further with the feeling that there are perhaps vast areas in Africa where immigrants are needed.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. That may be so, Mr. Congressman. But the moral position that I would like to see my country take is this: Not to say, "You fellows need them. You take them. We don't want them"——

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, you base your case entirely on the morals of the situation?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. I do. I said before you came that in two of my ancestral lines I descend by recent descent, really, from people who fled Europe to escape religious and political persecution.

Now, our country was open to those people. It was the asylum for those people, and we were the country that said we wanted people with that kind of conscience and that kind of courage.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, judge, on that point——

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. Are we to say now, Mr. Congressman, that we do not want any more?

Mr. GOSSETT. There are millions of people outside those camps who would like to flee the places in which they now are.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. I quite agree.

Mr. GOSSETT. And they want to get away from religious and political persecution.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. I quite agree.

Mr. GOSSETT. So if we are going to be an asylum for even a substantial ratio of people who wish to get away from something, then we would have to take in not thousands but millions of people.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS. I quite agree, and that is an impossibility at the present time.

But here are these people who are our wards, Mr. Congressman. We are holding these people in a concentration camp now.

Mr. GOSSETT. But, Judge, 80 percent of those people were not displaced at the time the war ended. Many of them voluntarily displaced themselves and came into the protective care and custody of the American zone.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. If you call it "voluntary." I think it was either that or be extinguished, or liquidated.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have been told, although I cannot verify these facts, that at least a good many of those people were more or less induced to come into our camps with the idea of being trouble-makers, some out of Russia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Some arrived as recently as last year. They were professional revolutionaries, as it were.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. You mean that we induced them?

Mr. GOSSETT. No; we did not induce them, but folks who wanted them, through that means, to give us trouble.

In other words, not everybody is our friend. A lot of people would like to see us undermined.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Mr. Congressman, I would not advocate a bill that did not screen these people very carefully. The immigration laws now provide that Communists and Fascists cannot come here; people who are antithetical to our form of government cannot come here. I would screen these people just as carefully as I would screen the quota immigrants.

Mr. GOSSETT. I know you would, Judge, and if you would do the screening, I would be very happy about it.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I am not quite willing to undertake to do that.

I would do almost anything to relieve the plight of these people.

Mr. GRAHAM. I have one final question, Justice Roberts. And again this is a reflection of the correspondence that we have received.

A number of inquiries have been written to me asking why the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of Canada, and the South American Republics have not joined in this effort to take their proportionate share.

Would you care to comment on that?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I do not know, sir. I am very, very strongly of the opinion that in all of these movements toward the restoration of the world, those of us who understand the free way of life ought to be joined in all of these movements. But I do not know whether representations have been made to those governments asking them to join.

I think that you would find that they would follow our leadership very promptly.

Mr. GRAHAM. Some of them.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. And perhaps some not.

Mr. GRAHAM. In your opinion, if we would take the lead, then the other nations would follow?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I think they would.

That is in answer to you again, Congressman Gossett. I have no assurance of it.

Mr. GOSSETT. Judge, I think we agree that we are trying to set up new policies in the field of foreign policy.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Most of us admit that we have been very short-sighted heretofore and that certainly we ought to repudiate the policy of isolation and of appeasement.

Those are the two prongs of the fallacious operations of the past.

Now, a good many proponents of this bill—not yourself—appear to me to be following the appeasement idea, thinking that we are going to win somebody's friendship by acceding to their wishes in this matter.

Now, you would not place this for a minute on the appeasement principle?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. That does not appeal to me at all, Mr. Congressman. I would like to see the United States of America take positions that it thinks is right, and then say if that worries somebody, "It is too bad, but we are not going to bother. We are going to do what we think is constructive and what we think is right. We are not aggressors, but we are going to be affirmative in our position."

Now, I do not care whom this displeases or whom it pleases.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am glad to hear you say that, sir.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. If I am morally right, if my country is morally right, then I can look people in the face. If my country is doing what is not morally right to please somebody, then I turn my back in shame.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am glad to hear you say that. I wanted to get that in the record.

Mr. CELLER. You stated, and I think very properly so, that we should on moral grounds admit a fair proportion of these displaced persons. And I think you said also—and you correct me if I am in error—that these displaced persons that we would admit would make good citizenship material.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I believe so, Mr. Celler.

Mr. CELLER. So that it is not only on moral grounds. It would be to our economic advantage, also, would it not?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Yes. But that is putting it on a lower plane. It might be to our economic advantage to admit 1,000,000 people who would like to come here, let us say, from Great Britain. I do not know that I would open the door and deplete Great Britain's entire labor force, just because some people preferred to come here for a better chance economically.

I would have to think about that a while. But I have here two things, Mr. Celler. I have, first, what I think is the moral obligation of the United States, and I have, second, the fact that it is not going to hurt us, but may help us.

Now, that is a subsidiary view.

Mr. CELLER. The statement has been made, and questions have been propounded, concerning the many millions that would clamor for admission to the United States, such, for example, as the inhabitants of China, the inhabitants of India, or elsewhere.

We are not concerned with them, are we? This bill does not involve anybody except these persons mentioned in it?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. No. I understand our immigration policy is not to be altered at all by this bill; that is, the current immigration policy.

Mr. CELLER. Do you know whether there are 80 percent of the DP's who have entered these UNRRA camps after the cessation of hostilities? Do you have any information on that?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I do not, sir.

Mr. CELLER. But you will admit, of course, that it would be inappropriate to say that they voluntarily came into these places?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. No. I understand our immigration policy I think they came because "they had better."

Mr. CELLER. Now, it has been said that if you would do the screening, some of our friends around the table here said that they would not be agreeable to the passage of this bill.

Mr. GOSSETT. No. I do not mean to say that, Mr. Celler.

I said if the bill were passed, I would like very much to have the Judge do the screening.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. You see, the Congressman is guarding himself very carefully on that.

Mr. CELLER. I see there is quite a difference in the second expression.

But the screening is done, of course, as you know, by our consular agents, and when the people come to our shores, there is more screening by the immigration officials and by the Public Health officials and other officials having jurisdiction.

So I would call that pretty good screening; wouldn't you?

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Mr. Celler, I happen to have been interested in a number of people in Austria and in other European countries who thought that they could comply with the immigration laws and whose relatives here in this country wanted to bring them in. And I found it a very difficult process to get them past the screening authorities.

Mr. GOSSETT. Judge, you cannot get them in now because of the President's executive order setting aside, I believe it is, 90 percent of all the nonpreference quotas to the DP's.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. I am speaking of the last 2 or 3 years.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is what I am speaking of.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Are you?

Mr. GOSSETT. In December of 1945, the President issued an Executive order setting aside—is it 90 percent of the quotas, Mr. Carusi? What percentage of the quotas were set aside under the President's Executive order for displaced persons?

Mr. CARUSI. Initially about 90 percent of one-half of the quotas.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Ninety percent of one-half of the quotas?

Mr. CARUSI. Yes, because one-half of the quota by law has to be reserved for preferential cases, and the other half is available for general immigration.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is, 90 percent of the nonpriority numbers?

Mr. CARUSI. In other words, 90 percent of one-half, or 45 percent of the whole.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Carusi, how many actually came in?

Mr. CARUSI. According to our figures, from May 20 of last year, when it began, to May 20 of this year, about 16,100. Now, that number may actually be a little larger, because some of the displaced persons were able to obtain transportation on their own, and came in unlabeled.

Mr. GOSSETT. Judge, that is one of my objections to this bill, that in taking care of the displaced persons we are precluded from extending hospitality or immigration to others who are perhaps more deserving and would be worth more to us.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. That is not so for the future, is it, sir? If this bill is passed, as I understand it, the quotas would be reestablished

for all countries; and up to the quota limit that you yourself have established, people could come in.

Mr. GOSSETT. Certainly this 400,000 is in addition to, and superimposed upon, the quotas. And if we are going to take in 400,000 persons over and above existing law, then I would rather get the 400,000 from other places than the DP camps, because I think we would get better folks.

Of course, your idea is that something has to be done with the DP's. Now, my theory is that they can go home, most of them.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. They will go to prison, sir, or they will go to death.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, that, I think, is a diversional problem. I do not doubt your sincerity, but I just do not follow you on that.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Of course, I think it is possible that they can make their peace with the governments in their countries. It is possible that they can put their necks under the yoke. I do not know. But our experience does not indicate that it is a very happy situation where you have been "agin" a totalitarian government and you go back.

Your protestations of change of heart do not seem to do you much good.

Mr. CELLER. Judge, I want to be sure to clinch that point that you made, namely, that the admission of 400,000 at 100,000 a year would not displace anybody in the quotas——

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. Who is now eligible.

Mr. CELLER. Who is now eligible.

Mr. JUSTICE ROBERTS. That is clear, I think.

I thank you, gentlemen, for giving me this opportunity.

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you, Mr. Justice.

Mr. C. E. Babcock.

Will you state your name and whom you represent, for the record, sir?

STATEMENT OF CHARLES E. BABCOCK, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, NATIONAL COUNCIL, JUNIOR ORDER UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS

Mr. BABCOCK. Mr. Chairman and members of your committee, my name is Charles E. Babcock. My home address is Vienna, Va. I am chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Junior Order United American Mechanics of the United States.

Gentlemen, I represent the National Council of the Junior Order United American Mechanics, a patriotic fraternal society which has recently celebrated its ninety-fourth birthday. The submission of this statement and my appearance before your honorable committee as a witness is under the authority of the national board of officers of our fraternity.

This bill, on which hearings are being held, according to the syllabus, would authorize the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, including relatives of citizens or members of our armed forces, by permitting their admission into the United States in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota numbers used during the war years.

Our fraternity is opposed to the provisions of this bill. We submit that the United States has already contributed a lion's share in the care and upkeep of displaced persons; feeding, clothing, medical care has been extended to them without stint and regardless of cost. The original number of displaced persons and refugees, due to war conditions, in Germany, Austria, and Italy was much smaller than the number of persons claiming to be displaced in concentration places in said countries at the present time. It has not been long since it was reported that 400,000 refugees and displaced persons were in concentration camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Today it is estimated that there are more than 1,000,000 of these classes of persons. How did the number come to be so largely increased? The answer is by infiltration of people from the said nations and other European nations, in the hopes that they can find some means of being admitted to the victorious Allied countries. Unrest and dissatisfaction always follow in the wake of a war. People are anxious to remove from war-ridden countries, and they will adopt almost any means in order to accomplish their desires.

This bill proposes the admission of 400,000 people in 4 years' time. This is a large number of people and represents as many as were left in concentration camps shortly after the fighting ceased. The infiltration process has brought the number up to more than twice the original number of refugees and displaced persons. We insist that this is no "fair share" for the United States to assume, and we further insist that no present emergency exists which would justify the enactment of this bill into law.

The bill proposes the application of unused quotas during the war years, or a part thereof, for the benefit of displaced persons. For the Congress to grant or make applicable unused quotas for the benefit of these people would be most unusual. It is a well-known fact that more than 50 percent of these displaced persons are in the category of displaced persons by their own action. So, many of them, therefore, as come within this category have no one to blame except themselves for their present situation. The best solution for them is to return to their own nations. If they are German citizens, let them be absorbed in the German population; if they are from Poland, let them be returned, and so on. It is no valid excuse for them not to be returned because they are unwilling to go back to their own countries. We submit further that at least 600,000 of these displaced persons ought to be, and by every consideration of right, should remain in the countries or nations to which they belong. Their presence in concentration camps entitles them to no rights under our immigration laws, and sympathy affords no excuse for the United States to receive them for permanent residence. We know that a strict application and enforcement of immigration laws will not permit the admission of these people as immigrants to the United States, and that the application of unused quotas should not be resorted to in order to accommodate them as immigrants.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I interrupt at that point?

Mr. BABCOCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM. In view of the loans being made by the Government of the United States to certain European countries to combat the march of communism, and in view of our entrance into the settlement of European affairs, do you feel that there is any danger of these

people, if they are returned to their native lands, being exterminated or liquidated?

Mr. BABCOCK. I am not in a position to say what will happen to them. They evidently knew what would happen to them when they illegally left their countries, as many of them did.

Mr. GRAHAM. But my question is premised on the fact that the Government of the United States is now taking a decisive step in the control, or at least in the interference, of European affairs. In view of that, will the authorities of the countries to which they return dare liquidate them?

That is what I am driving at.

Mr. BABCOCK. I expect, Mr. Graham, that if the United States is going to give \$24,000,000,000, as has been reported recently by the press, over a period of 5 years to those countries in Europe, and they would notify them that if these people were injured in any way, part of that \$24,000,000,000 would not be given to them, then they would not injure them.

Mr. GRAHAM. Did you read General Marshall's speech at Harvard University?

Mr. BABCOCK. No, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM. Then I will not ask you, if you do not know.

That is all on that question.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Babcock, just one question. I do not want to belabor it.

You state that the bill proposes the application of unused quotas during the war years or a part thereof for the benefit of displaced persons. I think you are in error there.

This bill does not provide for the use of unused quotas. The 400,000 for which entrance is sought is beyond the quotas, without regard to quotas. It is not a question of using unused quotas.

I want to correct you on that.

Mr. BABCOCK. That, Mr. Celler, really makes it worse, because we are going to pyramid these on top of the quota immigrants, and it will bring us that many more in addition.

Mr. CELLER. In two places in your statement you have already made that error. And I want, of course, to point that out to you.

Mr. BABCOCK. Yes, sir.

In our judgment, this proposed bill breaks down immigration barriers, and the usual safeguards as to eligibility of applicants for admission are disregarded and abandoned.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I interrupt again? I hate to do this.

Mr. BABCOCK. That is all right, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM. Have you read the Javits bill?

Mr. BABCOCK. Which one is that?

Mr. GRAHAM. For the admission of the children of these refugees.

Mr. BABCOCK. No, sir; but the admission of the children will come in future years, if this bill is passed.

Mr. GRAHAM. All right.

Mr. BABCOCK. In fact, not only the admission of the children, sir, but all of the 850,000 that have been reported to your committee can eventually come into the United States if this bill is enacted into law.

We feel that the American people are being fooled by this bill. They are not being told the whole facts, that it is the ground work

for a long-distance program, in our belief, to the bringing of the whole 850,000 into the United States.

Mr. GRAHAM. Your theory, then, is that this is simply the camel getting its head up to take the load?

Mr. BABCOCK. This is just the beginning, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Babcock, on that point, too, if we are to judge the future by the past, there is not much consideration going to be given to the orphaned children.

In the President's directive, he asked that preference be given to orphaned children. But they are crowded aside in the stampede, and they do not come in under existing legislation; nor would they come in under the proposed bill.

Mr. BABCOCK. That is right, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. CELLER. That is not a question; that is a statement. And I have to counter it. There is nothing in the bill which precludes the coming in of children or orphans.

Mr. FELLOWS. Will you agree not to make any statements if Ed Gossett would agree not to do that, Mr. Celler?

Mr. CELLER. I will, then.

Mr. FELLOWS. We will get along faster then.

Mr. BABCOCK. Mr. Gossett, we have great sympathy for those orphaned children and would like to see a bill that specifically limits itself to so many orphaned children and not a wide-open bill such as this, that is going to admit men, women, and children, over a long period.

We submit that first consideration should be given to our GI veterans and their welfare. In this connection, the housing situation in this country is far from being good. There is not available housing for our veterans and their families. The introduction of 100,000 people a year will further complicate the housing situation and will be detrimental to the best interests of our soldier boys who won the war. We think our care and guaranties to our veterans would exclude the displaced persons whom this bill proposes to accommodate.

Our employment situation forbids the introduction of 100,000 displaced people. Government reports recently admitted 2,300,000 persons out of work. To bring in 100,000 a year more of displaced persons would add to our unemployment situation.

We submit that the introduction of 400,000 people of doubtful loyalty to their own nations would be detrimental to the general welfare of the United States. We question the wisdom of bringing in these people to complicate our already disturbed social and political situation. We are hearing much about Communists and people of subversive ideologies and tendencies. A strict compliance with immigration laws as to eligibility of these displaced persons would no doubt disqualify many of these people for admittance here as immigrants for permanent residence.

Besides, this influx of 400,000 people will contribute little or nothing to the betterment of the American people; this should be a test in the admission of any alien people, and particularly in a large group such as this bill proposes. If the general welfare of our people and our Government is not promoted by this proposed influx of displaced persons, why should we authorize their admittance, and particularly under the conditions named in this bill, which is contrary to the well-seasoned immigration laws of 1917 and 1924?

We submit that the present policy of the restriction of immigration under the law of 1917 and the quota regulations under the act of 1924 are a fixed and settled policy with the American people. We do not wish to have those laws disturbed or torn down by acts of Congress, such as is proposed in H. R. 2910. There will be widespread opposition to any such changes as this bill proposes.

Our objection to section 3, authorizing priority to be given to the widow, parents, children, and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States and of persons who served honorably in the armed services of the United States during the two World Wars is that it is too broad and comprehensive. Applying the relative provisions of this bill authorizing 100,000 a year or 400,000 within 4 years would bring in immigrants far beyond the 400,000. Instead of broadening, the relative clauses should be kept within stricter family bounds.

Relative provisions are found in the various laws affecting immigration, and various measures have been passed to alleviate or obviate the hardship caused by family separation. We cite subdivision A of section 4 of the immigration law of 1924, which allowed the wife or unmarried child under 18 years of age of a citizen resident to be admitted to the United States without regard to quota.

Later on, Congress extended the law to include unmarried children between 18 and 21 years of age and husbands of United States citizens married within certain time limits; war brides and their children whose admission was expedited under the act of December 28, 1945, as nonquota immigrants.

The laws relating to the admission of relatives of permanent residents in the United States are very much restricted. Notwithstanding these restrictions, we find that the report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice discloses that 489,922 nonquota—relative—immigrants have come to the United States since 1930, that 60 percent came from the Western Hemisphere and 40 percent from the quota countries, and that more than one-fourth of the immigration from quota countries since 1930 was outside the limits of the quota; and that 89 out of every 100 of the nonquota immigrants admitted from quota countries were the wives, husbands, or children of residents of the United States. For the past year, 1946, there were admitted 46,964 nonquota immigrants from quota countries, as compared with 29,095 quota immigrants.

The above statistical information will give your honorable committee some idea as to the number of relatives being admitted from both quota and nonquota countries under the strict limitations of present immigration laws. What can be expected if the provisions of this bill are enacted into law, making available relatives to the fourth degree of consanguinity? It would multiply the number of nonquota immigrants from quota countries tremendously—in all probability many times over the 100,000 a year or 400,000 in 4 years, as contemplated by the bill. We reiterate, this provision of the law as to relatives is entirely too broad and would admit a horde of immigrants whose services are not needed and whose competition with American labor and our veterans would be destructive.

Section 5 defines "displaced person" as one now in Germany, Austria, or Italy, at the time of the passage of this act, who is out of his country

of former residence as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of World War II; and who is unable or unwilling to return to the country of his nationality or former residence because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinions.

This definition indicates that a displaced person is away from his country and in Germany, Austria, or Italy. It might be an Austrian citizen in Germany or a German citizen in Austria or Germans and Austrians in Italy or Italians in Germany and Austria, and it certainly includes the citizens of other nations than those three. Inasmuch as there are armies of occupation in German, Austria, and Italy, displaced persons belonging to these various countries could be repatriated under military authority; and, on the other hand, citizens out of their own country could and should be repatriated to their own nations, and the excuse of being unwilling to return to the country of their respective nationality is entitled to no consideration whatsoever, so far as this bill is concerned.

In our judgment, under section 5 (2), the reasons for repatriation are not sufficient in importance to justify the relief which this bill affords.

Our country has already expended large sums of money for the maintenance of these people. We think it is time for these concentration camps to be abandoned, and it would appear to be the proper thing for it to be done under military authority and for these people to be distributed as far as possible by military orders.

We would welcome a bill or resolution of Congress completely eliminating these concentration camps and the care and expense of maintaining them. When such action is taken, in our judgment, it will soon appear that these people can be provided for otherwise than bringing them to the United States and other of the victorious Allied Nations. This bill, if enacted into law, would place too heavy a responsibility upon the United States, and its share would be entirely too large.

We are opposed to the measure in all its provisions.

I would like to thank you gentlemen for your patience in listening to me.

Mr. ROBSION. I would like to ask you a question.

According to all the information that I received, there is quite a demand for workers of all kinds in Great Britain and France and in some other countries in which there is no claim that the lives of these persons or other lives would be in danger because of racial or religious or political matters.

I am informed that many of the persons in these concentration camps are mechanics, trained, and are what you would call experienced workers in various lines.

I wonder why these folks not far from these places of employment do not go to those countries instead of insisting on remaining in the DP camps. Are they remaining there in the hope of what these bills have offered them, to come to the United States, in your opinion?

Mr. BABCOCK. That seems to be the impression, sir. And I think you are perfectly correct when you say there is room for them in France.

In the Saturday Evening Post of February 8, 1945, on page 125, in an article, Should We Open Our Doors to Immigrants, by Edward

Angly, he states that Robert Prigent, recently French Minister of Population, said:

Unless we (France) import 3,000,000 immigrants in the next 10 years, France cannot survive.

That is the end of the quotation.

Mr. GOSSETT. Three million in the next 10 years?

Mr. BABCOCK. Yes, sir.

That bears out what you say, sir, that these people can be taken care of elsewhere.

Mr. ROBSION. From the quota reports and information I had on the subject, of course, we know that there is a tremendous job on hand to reconstruct and rebuild and rehabilitate Europe. I am quite sure that these persons who are at least under American control would be released if they requested it to be done, could go to France or to Britain or to other places where there is employment.

Mr. BABCOCK. Apparently they can go of their own volition at this time. They do not need to request it of anybody. No one requested them to come into these camps.

For instance, a man would leave Poland, and he would leave without the permission of the country, an illegal act. And then through stations on the route, to the American concentration camps in Germany, he would be carried in groups of anywhere from five to fifteen, perhaps, fed, clothed, and housed at these stations until he could be moved to the next one.

Mr. ROBSION. Do you understand that there is any objection on the part of the United States, of those in control in Europe, to these DP's leaving these camps to go to places where employment is needed to rebuild and rehabilitate Europe?

You understand, unless we do rehabilitate Europe, it is claimed, these 850,000 so-called displaced persons will be just a drop in the bucket.

Mr. BABCOCK. I have never heard of American authorities raising any objection to the people going out of their camps.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, another matter that has given me considerable concern in consideration of this bill is, with the liquid condition, politically, economically, and otherwise in many parts of Europe and the disturbed conditions, in what is happening over there, I wonder how long it will be before there will be many hundreds of thousands of people leaving Hungary and Bulgaria and other countries because, they say, of this influence of Russia, or leaving Austria and Yugoslavia.

And I wonder, if we embarked upon this program, how soon we may have other DP camps or a greater number of displaced persons in this problem than is supposed to be covered by the bill under discussion.

Mr. BABCOCK. Undoubtedly, Mr. Congressman, these DP camps will continually receive an increase of persons.

For instance, when Mr. LaGuardia, if I remember the figure correctly, first called to the attention of the President the need that these displaced persons should have care given them, he numbered 400,000, if I remember the press statement of a couple of years ago correctly.

Since then, we have seen estimates of 600,000; 700,000; and Mr. Stratton told your committee there were 850,000. And in last Sunday's Star, an Associated Press article said there were 1,036,000.

So it seems to be a snowball that is constantly rolling itself into larger and larger numbers.

Mr. ROBSION. Do you have any information on the subject of how many refugees have come into this country in the last 3 or 4 years; I mean, that have come here and are here, and to whom our country has given asylum?

Mr. BABCOCK. There were 950 brought in temporarily for Oswego, N. Y., people who were in very distressed conditions.

The President brought them in under Executive order, temporarily, and after the war they were permitted to remain permanently.

I did see the figure, although I do not recall it now, on how many were brought in under Presidential order during the war period. There were quite some thousands of them.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Babcock, I might give that information.

An average of about 250,000 so-called refugees, refugees as we know them, have come into this country in the last 10 years. That is an average of about 25,000 a year, if you take the average.

Mr. ROBSION. I note that Mr. Griffith, the national commander of the American Legion, makes the statement that more than 1,000,000 have come in.

Mr. BABCOCK. He may——

Mr. ROBSION. I do not mean, came in legally. But I mean, including all who had come in and were here.

Mr. BABCOCK. I was going to comment on that, Congressman. I did not hear that statement. I never saw that statement. But he might have had in mind part of that 5,000,000 who have come in illegally and who have been reduced by the energy of a well-administered office. The Government has reduced the number to something around, as I have understood, 3,000,000, still illegally in the United States.

That might have included them. I would not know.

Our immigration laws are abused a great deal, if our people only knew about it. But our people do not know it any more than they know the many implications of this bill as a future danger.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Babcock, I imagine you would applaud anything against communism, as I would; is that correct?

Mr. BABCOCK. Oh, certainly.

Mr. CELLER. And therefore you would applaud disloyalty to communism, would you not?

Mr. BABCOCK. Disloyalty to communism?

Mr. CELLER. That is the term you use. You would applaud that?

Mr. BABCOCK. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. And you said that some of these refugees in the DP camps have been disloyal to their governments and disloyal to communism. Is that correct?

Mr. BABCOCK. No, sir; because those who were in Russia did not get out. Those in Poland did get out.

Now, at the minute of their leaving, whether it was a Communist government or not, I would not know that.

Mr. CELLER. If it were a Communist government and they left, would you say that is disloyalty to communism?

Mr. BABCOCK. No. I would say that was a desire to get out of their country regardless of what it was disloyal to, not particularly communism, but the general situation, perhaps.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer two editorials at this place in the record. One editorial appeared on June 2, 1947, in the New York Journal-American, one of the Hearst newspapers, which is an editorial on displaced persons; and one significant paragraph I will read:

These 1,000,000 people are not refugees from war, but refugees from communism.

They were opposed to communism.

Now, certainly the Hearst newspapers, of which this is one, the Journal-American, have always been strong and vigorous opponents, and the Hearst newspapers would not be inclined to call the DP's "refugees from communism" if they really were not so.

In addition, I would like to put in the record at this point an editorial that appeared in the Scripps-Howard newspapers yesterday, entitled, "59,800,000 jobs."

I just want to read one paragraph:

The Census Bureau reports that civilian employment in the United States rose to an all-time high of 58,330,000 in May a gain of about 1,500,000 over April.

In addition, there were 1,470,000 men and women in the armed forces. So that, all together, 59,800,000 Americans held paying jobs last month.

I offer that editorial by way of countering to the statement that the admission of 100,000 displaced persons a year, as was indicated by the witness, might disturb our economy as far as employment is concerned.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. FELLOWS. If there is no objection to those going into the record, they will be incorporated.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have no objection.

(The articles referred to are as follows:)

[From Scripps-Howard Newspapers]

FIFTY-NINE MILLION EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND JOBS

The Census Bureau reports that civilian employment in the United States rose to an all-time high of 58,330,000 in May—a gain of about 1,500,000 over April.

In addition, there were 1,470,000 men and women in the armed forces. So that, altogether, 59,800,000 Americans held paying jobs last month. In only a few months during the war, when the Army and Navy were immensely larger, has that total ever been exceeded.

In April there had been a decline of employment, and gloomy prophets had regarded it as the signal of a recession beginning, if not something worse. But May brought an increase of about 1,500,000 in civilian job holders. Seasonal demand for farm workers, to be sure, accounted for a million of these, but half a million of the gain was in industrial, business, and other nonfarm employment.

And, although the country's labor force was expanded in May by more than a million people looking for temporary summer jobs, unemployment of civilians decreased by 450,000.

To most of us, we think, the Census Bureau's figures will be welcome evidence that rumors of an imminent collapse of the American economy are, to put it conservatively, premature.

From the New York Journal-American, June 2, 1947

THE DISPLACED PERSONS

There are more than 1,000,000 human beings in the American and British occupation zones in central Europe, principally in Germany, officially classed as persons displaced from their homes by the war.

This classification does not accurately, or even honestly, describe these people.

It is true that their homelands were in most instances in the path of the war and were ravished by it, but that was not the reason the vast majority of them left their homes.

It was in the wake of the war, after the conquering and occupation forces of Soviet Russia had asserted and established total sovereignty over the supposedly liberated lands that these people found their homelands untenable and unlivable.

These 1,000,000 people are not refugees from war but refugees from communism. They were opposed to communism.

They were fearfully afraid of it, and utterly despised and hated it.

Accordingly, when their choice was between living under communism or fleeing into exile, they went the only way open to them consistent with their concepts of patriotism and personal honor and human dignity—that lone way being the bitter road along which the conquering hordes of Red Fascist Russia drove them into Germany.

That is where the American and British Armies found them at the war's end, miserably and brutally treated by their Russian and German enemies alike, but still alive and maintaining within themselves the spark of hope for eventual restoration of the former sovereignty and independence of the countries from which they had fled rather than submit to Communist enslavement.

Now the problem concerning these people is that they do not dare go back, knowing the grim fate of those who have gone back either willingly or under compulsion.

The lucky ones who go back are those who are quickly and mercifully shot.

The unlucky ones are those who disappear into the Russian slave labor camps and never emerge alive again.

Bluntly, it is suicide for any displaced person to return voluntarily to his former homeland under Russian subjugation, and it is murder for the American or British occupation forces to forcibly send them there.

All of these dismal facts are tragically pointed up by the incomprehensive and utterly inhuman program taking shape under the preparatory commission of the so-called International Refugee Organization set up by the United Nations.

This body is proving to be little better than a Communist front organization.

It is pursuing a policy which, if persisted in and arbitrarily adhered to, will make the ultimate return of all displaced persons to their Russian-dominated homelands inevitable.

The Lithuanian American Council, which speaks for these unhappy people in the United States, says of this policy that it "would ban freedom of expression by refugees and close their committees.

"It also implies unlawful confiscation of their property.

"No such authority is provided in the International Refugee Organization draft constitution as submitted for ratification to the United States Congress.

"We protest against this usurpation of arbitrary powers by a supposedly humanitarian organization set up by the United Nations."

This grave matter should have the prompt and earnest attention of the Congress of the United States, for the indicated intention of the International Refugee Organization is one which outrages all American concepts of humanity and justice—and it will disgrace all Americans if it is effectuated in their name.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Babcock, on the subject of refugees from communism, wouldn't any Communist seeking to come into this country claim that he was a refugee from communism? And wouldn't he want us to think that he was a refugee from communism?

Mr. BABCOCK. He would not only claim that he was a refugee, but he would claim anything else that would hide the fact that he was a communist and that might keep him out of the country.

And if everybody who is not a Communist in those countries ran away from communism and left the country simply and solely on account of communism, then you can readily expect that the Communist philosophy will predominate in not a great many years. You cannot beat it by running away from it.

Mr. GOSSETT. If the Russians are interested in carrying on a campaign throughout the world against the spread of democracy and for the spread of communism, is it likely that they would permit even

encourage folks to leave their country or areas dominated by them who would be hostile to their teachings and philosophies?

Is it not more likely that they would permit a few chosen disciples to infiltrate with the hope that they would plant the seeds of communism elsewhere, where they might flourish and grow?

Mr. BABCOCK. Mr. Gossett, as I would understand, these displaced persons are from other countries than Russia, if communism is involved and I do not know that it is. They are not from Russia. And I think it is common knowledge that you cannot get into Russia and you cannot get out of Russia without the Russian Government's letting you. And if you are not an agent of the Government to spread their propaganda abroad, they are not going to let you go out.

Mr. GOSSETT. A great many of these DP's now in our camps have come out of countries under Russian control since the war ended. And I have been told that some of those camps are just small universities of subversive and revolutionary activities.

I cannot prove that. But there is some danger there, don't you think?

Mr. BABCOCK. In the Saturday Evening Post of October 5, 1946, there was an article by a writer reporting on a tour through the camps of the DP's. He intimates that in these camps DP's were maintained with United States money paid by the taxpayers of the United States and were operated by persons of Communist tendencies, bearing out what you say, that they are little groups, and that the operators of these stations, as they call them, for displaced persons, had a Communist tendency.

I am quite sure that I remember that as being in that article.

Mr. CELLER. You cannot prove that, though, can you?

Mr. BABCOCK. No, sir; I could not prove that.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have also been told, Mr. Babcock, on reliable authority—but again I cannot state it as a positive fact—that a lot of these DP's have grown wealthy in black-market operations at our expense, and that that has been an incentive to increase the size of our camps, because of the goods and materials that they can filch out of those places and sell on the black market to Europe.

Do you know anything about that?

Mr. BABCOCK. No; I have never heard of that, sir.

Mr. CELLER. I draw out of my imagination, and cannot possibly prove, that most of these DP's are poverty stricken.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have not drawn on my imagination for that statement, sir.

Mr. CELLER. I have drawn on my imagination for the one I made.

Mr. GOSSETT. It was told me by one very reliable official in the State Department who knows what he was talking about but who would get fired if he testified.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Babcock, we have heard testimony from General Hilldring, of the State Department to the effect that military authorities have complete dossiers and records on everyone of those in the DP camps.

Mr. BABCOCK. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CELLER. And that they know what the political beliefs, habits, and economic philosophies of each and everyone of these DP's are, because they have watched them very carefully. And he stated that these DP's are not, as you say, Communists.

Mr. BABCOCK. I did not say so.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Celler, will you yield?

Mr. CELLER. Surely.

Mr. FELLOWS. You are complaining of a statement that someone made. Is that a question or is that a statement?

Mr. CELLER. That is a question in the form of a statement.

Mr. BABCOCK. I am afraid you must have misunderstood me, sir. I do not say that these DP's are Communists. As a matter of fact, I expect the majority of them are as much opposed to communism as I would be, as far as communism is concerned.

That is a matter that I never thought of in connection with them, particularly.

Mr. CELLER. You said in your statement that these people are in the main Communists.

Mr. BABCOCK. No; I think not. I do not believe so.

I might say that they have communistic tendencies, possibly.

Mr. CELLER. Yes; that is it.

Mr. BABCOCK. They have been influenced by communistic ideologies; there is no doubt about that. But they do not necessarily belong to the Communist Party.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Babcock, I think, trying to sum up what you have said, your chief objection, as I see it, has been that there is a great fear that a number of these people might be inclined to be Communists, or their sympathies might lean that way, or, to say the least, that they might not become good citizens here.

Would that apply, sir, to the children? I understand now, out of the some 1,000,000, as you stated there—and I think you are right in your statement. The State Department gave a figure here the other day of a fraction over 1,000,000; and out of that sum, I think they stated that 600,000 of the total 1,000,000 were under the American zone, located in about 300 different DP camps. Now, out of that sum, I am told there are some 40 percent that are children. Would you have any objection to the children's coming in under this bill?

Mr. BABCOCK. No, sir. But unfortunately this bill does not limit it to who shall be admitted, whether it is men, women, or children.

Mr. CHELF. I know about the bill. But I mean, would your organization have any objection to the children's coming?

Mr. BABCOCK. No. But this bill takes in more than that.

Mr. CHELF. I know it does.

Mr. BABCOCK. It does not include the children.

Mr. CHELF. And I understand that it—

Mr. BABCOCK. The intent of this bill is not to bring in children.

Mr. CHELF. I understand it applies to the over-all picture. But as I say, my understanding is, at least, there are about 40 percent that are children. Would you have any objection, or would your organization have any objection, to the children?

Mr. BABCOCK. They are not going to be brought in if this bill is passed; if this bill, H. R. 2910, is passed, there will be 400,000 wage earners brought in, and they are not children.

Mr. CHELF. All right. Say a new bill were introduced to provide for the 40 percent, which I understand are children. In other words, of 600,000, 40 percent would be 240,000, or of the 400,000 which we are supposed to take, 40 percent would be 160,000. Do you have any objection to the children coming in, under a specific bill for children?

Mr. BABCOCK. If they are orphaned children.

Mr. CHELF. That is what I mean— orphaned children.

Mr. BABCOCK. If there would be no parents, cousins, uncles, or aunts to send for in future years, to be sent for to take care of the children, we would be in favor of it.

Just as I told Mr. Gossett a while ago, we would welcome a bill to take care of the orphaned children.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

(No response.)

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. BABCOCK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. William Green.

Mr. Green, we are glad to see you, and we are ready to hear you at this time.

Mr. GREEN. Very well. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM GREEN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to appear here today and present briefly the views of the American Federation of Labor with reference to H. R. 2910, an emergency measure introduced by Representative Stratton, which provides for the admission of 400,000 displaced persons during the next 4 years.

As the members of the committee know, the American Federation of Labor has been profoundly disturbed by the plight of dispossessed millions of persecuted people in Europe. Swept from their native lands by the tides of war, 850,000 men, women, and children still await liberation. Homes destroyed, families separated or lost, memories of persecution, fear of return to political dictatorship—all these barriers stand in the way. The stories of these people have been written in blood and tears and courage, courage which carried them through years of hardship and terror which few of us here in the United States can imagine.

It is ironical that 2 years after VE-day, these unfortunates who bore the brunt of Nazi barbarity have neither home nor country. Two years ago they were liberated, but today they are still behind barbed wires, victimized, idle, and degraded. Fearing religious, racial, or political oppression, they would rather continue to suffer the hardships of detention camps than go back to their original homelands.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you at that point, Mr. Green?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. Is it your understanding that they are behind barbed wire?

Mr. GREEN. A great many in these detention camps are.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is not my understanding.

Mr. GREEN. That is my understanding, and I have got it, I think, from what are very reliable sources. That is, not all of them, but a great many of them are.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently maintained its opposition to all forms of totalitarianism—to communism, nazism, and fascism. That is fundamental with the American Federation of Labor. It is therefore fitting that we conform our actions to our an-

nounced policies. Those who oppose totalitarianism should certainly be sympathetic toward the victims of totalitarianism—the displaced persons. These people who proved their devotion to democratic ideals and their willingness to suffer for those ideals is ample evidence of the firmness of their convictions.

For this reason, the American Federation of Labor at its sixty-fifth annual convention held in Chicago last October, gave serious consideration to this most important problem. After careful deliberation, the convention unanimously recommended emergency legislation to permit the unfilled quotas of the war period to be utilized by entry into our country of those suffering displaced persons of Europe. A copy of the resolution is attached and will be submitted to the secretary.

Because of the real part taken by the American Federation of Labor in the passage of most necessary legislation regulating immigration, we would not recommend that our Nation's immigration laws be amended or modified, but we are of the opinion that some immediate relief should be given to the dispossessed persons of Europe.

Our immigration policy is to assure the entrance of immigrants who will most readily be assimilated and integrated into our Nation.

The American Federation of Labor believes in the maintenance of selected immigration legislation. We favor the Quota Act because we are opposed to opening up our gates to unrestricted or unregulated immigration. But as long as the principles of existing immigration laws are not violated, we are in no danger of being flooded by undesirables from abroad.

H. R. 2910, the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admissions Act, provides:

That displaced persons be admitted at a gradual rate of not more than 100,000 a year for the next 4 years.

That priority be given to relatives of American war veterans and to relatives of American citizens.

That no person be admitted who does not conform to the regular American immigration standards of health, morals, democratic political beliefs, and self-support. Every displaced person immigrating to the United States must be sponsored by an affidavit from an American individual or organization guaranteeing his support.

MR. ROBSION. Mr. Green, I wonder if you would be disturbed if I would ask you a question at that point, sir.

MR. GREEN. Very well.

MR. ROBSION. Now, in the bill, you point out that we admit not more than 100,000 a year for the next 4 years.

Your statement, like many of the others, indicates that there are approximately 850,000 displaced persons.

MR. GREEN. Yes.

MR. ROBSION. Now, suppose that other countries do not take care of the other 450,000 at the end of the year. Would you then favor our taking the balance or leaving part of them over there?

MR. GREEN. I do not look with favor upon that at the present time, although I feel that we would have to be governed by that—

MR. ROBSION. Would it be your opinion, if we entered upon this program, that we clean it up?

MR. GREEN. I am afraid that we will not be able to do that, clean it up as it ought to be cleaned up.

Mr. ROBSION. Would you be in favor, then, that we take such of those as the other countries would not take?

In other words, would we follow a policy of giving equal and fair treatment to all of the displaced persons?

Mr. GREEN. What I am emphasizing is this fact, that we should do our share. And our share, I think, is reflected in this Temporary Emergency Act.

Mr. ROBSION. You think 400,000 would be our share?

Mr. GREEN. I think it is about that.

Mr. ROBSION. Very well.

Mr. GREEN. All nations should do their part. But we should set a good example by doing our share in this humanitarian project.

Mr. ROBSION. But how could we justify our action in making them wait there, some of them, for four long years, before they got to this country?

Mr. GREEN. Our judgment is based upon the facts as we have been able to get them. And that is the reason why we make that recommendation.

This bill does not effect any permanent immigration change, but is emergency legislation of temporary character. It carries out in part the resolution of the Sixty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Because of the war a very small portion of our normal immigration quota of approximately 154,000 persons per year was utilized. Between the years 1940 and 1946 the total unfilled quotas amounted to 900,000. It would therefore appear that H. R. 2910 calls for the use of a very modest portion of the unfilled quotas.

We may well ask ourselves who these displaced persons are and why there is necessity for emergency legislation to allow them entry into our country.

America has always been the land of hope and refuge to those feeling political, religious, and racial persecution in their homelands. This has been true for more than 300 years since the first settlers arrived on the North American Continent. Since 1933 two new refugee movements have been set in motion by two separate and ruthless sources of persecution.

Starting with Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and continuing until the collapse of the German armies in 1945, the continental European Jews were subjected to the most extreme scourge of antisemitism and organized annihilation ever perpetrated upon their race. From 1933 through the present, less than 200,000 Jewish refugees managed to enter the United States while 6,000,000 Jews were exterminated by Hitler.

Since the termination of World War II a new group of refugees driven by political persecution has been superimposed on the antisemitism of Hitler. These are the displaced persons in the western zones of Europe who dare not return to their homes behind the Russian iron curtain. Eighty percent of these displaced persons are non-Jews from eastern and central Europe. The majority of the group is Catholic.

As indicated, we offered little sanctuary to the refugees from Nazi butchery. Are we to offer the same callous treatment to the refugees from Stalin's slave-labor camps and to the few remaining survivors of Hitler's antisemitic scourge? The eyes of the world are upon America to represent the hope and alternative of freedom as opposed

to the totalitarian oppression and the brutality of Stalin's Red-fascism. How can we hope to promote the ideal of democracy throughout the world when we refuse to offer sanctuary to the refugees from totalitarian oppression?

There are less than 1,000,000 displaced persons left in the western occupation zones; 500,000 of these displaced persons are being maintained by the United States at a cost to our taxpayers of approximately \$150,000,000 a year. More than 5,000,000 have been repatriated since the close of the war. The displaced persons that are left represent a hard core of those who know that persecution, slave-labor camps, and violent death will be their inevitable lot in the Russian zone of authority. Unless we are to make a mockery of the principles for which we fought in World War II, we cannot force these people to return to their homes. The only other alternatives are to support these people at enormous expense in the demoralizing displaced persons camps of Europe or to allow them to migrate to the various democratic countries of the world. America should take the lead in opening its doors to these people.

Even if all the current quota allotments and all unused quotas from the war years for each country of refugee origin were set aside for the DP's from each country, this would fall far short of meeting the needs of the refugee group. The reason for this is that the countries with the largest proportion of displaced persons are also the countries with the smallest quotas.

The accompanying tables I am submitting, taken from United States Immigration and Naturalization Service reports and from UNRRA reports for April 1947, illustrate the inadequacy of present quotas in meeting emergency requirements of displaced persons.

Table 1, which I am submitting, indicates the country of origin and race of displaced persons receiving assistance from UNRRA in western Europe in April 1947. In order to separate out all potential pro-Fascists, we have purposely eliminated from this table all non-Jewish DP's from former enemy countries and all so-called "volks-deutsche" who were Germans residing elsewhere than Germany and were displaced by Hitler's defeat. This group, which could be considered potentially eligible under our immigration laws, totals 712,900, of which only 170,000, or 24 percent, are Jewish.

This table indicates that out of the total of 712,900 displaced persons, 592,800, or more than 80 percent of the total, come from Poland, the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia, and from Ukraine.

The proportions are as follows:

Poland -----	337, 000
Baltic -----	172, 500
Ukraine -----	83, 300
Total -----	592, 800

In table II we have listed the various quotas for the countries of refugee origin, the unused quotas from the years 1939 through 1946, and the DP's from each country. It is obvious that both future quotas and unused quotas from the war years for countries of refugee origin are woefully inadequate.

As indicated below, the countries representing 592,800, or more than 80 percent of the DP's, have unused quotas from the war years amounting to only 40,448 and have a yearly quota amounting to only 9,974.

The figures are there for you to look at.

If we were to allow all countries of refugee origin to use all of their respective unused quotas, only 72,594 persons could be admitted, which would leave 646,606 DP's languishing in the camps of western Europe.

It is obvious that if we are to offer a sanctuary to the displaced refugees of Europe, we must enact emergency legislation which will temporarily waive the present quota restrictions. For that reason the American Federation of Labor favors the enactment of H. R. 2910.

As the president of an organization representing 7,500,000 workers, I am deeply sympathetic to any matter which would affect the condition of the working man, be he a returned veteran or a former war worker. H. R. 2910 will not have any diverse bearing on the American workman. More than 50 percent of the displaced persons are women and children. They will not be job competitors. The small number admitted each year, many of whom will be directed away from large cities, cannot have any serious effect upon our employment problem. On the contrary, there are agricultural workers, domestics, nurses, doctors, and other skilled and unskilled workers among the displaced, who will fill some of our manpower shortages and who will bring industrial and scientific skills to the United States. However, we are not in sympathy with those who would welcome these immigrants as a source of cheap domestic and farm labor. We feel that safeguards should be established to prevent such exploitation.

We urge the passage of this legislation in order that the United States may demonstrate to the world that it will not only fight for democracy and freedom, but will also remain a place of refuge for those fleeing totalitarian oppression.

I will submit a copy of the resolution adopted at the sixty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor for the record, and these figures of displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance in Germany, Austria, and Italy, and the displaced persons by origin of country as compared with annual quotas and unused quotas for 1939 to 1946.

I will be glad to submit that for the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, that will be incorporated.

(The material referred to is as follows) :

ACTION OF 1946 CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ON ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS UNDER TEMPORARY LAW

Your committee, as all other trade unionists and humanitarians everywhere, has been profoundly disturbed by the plight of the dispossessed millions in Europe as a result of the war. Torn from their surroundings, in many instances separated from their families and friends, with all of their worldly goods destroyed, they find no safe haven where they can again begin normal living, with the comforts and opportunities of homes of their own, and of communities in which they can become a part.

Among those who have suffered the most have been the Jews, for, in addition to being robbed of their possessions and brutally tortured, an effort was made by the Nazis to exterminate them as a people. Millions of Jews were murdered in cold blood as a result of a thoroughly planned mass murder program. With no place to go where a permanent home seemed possible for many of them, their plight is the most tragic one which has ever been visited upon so many at one time.

It is the responsibility of the civilized countries to see that these persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life again under circumstances which will permit them to become members of a civilized community, and once more endeavor to establish a residence.

Because of the real part taken by the American Federation of Labor in the passage of most necessary legislation regulating immigration, your committee would not recommend that our Nation's immigration laws be amended or modified, but your committee is of the opinion that some immediate relief should be given to the dispossessed of Europe.

During the war it was not possible for immigrants to come to this country; the annual quotas were not filled. Your committee therefore recommends that this convention give its approval to the immediate entry of immigrants composed of displaced persons in Europe of whom the Jews are a large number, which will permit the unfilled quotas of the war period to be completed by the entering into our country of the number of immigrants who otherwise would have been able to enter our ports if it had not been for the war, such action in no way modifying the existing immigration laws which have always had the support of the American Federation of Labor.

TABLE I.—*Displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance in Germany, Austria, and Italy, April 1947*

Nationality	Non-Jewish	Jewish	Total
United Nations.....	542, 800	144, 500	687, 300
Czechoslovakia.....		7, 900	7, 900
Estonia.....	28, 700		28, 700
Latvia.....	90, 700		90, 700
Lithuania.....	53, 200	1, 900	55, 100
Poland.....	209, 300	127, 700	337, 000
Ukrainian.....	82, 300	1, 000	83, 300
U. S. S. R.....	9, 200		9, 200
Yugoslavia.....	20, 100	1, 300	21, 400
Undetermined.....	42, 500	3, 400	45, 900
Others.....	8, 800	1, 300	10, 100
Enemy.....		25, 600	25, 600
Austria.....		1, 200	1, 200
Germany.....		4, 700	4, 700
Hungarian.....		11, 100	11, 100
Rumanian.....		8, 600	8, 600
Total.....	452, 800	170, 100	712, 900

TABLE II.—*Displaced persons, by countries of origin, as compared with annual quotas and unused quotas, 1939-46*

Nationality or country or region of birth	Annual quota	Total immigration for war years, 1939-46	Unused quota in war years	DP's from UNRRA report, spring 1947
Germany, including Austria.....	27, 370	86, 652	132, 308	5, 900
Italy.....	5, 802	17, 849	28, 567	
Poland.....	6, 524	28, 242	23, 950	337, 000
Czechoslovakia.....	2, 874	9, 900	13, 092	7, 900
Soviet Russia.....	2, 712	8, 627	13, 069	92, 500
France.....	3, 086	10, 910	13, 778	
Hungary.....	869	5, 075	1, 877	11, 100
Greece.....	307	3, 490	Negative	
Yugoslavia.....	845	3, 360	3, 400	21, 400
Netherlands.....	3, 153	4, 343	20, 881	
Rumania.....	377	3, 090	Negative	8, 600
Norway.....	2, 377	2, 544	16, 472	
Spain.....	252	2, 639	Negative	
Belgium.....	1, 304	4, 658	5, 774	
Lithuania.....	386	1, 776	1, 312	55, 100
Finland.....	569	1, 743	2, 809	
Denmark.....	1, 181	1, 700	7, 748	
Latvia.....	236	1, 140	748	90, 700
Bulgaria.....	100	428	372	
Estonia.....	116	513	415	26, 700
Other European countries of refugee emigration.....		2, 571		
Total.....		198, 679	286, 572	

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, Mr. Green, you stated that we are not in sympathy with those who would welcome these immigrants as a source of cheap domestic and farm labor, and you feel that safeguards should be established to prevent such exploitation.

What do you have in mind?

Mr. GREEN. I have not any detailed plan in mind, except that we ought either in some direct or indirect way to provide for the maintenance of our wage standards in the domestic employment field and in the farm labor field.

Just how that can be done I am not in a position to say at the moment. But we will be glad to submit it to you, if you wish some concrete proposition.

Mr. FELLOWS. It will be helpful to us, because that problem is before us, I think.

Mr. GREEN. We will be very glad to do so.

Mr. FELLOWS. Another thing, Mr. Justice Roberts, formerly of our Supreme Court, was before us this morning and spoke in his usual ability. He spoke of our moral obligation; that is to say, as a country, it is a moral obligation that we have because it is right. Because it is the right thing to do, we should do it.

Now, what troubles me is this: He said that our fair share, he thought, would be 400,000. Now, that moral obligation goes beyond 400,000, I think, if we have one. It goes to the 850,000.

He suggested that if the other countries did not see fit to take what we call their fair share after it has been determined, then we would have to see what our duty was beyond the 400,000. That is what I got from one of his statements.

What do you say about that?

You see, some of those people over there have to be told that they are not chosen. We must say to some, "We are taking this man, but we are not taking you."

It involves moral obligation. How are they going to handle that? Have you given that any thought? There is a brutally cruel thing in it; is there not?

Mr. GREEN. I agree with Justice Roberts regarding the principle of moral obligation. I think I have emphasized that to some degree in my statement.

We participated in the World War. We gave our best to the winning of the war. Now, these people are victims of that war, and those who participated in that war are under obligation to save them and to help them.

We must pursue, as I think, a line of reasoning, and we must exercise our best judgment in how we are to do it and in what way we can do it. For that reason, I think that this bill of Congressman Stratton represents a very constructive step, and that the absorption into our national life of, say, these 400,000 people during the next 4 years will be a decided step forward in the discharge of our moral obligation.

Now, what we can do after we have taken that step will, I think, be a matter for future decision.

Mr. CELLER. Don't you think, Mr. Green, that if we took our fair share, which we indicate is 400,000, then the other nations will follow suit and take their share?

Mr. GREEN. I believe that. We feel they are under just the same moral obligation as we are.

Mr. FELLOWS. My thought was that up to now they have not indicated much of anything along that line.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. And, of course, as you stated, I question whether many people would say, "We should take the 850,000."

But that may face us, may it not?

Mr. GREEN. I think we can face that issue after we have covered the field, say, for a period of 4 years. We will do our share, and then let us face the issue from then on.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Green, your organization was represented in hearings before the Committee on Expenditures last year, on which I was then serving, on the full employment bill, by Mr. Hines. He is your legislative representative.

At that time your organization expressed laudable concern with the employment problem.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, you are still concerned with that, are you not—that we do not have a great number of unemployed?

I note here that Mr. Hines said:

We are on the verge of a new era in which we shall apply atomic energy, a revolution that will affect the whole structure of our economy. We shall need every possible protection against unemployment.

I assume your organization now, as then, favors a Government program to reduce to the irreducible minimum unemployment.

[Mr. Green nods head.]

Mr. FELLOWS. The record is not getting your nod, Mr. Green. Would you say "Yes" or "No" so that the reporter can take it down?

Mr. GOSSETT. That is still the policy of your organization?

Mr. GREEN. Oh, yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, don't you feel that to bring into this country at this time 400,000 displaced persons over and above our normal flow of immigration will aggravate and complicate the question of employment and jobs for people here?

Mr. GREEN. Congressman, we do not believe that the admission of as small a number as 400,000 over a period of 4 years will seriously affect our employment or unemployment problems.

We still have a number of industries where there are manpower and womanpower shortages. And there are wide opportunities to absorb these people into those industries. For instance, in the garment-making industries there can be a large number of women workers employed without affecting the employment situation in any way, shape, or form.

Mr. CELLER. We need tailors, too, do we not?

Mr. GREEN. I say, in the clothing industries, particularly the garment-making industries, both for men and for women there are wide opportunities. And 400,000 people in a country the size of ours, Congressman, is not a very large number.

Mr. GOSSETT. But now, at that time, Mr. Green, Mr. Hines, along with a great many other competent witnesses, expressed fear that we were on the verge of a period of mass unemployment, and they ex-

pressed the further conviction that it was the Government's responsibility to see that the people were employed.

Mr. GREEN. Certainly.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, if we should get into that situation, you would feel that we would have a moral obligation to take care of these folks once we got them over here.

In other words, just bringing them into this country, we do not absolve ourselves of all responsibility after we get them in. We still have the responsibility to take care of them.

That is true, is it not?

Mr. GREEN. Congressman, the American Federation of Labor is the outstanding staunch defender of our immigration statutes. We are committed to the maintenance, so far as we can, of the immigration laws. And for that reason we would be unalterably opposed to any change, any fundamental or permanent change, in our immigration laws.

We favor the quota provisions.

In favoring the Stratton bill, please bear in mind that the outstanding strong defender of our immigration statutes is supporting that measure, the American Federation of Labor. Now, I have given the reasons:

1. We are under moral obligation to do it. We have to do our share. We did it in the war. Now we have to do our share of taking care of people after the war is over—those who are victims of the war, who have suffered. That is one thing.

2. On the employment question, we believe that America is best when all are accorded an opportunity to work and earn a decent living, and we want to maintain that even through our changing economic situations.

Mr. Hines stated the factual attitude of the American Federation of Labor when he testified as you have just reported. And if we thought that the admission of 400,000 people was going to seriously affect our employment problem we would not support it. But we have given all that consideration, and we do not believe it will.

So far as the unemployment problem is concerned, it is not in sight yet.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you at that point?

If you thought that this would seriously affect our employment problem, you would not support it; would you? But that would not remove it from a moral obligation.

Mr. GREEN. We still have our moral obligation.

Mr. FELLOWS. But you would not favor this bill if it did affect employment?

Mr. GREEN. Not if it were going to cause widespread unemployment. Now, we are sure it will not.

Mr. GOSSETT. The point I was making, Mr. Green, was not to castigate you. But Mr. Hines, at the time he testified before the committee in 1945, was greatly concerned about unemployment. And now you are not concerned about it. You say it is not very important right at the present?

Mr. GREEN. Oh, no; do not put me in that light. We are concerned about it, if we reach it. But we do not see unemployment in sight at the present time.

Now, a year has passed since Mr. Hines testified.

Mr. GOSSETT. A little more than a year.

Mr. GREEN. Or more than a year; probably 2 years.

He was justified in expressing some feeling of apprehension about our employment problem. But today we are still moving at top speed.

Mr. FELLOWS. Regardless of the previous predictions, we are going at top speed?

Mr. GREEN. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Green, I just put into the record some figures from the Census Bureau which indicate that there are almost 59,000,000 civilian employees in this country. That does not take in those that are in the armed forces.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Green, in your opinion, if the 400,000 are brought in, say all this year, in order to relieve the misery and suffering and want and privation and starvation, would this then affect the employment problem?

Mr. GREEN. No; I do not think it would affect it in the least.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, if the 400,000 were brought in this year, all at one time rather than to be spread out over 4 years?

Mr. GREEN. You ask my opinion on that?

Mr. CHELF. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREEN. It is my opinion that we could absorb 400,000 in a year without affecting the employment problem as it is now. But this bill provides for 100,000 a year for 4 years.

Mr. CHELF. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you anticipate, Mr. Green, any serious unemployment problem? Of course, nobody knows, although your optimism is reassuring. But when do you anticipate that we may have some serious unemployment difficulties?

Mr. GREEN. I do not see it in the near future. Our housing situation will serve to prevent widespread unemployment for some time, because it is going to take us a long time before we catch up on housing alone,

The construction of homes and houses touches practically every industrial part of our life. It calls for materials here; it calls for labor here; and it calls for construction.

As I see it, it is going to be a long, long time before we catch up on our housing problem.

Mr. FELLOWS. You are a man of experience and know those things much better than I do.

How many years do you think it will be before we catch up?

Mr. GREEN. I am a bit reluctant to predict definitely, because I might make a mistake. But it is going to be a number of years.

Mr. FELLOWS. Ten?

Mr. GREEN. Probably 10. Probably a decade.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

(No response.)

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. CELLER. We are grateful to you, Mr. Green.

Mr. FELLOWS. We have Mr. Rozmarek next.

Will you give your name and whom you represent, please?

**STATEMENT OF CHARLES ROZMAREK, PRESIDENT, POLISH
AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.**

Mr. ROZMAREK. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the subcommittee, my name is Charles Rozmarek. I am a native American, a resident of Chicago, Ill., president of the Polish American Congress, Inc., and am also president of the Polish National Alliance, the largest fraternal organization of Americans of Polish descent, with assets amounting to \$45,000,000.

Upon my graduation from the University of Pennsylvania, I studied at Harvard and Boston University Law School. I hold the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of laws. Prior to assuming the presidency of the Polish National Alliance in 1939, I resided in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where I practiced law.

The Polish American Congress, Inc., organized in 1944 and incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois, is an organization of national scope, representing 6,000,000 Americans of Polish descent. It is a union of all Polish-American fraternal, civic, religious, cultural, and educational associations, clubs, and groups. Over 1,000 Polish Catholic parishes and all but 2 of the 97 Polish-language daily, weekly, and monthly publications in this country support and closely cooperate with our organization.

As outlined by our bylaws, we pledge "support to the Government of the United States in its efforts to win a just peace in accord with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Our aims briefly are (1) to promote the American way of life by safeguarding the interests of America and (2) to further the principles for which the war was fought, one of which was the restoration of freedom in Allied Poland, the first country overrun by combined Nazi and Communist aggression.

We Americans of Polish descent stand united in our opposition to all un-American and undemocratic ideologies. Being fully aware that Communist agents in diplomatic disguise are endeavoring to destroy our American democracy, we erected a moral wall between ourselves and the numerous agents sent to this country from Soviet-dominated Poland. We don't want communism any more than we want nazism or fascism. I am proud to state that among Americans of Polish descent there is only a negligibly small number of Communists. Less than 1 percent have become victims of the Communist poison injected through foreign diplomatic channels into our American community.

Parenthetically, I would like to say here that the number does not exceed 6,000. That would be around one-tenth of 1 percent.

Deeply concerned by the fate of displaced persons, I traveled to Europe last fall as the head of a special delegation of the Polish American Congress, which made an on-the-spot investigation of Polish displaced-persons camps in Germany.

On September 11, 1946, we conferred in Paris with our then Secretary of State, the Honorable James J. Byrnes, after which, very courteously, assisted by our American military authorities, we undertook an extensive tour of the American and British zones of Germany.

We left Germany deeply shocked by the unspeakable degradation to which displaced Poles are subjected. They live on a plane slightly above that of animals. Their diet consists of 1,250 calories a day in contrast to 1,550 for the Germans and 4,000 for the American soldiers.

We found UNRRA organized, instead of as an agency of mercy, as an instrument of persecution and coercion—a political weapon of Soviet Russia, whose paramount interest lies in the forced repatriation of displaced persons to their sovietized homelands.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you? You are talking about UNRRA?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Yes. I have mentioned certain things here in order to show that even despite the distinctive methods, which have been termed indirect coercive methods employed by some of the officials of UNRRA upon those displaced persons, still those persons prefer to remain in Germany under those conditions than return to a sovietized homeland.

On October 11, 1946, upon our return to Paris, we submitted to Mr. Byrnes, in compliance with his request, an eyewitness report on the plight of Polish displaced persons in Germany.

Apart from appalling housing conditions, inadequate food and clothing, our report to former Secretary of States James F. Byrnes contains the following charges: The constant transfer of DP's from one camp to another like so many cattle; a despicable form of torture known as "screening"; frequent raids and sudden searches in the dead of night; the closing of schools so that the education of children, despite parental objection, may be conducted by teachers appointed by the Communist Warsaw government; the suspension of prodemocratic newspapers while Communist papers are allowed free circulation; the punishment of editors unsympathetic to Communism through the confiscation of food-ration cards; the dismissal of Polish Red Cross workers and liaison officers of the legal London Polish government who looked after the interests of DP's; and the refusal to grant Polish Catholic priests traveling certificates entitling them to visit various DP camps to perform religious functions.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

Are you speaking now of conditions in the DP camps?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Yes. As I mentioned before, Representative Gossett, I have specified these conditions in my report in order to show you gentlemen that despite the fact that these people had lived under those conditions, they still preferred to remain in Germany instead of returning to Poland under a Soviet-dominated government.

Mr. GOSSETT. The thing that interests me just there is that, according to your observations, there was still a lot of Communist activity in and around the DP camps.

Mr. ROZMAREK. I would not say that. I would say that the only Communist activity I had occasion to perceive would be that which was exemplified through the representatives of the Warsaw government as regards the Poles.

Mr. GOSSETT. So you think the Communists are pretty well running the UNRRA administration in Europe?

Mr. ROZMAREK. I have it right here, sir.

This first-hand report on the plight of displaced persons to former Secretary Byrnes was followed in January 1947 by another factual report sent to the Members of the Congress of the United States, in which we charged that—

UNRRA had embarked on a course to make life so miserable for displaced persons that they will accept repatriation as the lesser of two evils * * * The cease-

less persecution and humiliations not only have made virtual twentieth-century slaves out of the Poles in displaced-persons camps but have created a situation in which life itself becomes unbearable.

In refutation of UNRRA's contention—

that it has been its policy that no displaced person should be forced to return to his homeland unless voluntarily—

and that charges relative to coercive repatriation methods are false, the report we sent to Congress contains documentary evidence signed by UNRRA officials to prove that UNRRA has set out to enforce repatriation.

One of the documents cited is an interoffice memorandum of October 14, 1946, signed by William H. Holman, UNRRA area employment officer, containing the following order:

Do not employ Poles * * * repatriate them, as they must go home * * *. Repatriation is the most important thing in UNRRA at present. Take all Poles out of work projects and repatriate * * *. Fire Poles and get them home.

As an eyewitness, I can assure you, gentlemen, that the Soviet scheme of enforced repatriation has been obediently put into operation by the UNRRA personnel, paid by the American taxpayer, but recruited by Mr. Michael Menshikov, a Soviet citizen appointed as late as 1944, by Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, to the all-important post of UNRRA's chief of personnel in Washington, D. C.

Since the dismissal of General Sir Frederick Morgan, a fine English soldier, by Mr. Fiorello LaGuardia, from the post of European Director of UNRRA and the appointment of his successor, Mr. Myer Cohen, an American citizen, the pressure on repatriation has been accelerated to such an extent that at times it has amounted to outright terrorism.

I daresay that UNRRA, supported mainly by American funds, has done perhaps more to harm the good name of America than perhaps any other conceivable hostile propaganda.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

I hate to interrupt your statement; and I do not want to inject the racial question into this unduly.

The President in his directive, in December 1945, stated that the quotas which he asked to be set aside for DP's be divided on a fair basis among all races, religions, and creeds, preference given to orphaned children.

Now, do you think that part of the President's directive has been carried out?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Some have come in under that directive, Congressman.

Mr. GOSSETT. The reason I asked that question is this: I thought you may have investigated that. The last testimony of State Department officials before a congressional committee stated that 75 percent of all the visas granted under the Presidential directive of December 1945 had been granted to persons of Jewish faith, which obviously was discrimination against persons of the Catholic and Protestant faiths.

On the angle of the matter pertaining to orphaned children, I recall that some of your folks, Mr. John Lesinski, with whom you are acquainted, had a great deal of trouble getting some orphaned children from Mexico that had been brought over there.

Do you have something to say in regard to that situation?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Yes.

Now, in answer to your first proposition, namely, about the numbers that have come in under the President's directive, it may be true that more displaced persons of Jewish faith have come in than others. But that I attribute to the fact that the representatives of certain Jewish organizations were on the spot and were able to qualify them under our immigration regulations.

Mr. GOSSETT. Concerning this officer whom I mentioned, the allegation was made at the time that he was fired because he made some statements to the effect that the Jewish people were being given preference in the displaced-persons camps.

Obviously he felt that non-Jewish Poles, for example, were not being given fair treatment in the administration of UNRRA and in the administration of the DP camps.

Do you have any information on that?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Congressman Gossett, I believe that a person who qualifies under our immigration laws, irrespective of his faith or his race, if he is a displaced person, should be given consideration.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then you have no complaints to make about the treatment that the Poles have been getting?

Mr. ROZMAREK. I have no complaint about anything, sir. I simply say this.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, answer that question. You have no complaint against the Immigration Service or the State Department as to the treatment they have accorded the Poles?

Mr. ROZMAREK. If those people qualify, they should be given consideration.

Mr. GOSSETT. You can answer my question yes or no. Are you satisfied with the way they have been administered?

Mr. ROZMAREK. I do not know, sir. If these people qualify and are given consideration, we have no complaint on that score.

Mr. GOSSETT. All right. I am glad to find that out. I want that in the record.

Mr. ROZMAREK. I will continue with the statement.

Of the total number of displaced persons in the American, British, and French zones of Germany, the Poles constitute the largest segment.

At the time of my visit to Germany in October 1946, there were about 400,000 displaced Poles, of whom 195,000 were in the American zone alone.

These figures include Poles shipped by the Nazis to Germany as slave laborers, former inmates of concentration camps, and almost 30,000 Polish prisoners of war captured by the Germans in 1939.

The eastern European displaced persons, to which H. R. 2910 refers, fought nazism and they suffered from the Germans. They dread communism as much as nazism. It is not propaganda but the cruel persecution of their countrymen and the first-hand experiences of thousands of Poles who escaped from Poland that keeps them from going home. Poland, as you gentlemen are aware, is not free. It is enslaved and occupied by a foreign power.

Their staunch opposition to all forms of totalitarianism aiming at the destruction of democracy, would make them the kind of citizens America needs right now when world communism directed from Mos-

cow has set out to destroy us from within before an attempt will be made to destroy us from without.

While we think in terms of the use of displaced persons in our national economy, let us not forget that their present plight is by no means of their own making.

They were forcibly uprooted from their country by the Nazis, but they dreamt of the day when they would be permitted to return home to be united with their loved ones. It is because the United States unwittingly agreed at Yalta to the Soviet domination of eastern and central Europe, it is because we did not keep our pledges incorporated in the Atlantic Charter, that they are now people without a country.

We are spending millions, or rather hundreds of millions of dollars, to keep them in idleness and in poverty instead of using their talents and their skills for the good of our own economy and their enthusiasm for democracy, for the strengthening of our democratic forces.

That is why, gentlemen, I most sincerely appeal to you to give your consideration to Representative Stratton's bill, H. R. 2910. This salutary measure would alleviate the misery of these unfortunates and at the same time tend to fulfill the obligation of our American Government under the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms."

While we back Representative Stratton's bill, we do not endorse it entirely in its present form. We ask that section 5 be amended so that it would also embrace the members of the Polish Army in exile—our gallant fighting allies.

When Britain's fate hung in the balance, they performed daring deeds of bravery over the skies of England. They fought at Narvik, at the Maginot Line and in Tobruk. On the slopes of Monte Cassino alone, 3,600 of them laid down their lives, thus saving the lives of our American boys in Gen. Mark W. Clark's Fifth Army and the British lives in the Eighth Army of General Alexander.

These heroes of the biggest battles of the last war, many of whom were decorated with America's highest honors for bravery, are now disarmed and deprived of their military status, placed in camps of the so-called Polish Resettlement Corps.

Is this the reward for the Polish soldiers, who with our American boys fought for the cause of freedom, and who were the first to fight Germany and the last to cease fire? Is this the reward for men who put their faith in the spoken and written pledges of the United Kingdom and the United States of America? Marked by Soviet police, slated for labor camps in Siberia, prisons, or gallows, if they return—170,000 young, healthy, heroic, and determined human beings are to languish in humid quonset huts of British camps.

These Polish soldiers in Great Britain, Germany, or in the Middle East are entitled to come to the United States if only as a reward for the invaluable services they rendered America as our allies. It would in some measure repay them for fighting and for their services. Their hearts bleed at the thought that they can't return to the kind of Poland for which they had fought. A great many of them come from eastern Poland, which at Yalta, without the consent of the Polish people, was turned over to Soviet Russia as an outright reward for aggression. And in what is left of Poland, there is a Communist government, which owes its allegiance to Moscow. Try to visualize, if you can, our own American boys in the same plight—unable to

return home—because a ruthless foreign power, in the guise of a liberator, had occupied their country.

These gallant Polish heroes represent the highest human material from the point of view of any sensible immigration policy. They, like their countrymen in concentration camps, love liberty. Most of them come from sturdy Polish peasant stock, psychologically akin to the American pioneer stock. Our vast areas of the West, the Southwest, northern Maine, or Alaska should be opened to them for the benefit of our country and our economy. Many of them are highly skilled and seasoned soldiers and it is safe to assume that they would enlist voluntarily into our Army, thus swelling its depleted ranks.

I would urgently suggest that this subcommittee avail itself of the presence of Gen. Mark W. Clark in this country and request his testimony on behalf of the Polish soldiers who fought under his command. Most of them are young people and single. They would certainly find wives in this country, build up families, raise new generations of Americans.

The displaced Polish soldiers and civilians are of the same blood and stock as the 6,000,000 loyal Americans of Polish descent. We cherish the fact that prior to the enactment of the draft law in 1940, over 17 percent of the entire United States Marine Corps—all volunteers—was composed of boys of Polish descent. Our casualty lists are replete with Polish names. We are proud of our record of achievement on the battle and home fronts. Unlike our native Communists who owe their allegiance to a foreign power, we Americans of Polish descent owe our allegiance to only one flag—the glorious Stars and Stripes of the United States of America.

The displaced civilians and soldiers are an American responsibility. Their plight is attributable directly to the Yalta agreement, to which America was a party. In depriving them of the protection of a legal government, of an independent country, of freedom, of their homes, and of their beloved ones, we are coresponsible for their wretched fate. Theirs is a heartbreaking story. No one can measure the depth of their grief and despair.

The Polish American Congress, the voice of 6,000,000 Americans of Polish descent, pleads not only for the cause of Polish displaced civilians and soldiers, but also for all displaced persons of every nationality, race, and creed, who fear returning to homelands now transformed into soviet lands of slavery.

To insure justice and fair play to all groups, we ask that the admission of homeless DP's and soldiers should be on a pro rata basis in direct proportion to the numbers of nationalistic groups.

Aside from purely humanitarian considerations, there are economic reasons that should prompt Congress to allow displaced persons of good character to enter our country.

While doing our share in lightening the burden of their sorrow and in calming their fears, we will at the same time be alleviating the heavy financial burden now borne by the American taxpayer in maintaining them in their present state of idleness and misery.

The United States cannot carry on forever the burden of feeding DP's. A speedy solution to this grave problem is imperative. To permit those who typify the highest moral standards to enter the

United States would be the quickest and cheapest solution. Their love of freedom would be the best investment in the future security of America. Because they would be sponsored by responsible individuals and organizations, there need be no fear that they would become public charges.

Our moral duty is to save these people. Let America set a shining example to other countries by throwing wide open its doors to a fair share of these unfortunates. The number who would come in under a revised H. R. 2910, which would also include displaced Polish soldiers, would still be far below the number of immigrants who would have entered the United States had there been no war.

In providing a haven to these homeless civilians and soldiers, God would bless America and the Congress of the United States would receive the gratitude and the approval of the judgment of time.

Now, Mr. Chairman, with your permission I would like to make a suggestion. A bill, H. R. 3620, introduced by Mr. MacKinnon, of Minnesota, is pending before your subcommittee. It provides for the admission of the soldiers of Free Poland as nonquota immigrants, granting them in this respect the same immigration status as would be granted displaced persons under the Stratton bill.

It is my considered opinion that the perfectly worded MacKinnon bill should be included as an amendment to the Stratton bill and made section 6 of H. R. 2910. I submit a copy of the MacKinnon bill for the record.

(The bill is as follows:)

[H. R. 3620, 80th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To provide for the admission to the United States of certain persons who served in the Polish Army, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any person (1) who served in the Polish Army under honorable conditions during the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending May 8, 1945, and (2) who on May 15, 1947, did not reside in Poland, the United Soviet Socialistic Republic, or areas occupied or administered by the United Soviet Socialistic Republic, shall be admitted as a nonquota immigrant to the United States for permanent residence. The wife, and the unmarried child or children, of such person, who are accompanying or following to join him at his request shall also be admitted as nonquota immigrants to the United States for permanent residence.

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "Polish Army" means (1) the armed forces of the government and people of Poland during the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending September 30, 1939, and (2) the armed forces of the Polish Government-in-Exile which was formed in 1939 in Paris, France; and

(b) The term "Poland", when used in a geographical sense, means the territory subject to governmental control by the Republic of Poland as of May 15, 1947.

SEC. 3. Admissions under this Act shall terminate on December 31, 1951.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir, very much.

Let me ask you about that. How many does that involve? What would your amendment affect?

Mr. ROZMAREK. You have at the present time, I would say, around 190,000 Polish soldiers that cannot return home.

Mr. FELLOWS. Where are they?

Mr. ROZMAREK. They are in England, and they are in Germany. You have them placed in camps.

For example, in Ingolstadt, there is a very large number of Polish soldiers who were taken prisoners of war by Germany in 1939. I would say there are around 30,000 in Germany and the balance is in England.

Mr. GOSSETT. How many are in England, sir?

Mr. ROZMAREK. England has taken in 160,000. They have taken in the whole Second Polish Army Corps from Italy, under General Anders.

Mr. GOSSETT. Are they just temporary visitors in England, or are they permanent residents there?

Mr. ROZMAREK. They are placed in the resettlement corps there.

Mr. GOSSETT. England is in great need of new blood and additional workers. Why can't they be very happily placed in England, those that are there?

Mr. ROZMAREK. They are in England at the present time, Congressman, and there is no restriction upon their residence there. They have them placed in what is known as the resettlement corps, where for a period of 2 years they are given training along any particular trade that they may have selected.

Mr. GOSSETT. At the end of that time, do they have to emigrate from England?

Mr. ROZMAREK. They do not. But I believe those people should be given the privilege, if they so desire, to come here, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. According to an AP story quoting General Clay, last year they offered a food bonus to the DP's in the American zone to repatriate themselves. And 48,000 Poles voluntarily went back to their homes.

Mr. ROZMAREK. Yes. And half of them have returned.

Mr. GOSSETT. Half of them, what?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Half of them returned back over the boundary line.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then they reinstituted that subsidy bonus, as I understand it, this year.

If those boys are so bitter against communism, the place for them to do their work is in Poland, is it not?

Mr. ROZMAREK. What chance have you to do any work in Poland if you are put in a concentration camp, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. GOSSETT. Have any of those who have been repatriated or who have gone back been put in concentration camps?

Mr. ROZMAREK. At Weisbaden, which is about 20 miles south of Frankfurt, I had an opportunity to speak to 3,000 displaced Polish persons, and I asked them, "Why don't you return to Poland?"

They informed me that quite a few of their outstanding leaders had gone with a contingent to Poland around 5 months ago. They most solemnly promised them that they would immediately write them upon their arrival in Poland of the conditions that are prevailing there.

They informed me, "Up until this time we have received no letters either from our priests or from these outstanding men."

I asked those people, "To what do you attribute their failure to write you?"

They told us, this is the opinion of these people, they said that they are "either in concentration camps or their mail has been intercepted."

Mr. GOSSETT. But they could go back, regardless of the conditions there?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Mr. Congressman, these people who have been uprooted from their homes—most of those people are middle-aged, I would say around 40, or below 40.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, you got through a while ago saying they were young, virile folks who would come into this country and raise American families.

Mr. ROZMAREK. I had referred to the Polish Army soldiers, sir. As I understand, your question has been directed as to displaced persons in Germany.

Mr. GOSSETT. Both the soldiers and the other Poles.

Mr. ROZMAREK. I see. I would say that—

Mr. GOSSETT. The MacKinnon bill, now, that you are talking about referred only to the soldiers?

Mr. ROZMAREK. That referred only to the soldiers; that is correct.

But now, as regards those people who are in Germany, those displaced persons, the reason that they will not go back is that they fear what is going to happen to them.

The same thing will happen to them that has happened to many others who have gone there.

Now, there is a constant shuttling back and forth of people who would come in from Poland, who would describe in detail those conditions that are prevailing there. They are afraid. It is not for economic reasons, Congressman Gossett, that these people do not want to return to Poland. They are afraid to return to Poland for fear that their lives will be jeopardized because of the political philosophy which they have.

Mr. GOSSETT. But regardless of that, there is work to be done in Poland, political work to be done, if the Communist regime there is ever to be overthrown.

It is a minority party in Poland, is it not?

Mr. ROZMAREK. What?

Mr. GOSSETT. The Communist Party.

Mr. ROZMAREK. It is also the minority party in Russia, sir, today. But a few organized individuals who seized control of the government are able to browbeat the other 80 or 85 percent into submission.

Mr. GOSSETT. If those individuals, to be practical, are going to be of any value to us, wouldn't they be of a great deal more value to Poland, their homeland? Doesn't Poland need them worse than we do?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Poland may need them, Congressman Gossett. But those people cannot operate in Poland. If they return to Poland, they are going to be imprisoned, or worse still, they may be transported to Siberia.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, you have no authentic evidence that those who were repatriated last year have either been imprisoned, executed, or transported to Siberia?

Mr. ROZMAREK. The mere fact that they did not correspond with their fellow inmates.

Mr. GOSSETT. Don't you imagine that our military intelligence would have that information if they had been executed or imprisoned in Poland?

Mr. ROZMAREK. The fact that they have not written to their friends in those camps leads them to believe that they have suffered that fate, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. On this question of the 160,000 who are now in resettlement camps in England, is it your suggestion that section 5 of the Stratton bill be amended to include the 160,000? Is that correct?

Mr. ROZMAREK. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. That would increase the amount of what they call the "fair share" to 560,000.

Mr. ROZMAREK. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. They would not all want to leave England, would they?

Mr. FELLOWS. I am not talking about what they want to do. I am talking about the possibilities under this bill.

Mr. ROZMAREK. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. And I think that is the unfortunate part of using this "fair share" proposition, because I do not know who determines it, and I do not know very much about it.

They are using that expression "fair share." I do not know what that would be.

Mr. CELLER. These soldiers were with General Anders, were they not?

Mr. ROZMAREK. That is correct.

Mr. CELLER. They were brave soldiers, beyond a question.

Mr. GOSSETT. But they are afraid to go home.

Mr. CELLER. They are afraid they would be purged, and they would not have a chance, because Poland is dominated by Communist authorities. And Poland is filled with Soviet soldiery; so they would not have a chance.

Mr. ROZMAREK. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have been over there, and you know the condition of France. People say that France is very much in need of able-bodied men. What do you have to say about that?

Mr. ROZMAREK. Congressman Fellows, I had an opportunity to discuss this matter with some of the outstanding newspapermen of France, and also with some of the public officials. They informed me that at that time, in 1946, some of them said:

We need as high as 2,000,000 able-bodied people to revive our industry. And we would like to admit them. But we cannot admit them due to the fact that one-third of the portfolios of our ministry are occupied by Communists who are adverse to letting into France any person who may profess democratic tendencies as against communistic tendencies.

Mr. GOSSETT. But if we bring all the folks over from Europe who do not like communism, then we have turned Europe over to communism.

Mr. ROZMAREK. We are confining ourselves now to displaced persons, Congressman, and these Polish soldiers. Undoubtedly 80 percent of the people in Russia would like to get out, if they could.

Mr. FELLOWS. And there are 400,000,000 Chinese.

Mr. ROZMAREK. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. If we are going to be good Christians and let everybody come over here who wants to, maybe we ought to let them get out of Russia and get over here.

Mr. CELLER. We are not bothering about that. We are concerned about 400,000 in the Stratton bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. And the witness suggested an additional 160,000.

Thank you, Mr. Rozmarek.

Mr. ROZMAREK. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. I want to incorporate into the record, without objection, a report submitted by the chairman of the committee on displaced persons, Polish-American Congress, Inc.
(The report is as follows:)

THE POLISH DP's

The following statistics and documents have been obtained from the references noted and by personal observations of actual conditions existing in various DP camps throughout Europe visited by me during the summer and fall of 1946.
This brochure has been prepared with the hope that the plight of these homeless and forsaken people may be brought to light, that justice, freedom from want, and independence may finally come to those who fought with the Allies, but up to now have received treatment worse than that accorded a vanquished foe.
Respectfully submitted.

IGNATIUS NURKIEWICZ,
*Chairman, Committee on Polish Displaced Persons,
Polish American Congress, Inc.*

DISPLACED PERSONS

- (1) Who they are.
- (2) Where they are.
- (3) Why they are, where they are.
- (4) What they want.
- (5) Where they want to go.
- (6) What they cost.
- (7) UNRRA mistreatment.
- (8) Camp organization.
- (9) The Polish Union.
- (10) What is the solution.
- (11) Conclusion.

1. Who they are¹

The Polish DP's may be divided into four groups:
First. Concentration-camp internees.—Principally children, women, and old men who were forced into concentration camps by the Germans when Poland was attacked at the outbreak of the war, or during the occupation.
Second. Labor-battalion personnel.—Principally young women, adolescent boys, and men who were forced by the German authorities to go to Germany to work in factories, mills, mines, etc.
Third. Prisoners of war.—Soldiers who were captured by the Germans when Poland was invaded by Germany and Russia.
Fourth. Home army members.—A conglomeration of all ages, both men and women, who were captured by the Germans after the Warsaw uprising.

Recapitulation¹

	British zone		American zone		French zone	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Men.....	48	101, 200	55	94, 000	55	17, 000
Women.....	32½	68, 000	33	56, 000	35	10, 000
Children.....	19½	40, 800	12	20, 000	10	3, 000
Total.....		210, 000		170, 000		30, 000

¹ United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency.
NOTE.—The above figures include 40,000 guard battalions in American zone; 1,700 garde civile in French zone.
¹ Polish American Congress, personal inspection of DP camps in Europe committee.

Table of professions¹

Engineers-----	520	Clerks-----	2,870
Teachers-----	640	Army Officers-----	3,500
Physicians-----	260	Farmers-----	54,000
Lawyers-----	340	Craftsmen-----	26,000
Economists and tradesmen-----	1,480	Factory workers-----	12,800
Artists-----	180	Communal workers-----	8,500
Newspapermen-----	240		

2. Where they are¹

In British zone in Germany-----	210,000
In American zone in Germany-----	170,000
In French zone in Germany-----	30,000

Total----- 410,000

Of the above, 360,000 are civilians; 50,000 are PWX. The 40,000 PWX are in several camps, the largest of which is at Wentorf near Hamburg; 10,000 PWX in American zone.

The 360,000 civilians are in 200 camps in the British zone; 102 camps in the American zone; 25 camps in the French zone.

¹ Survey Committee on Displaced Persons of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service.

Camps in British zone (Poles)

Lubeck-----	45,000
Braunschweig-----	40,000
Hanover-----	8,000
Westphalia-Rhine-----	25,000
Osnabruck-Oldenburg-----	20,000
Other camps-----	72,000
Total-----	210,000

Camps in American zone

South Bayern-----	40
North Bayern-----	40
Baden and Wurtemberg-----	17
Hessen District-----	15
Total (170,000 Poles)-----	102

Camps in French zone

Baden District (8,000 Poles)-----	17
Northern district (Pfatz and Rhine) (12,000 Poles)-----	8
Scattered (10,000 Poles).	

3. Why they are where they are

The DP's remain in the camps firstly because they are stopped from returning to their homeland by fear of communism, and secondly, because the United Nations has too long delayed adopting and carrying out any definite policy to provide for the admitting of Polish DP's into other countries.

4. What they want

The desire of every DP, without exception, is the human desire phrased so well in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States, the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Polish DP's want a place in which to settle, raise a family, and live in peace with their neighbor.

5. Where they want to go

The Polish DP's would prefer to return to Poland, but only if Poland is free and independent with no Soviet domination and interference. Under existing conditions, however, the DP's wish to emigrate to the United States, France, Argentina, Canada, and other countries. None of the DP's wish to remain in Germany.

6. *What they cost*

From the records available, it is indicated that the average DP cost the people of the United States \$100 per annum and unless a solution of the problem is found, most conservative estimates indicate that a period of 3 years more will be required during which this expenditure must be made. (The above \$100 estimate is based upon 73 percent of UNRRA funds being supplied by the United States.)

7. *UNRRA mistreatment*

Sufficient blame and criticism cannot be placed upon the policies of UNRRA. By every possible means that organization which was supposed to provide aid, food, clothing, and medical supplies for the destitute of war-torn Europe has, by using those very essentials of life, threatened and coerced the Polish DP's to return to Poland. This policy was followed in spite of the fact that UNRRA had adequate knowledge that the majority of the DP's both feared and abhorred the Communist regime in Poland.

8. *Camp organization*

In the camps studied, at first hand, by the Polish American Congress Committee, camp organizations have been set up by the DP's themselves. Scraps of building material had been assembled to provide shelters; seeds had been planted and vegetable gardens developed; schools to instruct the young had been founded. In short, a return to the normal way of life, even under abnormal conditions, was beginning to blossom. The committee discovered that when the above conditions prevailed, the DP's were notified that they had to return to Poland or else be transferred to other camps, as the camp in which quasi-normal way of living had been established had to be abandoned. A more dastardly attempt at morale breaking has never been fostered upon any nation—not to mention an ally of the victorious nations.

9. *The Polish Union*

The Polish Union is an organization of all Poles in the three Western Zones of Germany.

Each DP camp in each zone has a local committee.

The local committee of each zone has a district association.

The district association of each of the three zones is named the Chief Council which is the supreme head as governing body of the Union.

10. *What is the solution?*

(1) The governmental agency in charge of DP's should consult with the Polish Union as to the most efficient treatment of the DP's.

(2) The governmental agency in charge of DP's should take special care to treat the DP's as allied and not like enemies in concentration camps.

(3) Idleness should be kept at a minimum by restoring to the DP's the right of organizing interior life of DP's by—

(a) Encouraging gardening, sewing, craftsmanship of all kinds as well as professional training.

(b) Organizing elementary and secondary schools.

(c) Organizing professional associations and professional education courses.

(d) Obtaining employment for Polish refugees.

(e) Organizing exhibitions, theaters, choirs, sporting events.

(f) Printing Polish books, pamphlets, newspapers, literature, etc.

(g) Assisting Polish students and promoting scouting activities.

(4) A citizens' committee should be established in the United States to aid in the repatriation of DP's and give to the DP's economic and financial assistance.

(5) Religious care and guidance should be assured to the DP's.

(6) One of the most urgent measures in that DP's should be permitted to correspond using the Polish language.

(7) The paramount need of displaced persons is for a country of permanent residence, whether it be attained through repatriation to their countries of origin, or through settlement in a new country.

CONCLUSION

The DP's of whatever country deserve preferential treatment. Most of them, physically or morally, have fought for the Allies; all have suffered deprivation

almost beyond human endurance. Poland was the first nation to fight the common enemy of democracy—the world must not forget. The solution of the Polish DP's must be found.

Many reports have been published, many surveys made, and many statistics gathered pertaining to the persons displaced by war in Europe, Eurasia, and the Orient. This brief treatise deals with the DP's of one nation—the DP's of one of the victorious Allies—the DP's of forgotten Poland.

Report on Polish schools, teachers, and students in Germany, as of Oct. 1, 1946

	Zone			Total
	British	American	French	
1. Administration:				
Regional districts.....	4	3	1	8
Local districts.....	25	13	5	43
2. Schools and centers of study:				
Preparatory schools.....	78	36	10	124
Public schools.....	130	51	25	206
High schools.....	17	14	2	33
Trade high schools.....	17	7		24
Colleges.....	8	9	2	19
Professional colleges.....	4	2		6
Supplementary courses for adults.....	129	66	16	211
Supplementary professional courses for adults.....	75	34	6	115
Total.....	458	219	61	738
3. Teachers:				
Preparatory schools.....	113	84	14	211
Public schools.....	583	386	56	1,025
High schools.....	139	102	21	262
Technical high schools.....	138	42	9	189
Supplementary schools for adults.....	287	134	28	449
Total.....	1,260	748	128	2,136
4. Students:				
Preparatory schools.....	2,450	1,625	410	4,485
Public schools.....	8,570	4,820	1,300	14,690
High schools.....	2,120	850	150	3,120
Technical high schools and technical supplementary schools.....	4,100	2,350	445	6,895
Supplementary schools.....	3,100	1,960	550	5,610
Total.....	20,340	11,605	2,855	34,800

REPORT TO SECRETARY BYRNES ON CONDITIONS IN POLISH DISPLACED-PERSONS CAMPS IN THE AMERICAN ZONE OF OCCUPATION IN GERMANY

The Polish American Congress delegation upon completion of a 13-day inspection tour of Polish displaced-persons camps in the American zone of occupation in Germany, presented the following report to Secretary Byrnes in Paris on Friday, October 11, 1946, during a long conference in which President Charles Rozmarek, vice president I. Nurkiewicz, and editor Karol Burke participated.

CONDITIONS IN DP CAMPS UNSATISFACTORY

On September 11, 1946, the Polish American Congress delegation conferred with you at Hotel Meurice, Paris. Upon being informed that this delegation intended to visit the Poles in the displaced persons camps in the American zone of occupation in Germany, you requested us to file a brief report of our observations of the conditions prevailing there.

We spent 13 days in Germany. The conditions in the camps visited were unsatisfactory. We therefore request you to employ every available means at your disposal to correct them.

The American military authorities extended to us every courtesy. We were able to view any camp we desired. General Huebner, General Michelson, Colonel Biddle, Colonel Prather, Colonel Haroldson, Colonel Seitz, and Major Hughes were very considerate and obliging. They are fine American officers who uphold the best traditions of our American Army. Colonel Haroldson and Major Hughes accompanied us to the various camps.

Among the Poles in Germany there are two broad classes of people: the civilians and the military people.

CIVILIANS

At present, the total number of Poles of all classes is about 195,000. Among them are 160,000 deportees, political refugees, and former prisoners of war—all classified as displaced persons. The remaining 35,000 Poles are enrolled in guard companies in the service of the United States Army.

UNRRA IN UNFAVORABLE LIGHT

Lately, the conditions under which these displaced persons must live have become more unbearable. The following problems have been created by the UNRRA authorities to force repatriation.

1. The amount of food is insufficient and the quality is inferior. These Poles do not live but merely exist. The diet is the same and is not varied. The same soup is offered every day until the sight of pea soup becomes unbearable. And the housing conditions are also deplorable. We saw 13 persons—8 adults and 5 children—crowded into one room. The adults were four couples. Three of the children were in cradles. There was no partition of any kind to separate one family from the other. Hence there was no privacy.

UNWARRANTED SHIFTING OF POLES

2. The Poles live in constant fear of transfer from one camp to another. This action tends to demoralize a freedom-loving man. In many instances, these Poles made a building habitable through their work and ingenuity. Then they are suddenly uprooted, and must leave behind them their fine vegetable gardens, personal belonging, and other conveniences which they themselves had constructed.

We recommend that this constant shifting of Poles from one camp to another be discontinued.

SCHOOLS CLOSED BY UNRRA

3. The schools—both for general and technical education—should be opened. The UNRRA authorities have closed them. UNRRA wants all education to be supervised and conducted by instructors approved by representatives of the Warsaw regime. The displaced Poles are opposed to having their children taught by people whose conception of democracy is so different from theirs.

We recommend that the parents have the right to approve the selection of instructors who are to teach their children.

POLISH NEWSPAPERS SUSPENDED

4. The publications of Polish newspapers has been suspended. All non-German press must procure a license from the American Military Authorities. Although UNRRA has no jurisdiction in granting licenses, nevertheless, UNRRA is opposed to the issuance of a license to any Polish newspaper whose publication is not approved by representative of the Warsaw regime. The Poles feel that they are entitled to the freedom of the press, so that they can read the other side of all issues which affect their welfare.

We recommend that the Poles be granted at least three licenses to publish newspapers in Regensburg, Munich, and Frankfurt. These licenses are to be exclusive of any number that may be granted the representatives of the Warsaw regime.

JOURNALISTS MISTREATED

5. The Polish journalists are harassed and annoyed. In June 1946 UNRRA issued orders depriving the residents of the Journalists' Home at Eppstein of food. They based these orders upon the ground that the Polish weekly Tygodnik was in opposition to the Warsaw regime and to repatriation. Among the victims of

these drastic orders were some women and an infant. The Polish Newspapermen's Guild has been unable heretofore to have said orders revoked.

We recommend that these orders denying food to the residents of Journalists' Home at Eppstein be immediately revoked because they are a flagrant violation of the freedom of the press.

CIVIC GROUPS NOT GIVEN STATUS

6. The Polish civic organizations have no legal status. Some of the important organizations are: The Union of Poles in Germany, Association of Polish Technical Clubs, Craftsmen Clubs, and Veterans Association. They have been formed to promote study in cultural and scientific fields. They have also been formed to further and promote the welfare of its members. All officers are elected in a democratic fashion. The guiding heads of these organizations and their assistants have no freedom of movement, nor have they any assurance that they will receive the bare necessities of life.

We recommend that these organizations be given a legal status and an opportunity to discuss any important problems affecting the welfare of the displaced Poles, with appropriate military authorities.

POLISH CLERGY HAMPERED

7. The Polish clergy have no freedom of movement. They are confined to the particular camps. That means that one or more clergymen are with their flocks in the camps administering their spiritual wants. But they have no right to gather together or the means of getting together in a conference of clergymen to discuss problems of mutual interest.

We recommend that a certain number of clergymen selected by Msgr. Edward Lubowiecki, vicar general of the bishop for the Poles in Germany, be given the legal status of visiting the various camps.

POLITICAL REFUGEES IMPRISONED

8. The political refugees who escaped from Poland since the termination of hostilities cannot obtain a displaced person status. Some of them wander aimlessly about Germany and are thrown into German prisons.

We recommend that political refugees who have escaped from Poland since the termination of the war, because of persecution inflicted upon them by the present Warsaw regime, should be given the status of displaced persons.

HARDSHIPS IMPOSED BY SCREENING

9. The Poles are constantly harassed by screening and rescreening. Many hardships are caused. In one camp an elderly lady approached me and tearfully pleaded to save her husband. He was rescreened that morning and ordered to be transferred to a different camp. Breaking up of families is a heart-rending sight. A member of the Warsaw regime is to be found on these screening teams.

We recommend that a disinterested person selected by the Union of Poles in Germany should be a member of these screening teams. If that cannot be done, then at least said organization should have the privilege of having an official observer who could safeguard the rights of the persons screened or rescreened.

MILITARY PERSONS

In the American zone there are about 23,000 prisoners of war. They are in Germany since 1939. Since June 1946, they have been classified as displaced persons and given that status. There is also a special group composed of prisoners taken by the Germans either during underground activities against the Germans or captured after the fall of the Warsaw uprising. The third group of 35,000 is now in guard companies performing services for the United States.

The most important problems confronting these Poles may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. In June 11, 1946, an order was issued by the American military authorities depriving the war prisoners of the rights of war prisoners. They were deprived of their payments, and they were deprived of the right to wear their uniforms. These war prisoners feel that this order is in violation of the international law since peace has not been as yet concluded.

We recommend that the rights be restored to these war prisoners which they had enjoyed from 1939 to June 1946.

2. The prisoners of the Polish Home Army captured by the Germans after the Warsaw uprising or under similar circumstances, have not been accorded the rights which properly belong to the prisoners of war.

We recommend that these war prisoners be accorded the rights to which they are entitled under international law.

POLISH GUARDS UNDERPAID

3. The Poles in the guard companies performing service for the United States Army, receive only one-half of the calories of food that are given the American soldiers. The privates are paid 180 German marks per month. The deduction from their pay for German insurances, vary from 10 to 40 percent. Some of the guards informed us that at the end of the month they cannot even buy a pack of American cigarettes. They have no privilege of making purchases at the United States commissary. They have no privileges of purchasing American life insurance nor of depositing dollars in American savings accounts. They feel that in case of sudden demobilization, under present conditions, they incur the risk of staying in Germany, without a provision for even a bare existence.

We recommend that they should receive the same pay as the American soldiers in view of the fact that they perform the same work.

CONCLUSION

1. In order to effectuate the foregoing recommendations tending to improve the conditions of the Poles in Germany, we recommend the establishment of a commission by the American military authorities to whom the Polish civic organizations can appeal their grievances to safeguard their economic and cultural interests. The existence of such a commission would tend to alleviate much of the sufferings now endured by these people, and thus bring about a more harmonious understanding between the UNRRA authorities and the Poles.

2. We demand a thorough investigation of the UNRRA activities by the United States Department of State and the Congress of the United States. UNRRA should be confined to its proper duties of feeding and clothing the displaced persons. But the prosecution of indirect coercive methods of repatriations has made it a political tool for purposes not originally intended by the Congress of the United States.

3. We recommend that the displaced persons who cannot return to the country of their origin should be evacuated through emigration to the Western Hemisphere. The United States should admit 150,000 displaced persons to the United States proper and to Alaska. The Polish quotas were not exhausted during the war years. A good example set by our country would encourage the countries in the Western Hemisphere to absorb the balance. These people are thoroughly imbued with democratic ideals, are opposed to totalitarianism, and would make good law-abiding citizens.

4. In conclusion we wish to inform you that we are ready to substantiate all statements set forth in the foregoing report with competent evidence collected by us during our sojourn in Germany.

Respectfully submitted.

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.,
CHARLES ROZMAREK, *President*.
IGNATIUS NURKIEWICZ, *Vice President*.

To Hon. JAMES F. BYRNES,
Secretary of State of the United States of America,
Paris, France.

PARIS, October 11, 1946.

EXCERPT FROM A REPORT TO THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.

THE REPATRIATION

The position of the displaced Poles, particularly during the last quarter of 1946, worsened considerably following the application of the policy to repatriate, at any price, the greatest possible numbers of them. No one can object to an effort being made to encourage DP's to return home, but in view of the repeated

assurance of the UN that no refugee would be forced to return to his country of origin, the particular form these efforts take is of utmost importance. It can be asserted that, in the above given period, indirect pressure was, in fact, brought to bear on displaced Poles breaking down the resistance of many hitherto unwilling to return, and making the life of those definitely deciding to stay abroad still more miserable and unhappy.

The encouragement given to the Poles to return home was accompanied by—

(1) An order from UNRRA headquarters for the American zone to discontinue all educational, recreational, and other cultural activities in all camps caring for 100 or more Polish displaced persons. School equipment and books were to be withdrawn from use. From October 1 to December 15, more than 40 primary and secondary schools and more than 50 vocational courses were closed.

(2) Transfers of camps increased in scale. In the specified period, an incomplete list of camps closed down, registered more than 30 in the American zone. In spite of very cold weather, the displaced Poles had sometimes to spend the whole night in unheated trucks. Particular notoriety attached to: (a) The transfer of the Linz camp to Asten at the end of October (again moved to Salzburg in January) resulting in the death from pneumonia of a baby and in the serious illness of several other children; (b) the transfer of the Regensburg camp to Wildflecken (beginning of November); (c) the transfer of the Murnau camp, Augsburg, January 10, 1947, in 20 degrees of frost, after water, heating, and electricity had been cut off, and food rations withdrawn for a period of 3 days in order to break down any resistance.

(3) Poles were and are being released from employment to be replaced by other displaced persons who are considered nonrepatriable.

(4) Screening and rescreening continued with the consequent fear and terror.

(5) To further persuade the people that they should return to Poland, the director of UNRRA team 512 informed camp commanders in Schwabisch Gmund November 5 that the camp would shortly be closed and UNRRA would stop all assistance to those who, till then, had not agreed to be repatriated. The director of UNRRA team 77 in Nattenberg Cassel went even further. On October 25, 1946, he notified the inhabitants that those who did not surrender their DP identity cards by a certain date (that is to say, agree to be of the same status as German refugees) and remain in the camp without permission, would have to go back to Poland in 4 days' time.

(6) A high proportion of Polish students studying at the German universities were allowed to continue so, provided they agreed to exchange their DP food rations for German food cards, and pay university fees out of their own pockets.

SCREENING

Screening, the aim of which was to ascertain the eligibility of a displaced person to DP status and to eliminate quislings, war criminals, and collaborators, now increasingly serves the purpose of depriving as many displaced persons as possible of the protection of UNRRA. Gen. Sir Frederick Morgan, former UNRRA director for eastern Europe, stated in a letter to the Times on February 15, 1947:

"So many of these last (displaced persons) have already been reduced to a state of mind verging on despair by years of screening that has, in the main, as its object the elaboration of excuses for withdrawing assistance not only from those manifestly unworthy of it but also, regrettably, from many of those who are thoroughly genuine victims of circumstances brought about by others rather than themselves."

A striking example of this contention was provided in the second half of January of this year when, in Altendorf camp, 30 percent of the thousand inhabitants were deprived of their DP status for apparently no justified reason. About 60 families were broken up.

Screening is often done by young, inexperienced officers, with little or no knowledge of the language or the social and political background of the people concerned. The questionnaires are often in a language which is hardly comprehensible, and failure to answer them correctly may result in the loss of the DP status. Since the dismissal of the Polish liaison officers there is nobody to act as a trustworthy interpreter between the screening teams and those screened. Instead, German interpreters are used who have been known to have consciously or unconsciously misinterpreted certain questions and answers to the disadvantage of the persons concerned. To successfully pass a screening test does not mean that the displaced person is able to rest in peace, since screening

is often done several times in the same camp, and when a displaced person moves or is moved to another camp it has become a general rule to subject him to a further screening.

Lately, the screening of displaced persons has become the cause of another anger. The report that follows comes from the New York Herald Tribune of January 28, 1947:

"Political cross-examination by certain UNRRA teams of anti-Soviet Polish and Baltic displaced persons, possibly designed to elicit information valuable to Warsaw and Moscow, has been called off at the request of United States forces, European theater headquarters, a G-5 spokesman has disclosed. Certain unidentified UNRRA teams have 'exceeded their authority' in subjecting Poles and Balts in the American zone to political examination of their political histories, it was stated here by G-5.

"For example these DP's were asked to give names and addresses of blood relatives and friends still living in the Soviet-controlled territories. The Baltic DP's in the Augsburg camp were asked to fill out a personal record with 57 questions, many of which were 'highly political,' a G-5 spokesman explained."

POLISH AGENCY IN GERMANY,
Frankfurt, March 25, 1947, No. 20.

[Translation]

NEW SCREENING ACTION BEGINNING

Contrary to prior announcements screenings are being revived. Teams of four to five persons assisted by interpreters, mostly Germans, are visiting camps. The interpreters are the ones responsible for most cases of DP's being deprived of their status. The teams consist principally of young, inexperienced people, with no knowledge of German or Polish languages, which is the reason that the whole responsibility rests with the interpreters and any faultiness on their part seals the future of DP's. Sometimes members of the screening teams ask such questions that answers require as much mental alertness as wit and humor. Here is one of such questions:

"What would you do—a DP was asked—if, on your way to America, the vessel were about to go down? On the horizon appear two ships, one a German and the other Russian. What alternative would you choose?"

"I'd rather go down," replied the questioned DP.

"O. K.," said the American, "your status is qualified."

Sometimes it is a narrow escape. A girl, former Polish Government employee, presented to the team a document stating that she was forcibly deported from Worochta, Poland, to a German camp. The German interpreter told the screening commission that the document says the woman was an employee of the Gestapo. Fortunately, she managed to talk about it to the manager of the local UNRRA team with knowledge of German who was able to prevent a disaster to the girl.

It may be contended that, at least, 80 percent of those who lost their DP status as a result of screenings are victims of interpreters. No wonder that in many camps DP's either agree to be repatriated or leave the camps and rather decide to live on German ration cards than to submit themselves to the tortures of intermittent screenings.

EXCERPTS FROM THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER No. 199, APPENDIX A, UNRRA UNITED STATES ZONE HEADQUARTERS, HEIDELBERG

Signed J. H. Whiting, Zone Director

NOVEMBER 11, 1946.

3. REPATRIATION PROGRAM

(1) Each camp will be examined closely by district directors together with their repatriation and eligibility officers with the end in view of the implementations of General Bulletin No. 112 and its references. In many instances it may be advisable to examine camps jointly with the appropriate military authorities. The leaders or residents engaging in antirepatriation activity will be dealt with

in accordance with existing procedure. Leadership taking an adamant anti-repatriation attitude to the extent it influences individual decisions will be transferred to centers containing groups to be nonrepatriable at this time.

(3) In camps where the district directors, district repatriation officers, area directors, and repatriation officers agree that conditions have been so corrected or are under such leadership or influence that corrective action is unnecessary and, therefore, that a repatriation program is possible, small groups of influential persons in the camp will be selected to discuss and consider their repatriation and their responsibility for carrying the discussion forward to the general population of the camps. Soviet liaison officers who are native of most of the area concerned, are now, or will be available. At such time as deemed advisable by the area director meeting with small groups and these officers should be held in accordance with proper procedure to answer questions, provide information, and discuss the mechanics of actual repatriation.

(4) After careful preparation of the ground work (which may include the display and use of statements of General McNarney and Mr. LaGuardia, together with other current information concerning the lack of emigrational opportunities for any significant number of persons and the uncertain plans of the scope of the IRO, meeting with the military and liaison officers concerned), Soviet proclamations, literature, films, and newspapers will be described. Some such material is now available for distribution and additional material has been promised by Soviet officials. Cultural activities will be utilized and turned toward the theme of repatriation, and every opportunity will be utilized by repatriation officers to assist the people in their reevaluation of their life plans and in their serious consideration of taking advantage of repatriation opportunities now offered.

(5) Every advantage must be taken to utilize the sentiments of persons who accept repatriation. This will call for alertness on the part of repatriation officers and area directors. As the program gains momentum the experience of mass appeal already gained in the Polish repatriation drive can be brought to fruition with these nationalities.

The propitious time for the use of emotional devices will be left to the judgment of the district officers and area teams. It is emphasized that the probable inadvisability of using such devices at this time is a matter of judgment by the local administration. The problem facing repatriation officers is one calling for careful planning and penetrating analysis of each camp community, its leadership, and its existing social, psychological, and political controls. The skillful repatriation officer will change the present drift of camp population thinking in terms of fear of returning home and nebulous dreaming of emigration to one of calm consideration of alternatives and acceptance of repatriation.

(8) The advisability of holding mass meeting to consider repatriation, or for the purpose of meeting with Soviet liaison officers, is questionable. Such meetings provide a medium for dissidents, hecklers, and antirepatriation organizers. Unless the ground work is well laid, the meetings may result in emotional mob action perpetrated by antirepatriation elements.

4. POLITICAL AND OTHER QUESTIONS

The effect of rumor, political and otherwise, upon repatriation is well known. This problem must be handled in a rational and objective manner. All questions which are of this nature which are deterring repatriation should be submitted to Soviet liaison officers. Such questions which are not satisfactorily handled in this manner should be channeled through the district repatriation officer to the zone repatriation officer in order that they may be submitted to the Soviet liaison mission for official reply.

5. PROCEDURE FOR OBTAINING SERVICES OF SOVIET LIAISON OFFICERS

D. Any "acts of disorder, violence, disrespect, or insult toward Soviet officers or any other behavior which might incite disorders" is a violation of military government regulations. In accordance with the latter, headquarters, Third United States Army, April 10, 1946, amending A. O. 211 GNMCS subject, Privileges of Soviet Liaison Officers in DP Camps Other Than Wholly Soviet, the area team director shall request the United States military authorities to proceed with arrest on the spot. Such a notice shall be displayed in the appropriate languages in all centers housing the subject nationalities.

(NOTE.—Under the impact of general indignation the above order was withdrawn in January 1947, after having caused, while in force, a great deal of harm and sorrow.—The Editor.)

Mr. FELLOWS. Bishop Mulloy, of Covington, Ky., is present.

We are glad to have you with us, Bishop.

Bishop MULLOY. It is a pleasure to be here, Congressman.

Mr. FELLOWS. We await your pleasure.

Bishop MULLOY. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF MOST REV. WILLIAM T. MULLOY, D. D., BISHOP OF COVINGTON, AND PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE

Bishop MULLOY. The testimony which I submit bespeaks the mind of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, an organization now well established in some 83 of the 108 dioceses in the United States. It represents 83 bishops, 24,570 priests, 91,706 religious, and 13,372,647 lay people in the matter of displaced persons.

To substantiate this claim, I submit a select number of excerpts from letters received by me from the bishops of a cross section of the dioceses of this country. Their sentiments reveal their interest, and their statements testify to their willingness to cooperate in settling the displaced persons on the land, first as hired help, during which apprenticeship they will become thoroughly familiar with American methods of agriculture and adjust themselves to life in the community, and ultimately, having been thoroughly absorbed into the community itself, as renters, and then owners of the land.

It is to be distinctly understood that the National Catholic Rural Life Conference stresses the advisability of locating these people on the land. A survey of the country reveals that on the land itself there are many large houses no longer occupied. These could be fitted up for the occupancy of the displaced people. It is also true that there are a number of old people eager to retire on the land which they own and willing to employ laborers of this kind to assume the work of the farm, be schooled in managership, and later become farm owners.

There has been a policy of some years' standing in certain sections of the country to bring in foreign labor for a period of 4 or 5 months of the year. For the housing of these people provision was made right on the land on which they worked, as, for example, for the Mexicans or the Puerto Ricans transiently hired in some districts.

However, a permanent labor supply for our truck farming and specialized farming, such as sugar beet raising, onion raising, and so forth, could be provided through the displaced people. The time is opportune for such provision, for the discovery of foot-and-mouth diseases among the Mexicans of the South has moved the governments of several States to forbid the importation and transportation of laborers so afflicted.

Consequently, a labor market will be open in these rural areas for displaced peoples with an agricultural background.

In many of the small country towns, moreover, houses are to be found which could be repaired at slight expense and utilized by these people. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference emphatically does not advocate settling these people in cities or in great industrial

centers. The reasons are the housing shortage and the fact that these people themselves have a rural background.

The stand which the Catholic Church has consistently maintained in regard to communism is proverbial. The explanation of her attitude is outlined graphically in the great encyclical letter of the late Pope Pius XI on Atheistic Communism (*Divini Redemptoris*, 1937). The doctrine therein set forth is taught throughout the educational agencies of the Catholic Church. It is her earnest desire to guard against the advance of communism in the United States. Therefore, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, as an agency of the Catholic Church, would urge a very careful screening of all immigrants to our country, particularly in matters relevant to their political and religious ideologies.

It should, however, be borne in mind that these displaced people are unrepatriated and unrepatriable for the precise reason that their own countries are under communistic domination. They will not return to such. A return would mean not only the dereliction of their liberties and their religion, but the voluntary abandonment of life itself. Their determined refusal to return to their native land, despite the fact that they are enduring hardships of every kind, is perhaps the strongest argument that can be advanced in favor of their anticommunistic convictions. Those who have seen the picture with their own eyes testify that the displaced people are enduring unlimited suffering rather than offer sacrifice to the communistic way of life. But again, nevertheless, let me insist that screening be carefully performed.

It is our Christian duty and moral obligation to remove the displaced persons from their present plight. The ultimate basis of all human rights is the natural moral law which is imposed upon all individuals as creatures of God. The law can be known by the use of reason, and is, therefore, binding upon all without exception.

These rights are inalienable; therefore, they cannot be taken from the weak by the strong. They do not depend upon the sufferance of a majority or the whim of rulers. These rights pertain to the individual as a person, to the family, to each nation in its domestic affairs, and to nations as part of the international community.

Among the rights of the human person is the "right of access to the means of livelihood by migration when necessary."

The rights of the state likewise flow from the natural moral law. Among the rights of the states in the international community is the right to grant asylum to refugees from injustice.

The humanitarian considerations which should prompt the absorption of the displaced persons into this country, to be settled upon the land, are incorporated in a statement on displaced persons adopted by the executive committee of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference at a meeting held in Des Moines, Iowa, April 16, 1947, a copy of which is submitted with this testimony.

Now, I am going just to pass over the excerpts and the bishops' letters, but I would like, with your permission, to read the statement of the Conference of Rural Life.

As the second year since the close of the war draws to an end, over 1,200,000 refugees remain in the displacement camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy. The vast majority of these people are unrepatriated and unrepatriable. The western democracies have set

their face against any solution which would force these people to return to the countries of their origin. Conscious of what our Nation has done so far to safeguard the human rights of these displaced persons but seriously concerned about their fate, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, in the words of the resolution adopted at its convention held in Green Bay, Wis., on October 11-16, 1946—

strongly urges that fundamental principles of justice and charity and the long recognized practice of offering asylum to those not guilty of crime be adhered to in our day.

The conference heartily endorses the policy of our Government which refuses to cooperate in any plan to surrender displaced persons, without previous trial, to the totalitarian regime from which they flee. The ideology dominating the government in the countries of their origin conceives as criminal anyone whose declared political or religious convictions are in disagreement with those of the party in power. To act toward these unfortunates as if the word "justice" had the same meaning for us as it does for them when they fear would be to betray our democratic ideal and to abandon our respect for human rights.

Under present conditions, which we seem powerless to change, no satisfactory solution of the problem of the displaced persons can be found save in resettlement and naturalization elsewhere, preferably in countries outside of Europe. The countries in which they now reside are in no position to absorb them; the straitened domestic economy alone of these countries suffices to reveal that fact. In the case of Germany particularly considerable harm has even now resulted from the overburdening with millions of deportees a country whose national boundaries have been restricted. The addition of nearly a million refugees would make even more difficult the reconstruction of the economy and the establishment of peace. Upon the United States, therefore, and other nations with excess resources, territory, and opportunity, devolves the duty to open their doors to those homeless people.

The conference urges at least the temporary modification of our immigration laws to permit the admission of worthy refugees without regard to national origin. It presupposes, of course, that due precaution be taken to separate the worthy from the unworthy so that those alone be admitted who are not likely to undermine our democratic ideals and institutions. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference favors the bill sponsored by the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, and, with this committee, urges prompt passage of the necessary legislation.

The conference is convinced that the admission of these displaced persons to the United States can be effected without undue strain upon our domestic economy, without injustice to our veterans, and without aggravation of the housing situation. Our proportionate share of 400,000 of these people is not a large number in view of the size and resources of our country. The number means somewhat less than 100,000 families, many of whom would be cared for by relatives, friends, or others willing to assume responsibility, during the period of readjustment, for their housing and employment. Since many of the displaced persons are rural people, it is highly desirable that they be directed to the land and away from our congested cities. To

see what those known to be prepared for such a life be so directed should be a fixed policy of our Government.

The conference, on its part, promises support to all efforts in the resettlement of displaced families on the land. It has received pledges from various dioceses and individuals to assume out of a sense of charity and justice the responsibility for absorption of definite numbers of these rural families. Some localities in our Nation suffer from a lack of agricultural workers. In many instances older farmers are eager to retire from active farming carried on during the war. In fact, the practice of importing farm laborers from neighboring countries and the West Indies is still followed, despite the passing of the war emergency. The conference feels that a much more satisfactory and permanent solution of the shortage of agricultural labor could be reached by the employment of displaced rural workers in dire need of resettlement and security.

We reassert our statement that the absorption in our countryside of these displaced rural families will in no way aggravate the housing situation nor cause unemployment. We have this pledge and assurance from our own priests and bishops who are in daily contact with rural people and who are eager to solve the housing problem in cities, towns, and country. They tell us that the charitable spirit of their parishioners will find a way to give shelter to the unfortunate displaced people. This will be especially feasible in large rural homes located at a distance from towns and cities, where only two or three persons now occupy such residences.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference urges upon our Congress the prompt appropriation of funds for the budget of the International Refugee Organization. This organization is charged with the responsibility of caring for the displaced persons during the period intervening until a satisfactory solution be found through resettlement. It is obvious that some such international agency is needed to care for these hapless people once the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which has supported most of the camps, goes out of existence. Provision must be made in time.

Reaffirming the stand taken in its resolution adopted at Green Bay, the conference again urges that, in addition to temporary relief to refugees, the permanent immigration policy be re-examined. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference affirms that the least that can be done in defense of human rights at this time is to provide shelter within our shores for the deserving victims of totalitarian persecution. This objective can and must be achieved by passage of temporary legislation on immigration. It should not be delayed by examination of or disputes about permanent immigration policy.

Mr. CELLER. Bishop, I take it that the bishops represented by the National Rural Life Conference cover practically the whole country, do they not?

Bishop MULLOY. Yes.

And since that time, Congressman, I have had 12 other letters, among them a very powerful letter from the Archbishop of Boston, since my submitting of this statement here.

Mr. CELLER. I am very much struck with the excerpts of the letters which you have received from the bishops, which clearly indicate their earnest desire to cooperate, on the part of the Catholic Church.

Bishop MULLOY. Yes; and I have been informed by the National Welfare Board that the entire Conference is with me in this statement that I am making before this congressional committee.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. CHELF. I might offer this in the way of comment, Your Excellency, that I think it is a very fine thought that is being followed here, to try to provide homes to give shelter to these unfortunate people, out in the rural communities and in sections, as I see it, where I think they are most needed—

Bishop MULLOY. Thank you very kindly.

That is right.

Mr. CHELF. So as to relieve the congested areas in the cities.

Bishop MULLOY. That is right.

Mr. CHELF. As I understand it, that has been a great objection raised to this bill, that there will be too much concentration of foreign elements within the large cities.

Bishop MULLOY. That is right. And we do not advocate settling these people in large groups of one nationality, but scattering them out through the countryside to be absorbed in America as quickly as possible, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. How are you going to do that, Bishop?

Bishop MULLOY. You see, Congressman, we have in the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, a set-up in each individual diocese, and that set-up will work the problem out in conjunction with the other agencies of other religious groups and private agencies, or even State agencies, to secure first of all places for these people.

You see, many of these displaced people have relatives in this country already. They are willing to take them in.

Others, particularly in the rural areas, where they have large farms, they need labor.

There are still other places, for example, in your rural communities. Take the matter of servant girls, for example, the matter of help in your hospitals, your large institutions, and so on, where it is practically impossible now to get help of any kind.

Now, these in the small rural areas and on your farms would offer a fine opportunity for those people to receive employment and to make them almost self-sustaining and that agency of ours would work with any other agency in actually securing the places so that if this bill became a law, you understand our convention on it, that we just ask the present Stratton bill, to absorb—not to change your present legislation, but to absorb the unused quotas and redistribute these quotas to the nations that have had a small quota in the past and that form the largest part of your displaced peoples now, and then have them absorbed into the United States as readily as possible through local agencies there.

Mr. CELLER. I am familiar. Bishop, with the Jewish Agricultural Society which seeks to place those who come from foreign parts into rural areas.

Bishop MULLOY. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. And I am sure that your organization, of course, works on a much larger scale, because you have many more involved, but

I know the great work that the Jewish Agricultural Society has been doing and will continue to do.

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you very much, sir.

Bishop MULLOY. Thank you, Congressman.

(The following was submitted for the record:)

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS RECEIVED FROM THE BISHOPS OF 17 DIOCESES OF THE UNITED STATES IN REFERENCE TO DISPLACED PERSONS

1. *Bishop Peter W. Bartholome*, coadjutor bishop of St. Cloud, Minn.: Several families could be located in the homes of our 12 Polish parishes in rural areas of the Diocese of St. Cloud.

2. *Bishop J. E. Bennett*, of Lafayette, Ind.: I shall do all I can here in Lafayette Diocese. The following groupings would be of help: Farmers: owner-operators of farms; farm laborers, using entire families for this purpose. Institutions: hospitals, seminaries, colleges and schools, rectories and churches. These would absorb many of these people.

3. *Bishop Leo Binz*, coadjutor bishop of Winona, Minn.: Be assured that Winona will not let you down on anything you would venture to undertake.

4. *Bishop William J. Condon*, of Great Falls, Mont.: I am confident there are any number of farm families where employment could be had until more permanent arrangements could be made.

5. *Bishop C. P. Greco*, Alexandria, La.: I am heartily in accord with this project. I am most willing to do everything I can here in the Diocese of Alexandria.

6. *Bishop Joseph M. Gilmore*, of Helena, Mont.: You have my best wishes for the success of your efforts to relocate some of the displaced people of the war-torn areas of Europe. You are assured of all possible cooperation.

7. *Bishop William A. Griffin*, of Trenton, N. J.: With the assurance of all the help I can give * * *

8. *Bishop Louis B. Kucera*, of Lincoln, Nebr.: The Diocese of Lincoln will be prepared to do its share in the effort that is being made to rehabilitate these displaced people.

9. *Bishop Aloisius J. Muench*, of Fargo, N. Dak.: The Diocese of Fargo is also prepared to do its share to give hospitality to many such immigrants to look for a new future in the rich opportunities of our land.

10. *Archbishop John G. Murray*, of St. Paul, Minn.: I volunteer to sponsor: 1,000 families from Bohemia with rural background, 500 families from France with rural background, 500 families from Italy with rural background, 300 families from Flemish area of Belgium with rural background, 1,000 families from Poland with industrial background, and 300 families from Slovakia with industrial background.

11. *Bishop John K. Mussio*, of Steubenville, Ohio: I hasten to answer your letter of December 23, to assure you of the wholehearted support and cooperation of the Diocese of Steubenville.

12. *Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara*, of Kansas City, Mo.: For our own diocese we shall gladly cooperate in this important work.

13. *Archbishop Elmer J. Ritter*, of St. Louis, Mo.: I heartily approve of the plan * * * I shall study the matter further, along with the diocesan directors, and advise you further.

14. *Bishop Vincent J. Ryan*, of Bismarck, N. Dak.: I commend the action of the committee and will do everything I can to cooperate.

15. *Archbishop Paul C. Schulte*, of Indianapolis: If I can be of any help whatsoever, feel free to call on me.

16. *Bishop Charles D. White*, of Spokane: A few of our farm people would be willing to give employment to Polish or Lithuanian people * * * It would doubtless be prudent for the project out here to start in a small way.

17. *Rev. J. F. Frommherz*, of Assumption, Ohio (Diocese of Toledo, Ohio): Every one of our rural parishes could use some families for agricultural labor. Here at Assumption we could use some 30 families, especially people from the eastern part of Germany.

Mr. FELLOWS. I want to incorporate into the record at this point, without any objection, a telegram from the group of American citizens serving with occupational forces.

Also a statement submitted by Congressman Worley, of Texas;

Also a resolution of the Amarillo Council 1450, of the Knights of Columbus;

Also a statement by Mr. O'Neal of the American Farm Bureau Federation;

Also a statement filed by William C. Gausmann, Washington representative of the Socialist Party;

Also, a communication from the national board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

FRANKFURT, June 5, 1947

CHAIRMAN, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,

House of Representatives, United States Congress, Washington, D. C.:

The signatories of this cable are American citizens serving with occupation forces and attached agencies in Germany. Stepping out of their official capacities they wish to express as private citizens their views on the H. R. 2910 bill on immigration of displaced persons.

Those who sign here have had responsibilities and contact with United Nations displaced persons and refugees in Germany, in some instances since the days of liberation they have come to know intimately the thousands of individual tragedies wrought by dictatorship and aggression. They have come to know the qualities of character and culture, of innumerable skills and talents, and of the tenacious desire for individual usefulness which prevail among them; the deprivation of human rights, the disruption of families, the confiscation of personal property, and the cruelties of bestial terror and violence of which these people are the victims are afflictions which have not, and God willing shall not, encroach upon our American shores. America has shown the world how quickly and how powerfully it can and will rise in defense against such human degradation. Let America then rise in peace as in war as a champion of human rights by doing what is easily within its power to do by restoring to these worthy people the spiritual values of democratic freedom and self-determination by opening the gates of immigration to our country where through the inexhaustible American heart they may again find a useful place in society.

Let the American people raise the beacon of welcome liberty and freedom so high that it will undeniably light the way to a new horizon in humanity. The Americans who sign here urge the Congress of the United States to pass the emergency temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act with all possible speed.

Alex E. Squadrilli, Executive, Displaced Persons Branch, Civil Affairs Division, European Command; Eric M. Hughes, Chief, Processing Section, Displaced Persons Branch, Civil Affairs Division, European Command; Paul J. McCormack, Chief, Repatriation Resettlement, Displaced Persons Branch, Civil Affairs Division, European Command; Eleanor Fait, Information Officer, Civil Affairs Division, European Command; Elliott M. Shirk, Director, Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, United States Zone, Germany; George C. Carl, Chief, Supply Control Branch, Civil Affairs Division, European Command; Donald A. Hyde, Chief, UNRRA Headquarters, Civil Affairs Division, European Command; Lucile D. Newton, Special Representative, American Red Cross, Civil Affairs Division, European Command; Marguerite R. Yost, Reporter, Occupation Chronicle, I and E Division, European Command; A. J. Muench, Bishop of Fargo and Director Vatican Group for Displaced Persons in Germany.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 26, 1947.

HON. EARL C. MICHENER,
Chairman, Judiciary Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Enclosed is a letter and resolution referring to H. R. 2910 and which I have just received from the Reverend James E. Fitzgerald, chairman, committee in re Knights of Columbus, Council 1450, box 2009, Amarillo, Tex.

I understand hearings are scheduled before the immigration subcommittee on June 4 and I am submitting the enclosure for the consideration of the committee.

Sincerely yours,

GENE WORLEY.

AMARILLO, TEX., May 22, 1947.

The Honorable EUGENE WORLEY,
Representative, Eighteenth District of Texas,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WORLEY: It is with the utmost sincerity that we ask you to use every effort to favorably pass that bill before the House of Representatives dealing with displaced persons and numbered H. R. 2910.

Herewith we are attaching a resolution passed unanimously by Amarillo Council 1450 of the Knights of Columbus, and we would ask that you give it your careful consideration.

Your support of the above-named bill will be greatly appreciated, and indicative of your continued sentiments for maintaining the prerogatives of the "four freedoms."

Trusting you will make every effort to successfully pass the displaced persons bill. I remain,

Very truly yours,

(Rev.) JAMES E. FITZGERALD,
Chairman, Committee in re Knights of Columbus,
Council 1450, Amarillo, Tex.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE DISPLACED PERSONS BILL

The Amarillo Council 1450 of the Knight of Columbus in meeting assembled, Monday, May 19, 1947, unanimously passed the following resolution: Be it

Resolved, That we view with great concern and strongly oppose the determined attempt on the part of those enemies of democracy who would set aside the displaced persons bill, which seeks to aid those unfortunate peoples of Europe seeking to find refuge in lands where they might enjoy the declared prerogatives of the "four freedoms"; be it further

Resolved, That the present trend of our policy seems to be a complete reversal of the statement of President Truman, December 22, 1945, at which time the President reaffirmed the traditional American stand and indicated our good faith by ordering several Federal agencies to take all necessary steps to expedite immigration. With the admission of a handful of refugees, even our contribution to a practical solution came to a halt; be it

Resolved further, That we vehemently denounce an incredible development of attitude on the part of the United States recently evidenced. Two announcements, made simultaneously by our Army headquarters in Germany, and the Director of the UNRRA, indicate an abandonment of our previous position. Substantially, both pronouncements presented these victims of war with a single alternative to starvation, namely, return to their homelands, where they face certain death as "enemies of the state." Thus the United States embarks upon a refugee program which is in sharp contrast with its foreign policy as formulated by President Truman; be it further

Resolved, That our elected representatives in the Congress of the United States should do all in their power to pass the displaced persons bill, shortly

to come up for consideration. Failure to pass this bill will indicate the mockery of our claims to support the doctrine of the "four freedoms," and lend our support to the ideas of a foreign government diametrically opposed to our own; be it therefore finally

Resolved, That in order to insure the right of sanctuary, and in order to positively oppose any forced repatriation, we of the Amarillo Council 1450 of the Knights of Columbus, urgently ask the full support of our elected representatives in the United States Congress to vote favorably on the displaced persons bill, thus repudiating the forces of communism, and justly upholding the prerogatives stemming from the "four freedoms."

REV. JAMES E. FITZGERALD,
JAYNES A. CLONINGER,
E. GALE O'BRIEN,
Committee.

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Washington, D. C., June 10, 1947.

HON. FRANK FELLOWS;
*Chairman Subcommittee on Immigration,
Committee on the Judiciary,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN FELLOWS: I regret that I will be unable to appear before your committee in behalf of the objectives of H. R. 2910, to authorize the United States to undertake its fair share in resettlement of displaced persons.

I wish to respectfully request that my statement which is attached hereto be brought to the attention of the committee and incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. O'NEAL, *President.*

STATEMENT OF EDWARD A. O'NEAL, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, CONCERNING H. R. 2910, TO AUTHORIZE THE UNITED STATES TO UNDERTAKE ITS FAIR SHARE IN RESETTLEMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS, JUNE 13, 1947

With confusion and unrest prevailing throughout the world, and much of humanity despairingly searching for some bedrock of principle upon which they may place their trust; the American Farm Bureau Federation believes that the United States, which emerged from the war as the leading Nation of the world, must assume the fateful responsibility of world leadership.

With this ideal in the hearts of the American farmer, the voting delegates of the federation at their annual meeting, held last December in San Francisco, adopted as part of their program on international cooperation the following policy concerning displaced persons:

"We sympathize with the pitiful plight of hundreds of thousands of persons displaced and made homeless during and after the war. We urge that careful consideration be given to the solution of this problem."

Implementing this annual meeting resolution, the board of directors of the American Farm Bureau Federation last March directed me, as president of the federation, to cooperate in the rehabilitation in the United States of 400,000 of these war victims who dared to oppose either Communist or Fascist dictatorships and were thus forced to flee their homes. These are men and women who found religious and political freedom more precious than security. They are not criminals, nor the dregs of European society. Yet they are without hope and without home. They are worthy of our humanitarian interest.

Our forefathers were immigrants. They left their homelands for one reason or another because of oppression or to seek greater opportunity—or whatever the reason might have been—they came to the United States. It is their children and their grandchildren, down through the years, who have managed our great corporations and labored on our farms and in our industry. They have built America, they have helped to make it great, and they have served it well in times of great national need.

The displaced persons, many of them women and children, cannot stay forever in camps, in which they are presently gathered. Many of them are afraid to return to their homes in Communist-dominated countries. They cannot be abandoned to starve. They cannot all be forced on other countries without our giving shelter to some. We cannot longer ignore our international responsibilities or our moral obligation concerning these people.

Although the great contributions of immigration to the development of our country are widely recognized, fears regarding the economic effects of immigration are sometimes expressed. Especially during times of depression is hostility toward the newcomer expressed, yet statistics show that during the last depression more immigrants returned home than entered this country. Few individuals expressing resentment toward immigrants realize that since a restrictive immigration policy was adopted by our country some 20 years ago, the stream of immigration has been cut to the point where it represents only a minute increase to our population.

The immigrants admitted to our country in recent years have been extremely few. Since the adoption of quotas, the yearly limit to immigration from quota countries is about 150,000 a year. Since 1930 these quotas have never been filled, chiefly because of the depression and World War II, which have marked the intervening period. Economic history shows that many of these newcomers played an important part in the continued progress of our country. Before these people arrive they will have been screened to make sure that undesirables will not reach our shores.

The absorption of these foreign war victims in the United States is a humanitarian obligation of all segments of our economy—agriculture included. Many of these displaced individuals are from rural areas and we cannot help but feel that those who have the love of the land at heart will, over the years, make a substantial contribution to the American way of life. As in the past, others will make real contributions to the sciences, the professions, in management, and in labor. The gratitude of these people will be undying. America, too, should have much to gain in meeting its responsibility with respect to these people who have made great sacrifices in opposing dictatorship of World War II.

On behalf of the American Farm Bureau Federation, I wish to endorse the objectives of H. R. 2910, and respectfully request that this statement be made part of the hearings on the bill when it is considered by the House Committee on the Judiciary.

**STATEMENT FILED BY WILLIAM C. GAUSMANN, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY, IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2910**

The Socialist Party heartily endorses this bill to permit the entry into the United States of 400,000 of the millions of Europeans who were uprooted in the war against fascism.

We who are often among the critics of the foreign policies of the administration have applauded the protection that the United States Government has given to those displaced persons who for reasons well known to all have been unwilling to return to their lands of origin. Now the United States, and the world, must face up to the problem of what these people are to be allowed to make of their lives. Certainly they cannot sit life out in the barracks and huts of the camps. It is the manifest obligation of those nations which were not ravaged by war to provide permanent homes for them.

Careful estimates which have been presented to you gentlemen demonstrated that when wealth, degree of industrialization, density of population all are considered 400,000 is no more than America's fair share of the burden.

So persistent has been the propaganda against our doing our minimum humanitarian duty that I find myself using the word "burden." In fact these people will be assets, not burdens to us. They are people who have known and rejected totalitarianism. Most of them are skilled artisans or agricultural workers. The rest are men and women of high education whose understanding of the problems of our day has made them anathema to the proponents of dictatorship who rule their lands.

Attempts have been made to convince our people that immigration would result in unemployment, that either those refugees would become public charges, or they would take jobs away from American workers. This is absurd. We suffer from a shortage of field labor today, and may of the immigrants to be admitted under

this bill are farm workers. In any event, we need not fear unemployment unless our Government and our people have resigned themselves to the threat of a general depression. This fact is well understood by the AFL and CIO. They have given careful consideration to the relationship between immigration and employment, and have concluded that an expanding population and an expanding economy go hand in hand.

About the only argument used against this bill that is not factually incorrect is that the displaced persons are not Anglo-Saxons. But this is not an argument at all. It is an appeal to base and un-American prejudice. For egenerations now the bulk of the men who have done the basic work of America in the mines and mills of the North and the Middle West have not been Anglo-Saxons. To a degree that should cause those of us who are of "old American stock" to blush, it has been the newer immigrants who have enriched American cultural and intellectual life. American civilization and American industry have grown together as over the decades people from many lands have found refuge here from oppression and want. It is not always easy to say positively what ideas are or are not parts of the American tradition. But certainly the notion that this is an exclusive country, a country in which a person has to have a pedigree to be considered a worth-while citizen, is not a part of the traditional American democratic philosophy.

This country as never before is on trial in the eyes of mankind. In the dilemmas of the postwar world people everywhere ask whether or not America can offer solutions to a complexity of problems. Can we implement our idealism? We wish to save the world from the threat of totalitaranism, but have we anything positive to offer? Failure to pass this bill would be an indication that we have not, that we do not trust ourselves even to solve the problem of integrating 400,000 people into our society. We can make promises, but we cannot in the simplest terms help people. Its passage would be an affirmation of our democracy, and a token of our concern for the peoples of the world.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN
ASSOCIATIONS, OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., June 4, 1947.

Representative FRANK FELLOWS,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration,
House of Representatives, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is a statement from the National Board of the YWCA endorsing H. R. 2910, which includes sections of our letter dated May 23, 1947.

We were gratified to learn that hearings on this bill have opened, and respectfully request that the enclosed statement be incorporated in the record of these hearings.

We trust that your subcommittee and the Judiciary Committee will approve H. R. 2910, and that prompt and favorable action will be taken by the House itself.

Very sincerely yours,

CONSTANCE W. ANDERSON,
Mrs. Arthur Forrest Anderson,
President.

STATEMENT ON H. R. 2910 AUTHORIZING AS AN EMERGENCY MEASURE ADMISSION BY THE UNITED STATES OF ITS FAIR SHARE OF DISPLACED PERSONS

On May 14, 1947, the executive committee of the National Board of the YWCA endorsed the displaced-persons bill, H. R. 2910. They did so after giving careful consideration for a number of months to the whole question of the plight of the thousands of unfortunate persons who are waiting to be released from camps in Europe and who are seeking refuge in this and other lands.

For many years our organization has worked actively for the liberalization of our immigration laws so as to prevent unnecessary hardship and injustice to individuals, and they reaffirmed that position at the triennial convention held in Atlantic City in March 1946. The YWCA's interest in persons from other countries is in no way academic. It stems from a long history of working with the foreign born in this country, knowing their problems intimately, and being aware of the great contribution which they have made to the culture and economy of the United States.

In addition we are an international organization. The YWCA exists in 65 countries. Many of our American staff members are working in those

countries. Some of them have first-hand knowledge of the displaced-persons camps and know the problems faced by the men, women, and children detained there.

These people have been waiting for 2 years for a chance to begin a new way of life. Before that time all of us know they faced untold horrors and cruelty. We know that bringing them relief is a world problem. We are also sure, however, that it is part of America's responsibility to take a share in that relief.

It is our considered opinion that the persons admitted to the United States under the proposed bill can be readily assimilated into our economy. We were particularly impressed with the figures obtained through an UNRRA survey last summer listing occupations of displaced persons, as reported in the Foreign Affairs Background Survey on the IRO published by the Department of State in March 1947. Among the farmers, construction, household, and personal service workers, there are undoubtedly many who could meet unemployment needs in the United States.

Attached is a letter sent to each YWCA in the United States on February 14, 1947, entitled "Admission of Displaced Persons into the United States." Pages 4 to 5 discuss some of the arguments which have been raised against admission of displaced persons including those related to housing and employment. We then made suggestions for activities by YWCA's, and have received reports showing interest in and concern for admission of displaced persons. We will assist YWCA's to cooperate in the efforts of their communities to help fit new arrivals into American life.

FEBRUARY 14, 1947.

To: Executive directors and persons responsible for public affairs.

From: Mrs. Alfred E. Mudge, chairman, public affairs committee.

ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

President Truman's message to Congress on the state of the Union made on January 6, 1947, has reopened the question of action by the United States to meet our responsibilities to displaced persons. After stating that we can be proud of relief shipments to hungry people,¹ the President said:

"However, insofar as admitting displaced persons is concerned, I do not think that the United States has done its part. Only about 5,000 of them have entered this country since May 1946. The fact is that the executive agencies are now doing all that is reasonably possible under limitations of the existing law and established quota. And definite assistance in the form of new legislation is needed. I urge the Congress to turn its attention to this world problem in an effort to find ways whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

The following letter explains action which the public affairs committee has already taken on this question:

DECEMBER 23, 1946.

President HARRY S. TRUMAN,

The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At its two most recent meetings, the public affairs committee of the National Board, Y. W. C. A., discussed thoroughly the question of displaced persons. On December 18, the committee voted its support of your position, as stated on October 4, 1946, as well as on previous occasions, in favor of the liberalization of our immigration laws with a view to the admission of displaced persons. The committee warmly approved your intention "to make such a recommendation to the Congress and to continue as energetically as possible collaboration with other countries on the whole problem of displaced persons."

The committee's position stems from convention action by the Y. W. C. A.'s of the United States of America urging immigration policies "based not only on our own needs but also on human welfare." We agree with your statement of a year ago that the proposed action is needed both to relieve human misery and to set an example to other countries which are able to receive some of these war sufferers. We believe that the people admitted under liberalized quotas can be assimilated into our economy.

We will send to each Y. W. C. A. information on the question of displaced persons in relation to our immigration policies, and we will do everything possible to develop a public opinion favorable to the liberalization of our immigration

¹ Congressional appropriations will be needed to continue relief shipments. Many of us are not proud of our record. Watch for developments and prepare to take action.

quotas. We will appreciate any suggestions which you may make available to us and we offer our sincere hope that your views will be approved by the Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

MRS. ALFRED E. MUDGE,
Chairman, Public Affairs Committee.

The enclosed memorandum on displaced persons should help answer some of your questions. It was prepared by the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, headed by Earl G. Harrison, formerly United States Immigration Commissioner. See also the reference list, and note especially material in the *Woman's Press*. Watch for new materials and changes in the current situation. The following information may be useful to you and we will be glad to answer your inquiries to the best of our ability. Please let us know what you do.

1. What alternatives face displaced persons?

(a) *Staying in camps.*—While most of UNRRA's operations are ending now, it will maintain DP camps until the end of June 1947, when it is hoped that the International Refugee Organization (whose charter was drawn up at the recent session of the General Assembly) will be functioning. Unless 15 countries, representing 75 percent of IRO's budget, ratify the charter, occupation armies will operate the camps. Skills have been learned in the camps but see below, page 5, on the dangers of keeping DP's there.

(b) *Breaking up the camps and leaving the people on their own.*—Which is recognized as impossible especially in view of conditions in Germany, Austria, and Italy.

(c) *Repatriation.*—This is to be the "first effort" of IRO, but not much more repatriation can be expected. About 7,000,000 uprooted people have returned to their homes.

(d) *Resettlement.*—IRO will negotiate agreements with various nations, applicable only to those persons "who for valid reasons do not wish to return to their countries of origin." Its operating budget is \$156,150,000 for the first year, with our share 47.75 percent. A 3- to 10-year job is contemplated. IRO will also supervise resettlement, with additional funds required for transportation and other costs.

2. Where can they resettle?

It seems logical for these people to resettle in other European countries in view of the great need for repairing the war's devastation. Steps in this direction have already been made. Belgium plans to admit 20,000 displaced persons as coal miners, who will be allowed to bring in their families after a 3-month trial period—some 50,000 to 60,000 persons in all. The British Ministry of Labor and the Trades Union Congress are discussing admission of large numbers of refugees selected on the basis of their skills and general suitability for working in Britain's most seriously undermanned industries—coal, foundries, textiles, and agriculture. These plans are only in early stages and if they work out it will take time. Whether much more can be done in European countries is doubtful. Few DP's have friends or relatives in other European countries, so resettlement could only be on a wholesale basis. In spite of labor shortages, such a step would further weaken the creaking economies of these countries. In addition, countries such as France and Sweden, which would like to accept DP's are afraid of arousing Russian antagonism. It is generally admitted that groups who fled from Russia after World War I became centers of disaffection against her. Europe, crowded and politically unstable, does not seem in the long run a suitable haven for large numbers of DP's. The alternative is those less populated countries which customarily receive immigrants, and which were not ravaged by war.

You will note that the enclosed memorandum suggests that the fair share for the United States is about 400,000 DP's. This is based on the proportion our population bears to the total population of 11 potential immigrant-receiving countries. The others are: Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Canada,² Union of South Africa, Australia, Sweden, Chile, Cuba, and New Zealand. On this computation, our share is 51 percent, that of the five Latin-American countries 34.5 percent, that of the British Commonwealth 12.5 percent, and Sweden's 2.5 percent. The total of 400,000 amounts to 0.003 percent of our population. If area and resources were also taken into account, the shares of other countries might be increased, but the United States can assimilate immigrants more easily because our economy

² Canada plans to admit 1,000 Mennonites who can obtain affidavits from relatives there. These religious pacifists fled from Russia.

is more advanced than that of most nations. In addition, many have friends or relatives in the United States who can assist them, and religious or other humanitarian agencies and nationality groups are prepared to help them adjust to life here. The possibility of immigration into Alaska is now being studied.

3. *Possible admission under United States immigration laws*

The enclosed memorandum gives the necessary information concerning quotas under the national origins plan and explains why our present laws do not allow us to fulfill more than a fraction of our obligations to DP's. Note especially the figures in the third paragraph of page 1 of the memorandum, showing the number of DP's in the five largest national groups in relation to quotas. See also the graphic explanation in the enclosed cartoon booklet, *The Face at the Window*.

Changes in our immigration laws are essential if we are even to approach doing our share. No one proposes admitting a number like 400,000 at one time or even in 1 year. However, this figure is roughly the same as the unused quotas for the years 1944, 1945, and 1946.³ Therefore, emergency legislation is proposed by many groups, providing for the recapture of a definite number of lost quotas to allow displaced persons, regardless of their country of origin, to come here. As the memorandum explains, this might be done over a period of 3 years, with an average limit of 150,000 a year. The Federal Council of Churches is one of the organizations supporting such a 3-year plan.⁴ The Citizens Committee has recently proposed admitting 400,000 over a 4-year period. Immigration of persons other than DP's would continue under the regular quota system, and after the emergency period we would revert to that system unless it is revised.

4. *Some answers to arguments against admission of DP's*

(a) *Charges of "undesirability"*—(1) *Individually*.—Immigrants are carefully screened—physically, mentally, and morally—by our immigration authorities, and safeguards will be written into new legislation. Many DP's want to come because they love freedom, and thus they could strengthen our democracy. (2) *Economically*.—Affidavits of friends or relatives are required, assuring that the person admitted will not become a public charge. Some organizations, such as Church World Service, are allowed by our Government to make corporate affidavits. In addition, as the memorandum points out, there would be little competition with our workers. It should be remembered that there will be no large group of any nationality settling in one spot. The work of voluntary agencies in helping immigrants locate in areas where workers are needed, and then aiding their assimilation, is of tremendous importance. (3) *From the standpoint of our population statistics*.—It has been pointed out that our population is likely to be stationary by 1970, in contrast to some other nations which are growing, and hence that it may be well to build for the future.

(b) *How about the housing situation?*—It does not seem fair to use our failure to provide homes for veterans and others as the basis for denying entry to a limited number of DP's who have suffered so greatly. Instead, we should redouble our efforts to provide more and better homes. Several factors weaken arguments based on the housing shortage. (1) Immigrants would arrive over a fairly long period of time, and the housing situation should begin to improve. (2) Many would go to rural areas where the housing shortage may not be so acute and where there are buildings which can be repaired and reconditioned. This has already been done in some areas by construction workers who came to this country under quotas. Some new arrivals would no doubt double up with friends and relatives, and will probably have to do so, undesirable though this may be. It is doubtful whether many landlords would give priority to immigrants over veterans. (3) There is a possibility of providing temporary shelters, such as used Army camps in areas needing workers. New laws admitting DP's may require evidence that they have obtained a place to live.

(c) *Shouldn't we look out for ourselves first?*—Actually, it is to our own interest to help people out of DP camps where through no fault of their own they deteriorate and act as a drag on the economy of Europe. Restless, hopeless people cannot help to create an atmosphere where peace will flourish. Anne

³ In no year since 1930 has a majority of the quotas been used—due first to the depression and then to the war. In 1943, only 5.9 percent of the quotas was used, the lowest of the war years.

⁴ The Federal Council considers our fair share to be not more than half of the unrepatriables and not less than "half of the difference between those admissible under the quota law during the war years and those who actually entered." From 1941 to 1945, about 700,000 quotas were unused.

O'Hare McCormick has referred to the camps as "the saddest waiting rooms in the world—and the most shameful as the aftermath of a war fought to re-establish the rights and dignity of man." Spreading people who are antagonistic to Russia around the world is far from ideal, but as long as they remain in the camps there is an added cause of suspicion between Russia and the western Allies. Some Russian charges of activities hostile to her in the camps may be true, and the sooner the camps can be closed the better. Any steps toward elimination of problems in Europe will help get the Continent back on its feet. This will aid both peace and our own trade with Europe, which is important to our prosperity.

In addition to this, we have obligations to war-torn peoples which are human, moral, and religious. If we make clear our intent to do our share, it will encourage other nations which can absorb immigrants to do likewise.⁵

5. What can YWCA's do?

The facts on this question are known by few Americans. The first job is to spread accurate information, and to be ready to answer all arguments. See resource list on page 7.

Be sure to reach each constituency group, and plan a membership meeting on the subject. If each YWCA member is enlightened on this question and will talk with her family and friends, much can be accomplished.

Make copies of useful material available on reading tables and in public libraries.

Order additional copies of the enclosed picture booklet, *The Face at the Window*. They are obtainable from Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., for 4 cents each, or \$4 per hundred.

Many organizations are sending materials and suggestions for community action to local units. Work with other groups—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, men's and women's organizations, business and labor groups, social welfare organizations, etc.

The objectives are to inform the community and to build support for liberalizing immigration quotas. To do this effectively, a local committee may be needed. Such a committee should keep in touch with the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 147 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., for help in the form of materials and organization of local campaigns.

The size of the job should not be underestimated. President Truman's mail has been running 7 to 1 against increasing immigration, and bills restricting immigration have already been introduced in the Eightieth Congress. Be sure to get as many letters as possible to the President and to Senators and Congressmen, now and when bills are introduced.

Letters should also urge that the United States ratify the IRO charter promptly, and make its appropriation. Our share in the operating and administrative budgets is \$71,030,000—one-fifth of 1 percent of our national budget. We may also be asked to make an additional appropriation for permanent resettlement operations.

Helping to change our immigration laws is only part of the job. Each community should make a survey of what workers are needed and what living quarters are available, and contact organizations helping to assimilate refugees. The Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons will offer suggestions on organizations which can help in this. Once immigrants have arrived, we should help them fit into American life in every way that we can, remembering that each is an individual human being, with the same aspirations and the same Father as ourselves.

MATERIALS AVAILABLE

1. Documents

Refugees and Displaced Persons—Background Information, October 1946. Free from Group Relations Section, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State, Washington, D. C., or your local distribution point.

⁵ Inquiries on the number of DP's that countries would admit were made some time ago by UNRRA and the UN Economic and Social Council with little promised. Canada was reformulating her immigration policies, but Australia and New Zealand did not foresee admitting many DP's in the near future. The United Kingdom will admit relatives of residents and the Union of South Africa is prepared to take 5,000 war orphans. Brazil at first planned to accept 100,000 to 200,000 but later reduced the number. The Dominican Republic has agreed to accept about 500 families and may take 100,000 immigrants. Colombia is prepared to welcome, subject to certain conditions, a steady flow of productive and domestic workers. Peru agreed to study the question carefully and sympathetically, and Costa Rica and El Salvador said they were unable to take any refugees. See UN Weekly Bulletin, September 23, 1946, p. 4. For more recent developments see above, p. 3.

Hearings of H. R. 3663, parts I and II (Gossett bill, which would have cut immigration quotas in half). Free from House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Question of Refugees (Report of the Economic and Social Council and Consideration of the Constitution of the IRO): Free from Department of Public Information, United Nations, Lake Success, N. Y.

2. *Woman's press*

The American Citizen's Responsibility for Displaced Persons, Hazel G. Ormsbee, February 1947, page 36. See also News and Views, same issue, page 4, and November 1946, page 6. Watch for Spring Comes to Displaced Persons, March 1947.

3. *Pamphlets*

Europe's Homeless Millions, Fred K. Koehler; 25 cents from Foreign Policy Association, 22 East Thirty-eighth Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Shall We Open Our Doors to the Refugees? (Talk It Over, series G-115); 10 cents from National Institute of Social Relations, 1029 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

Displaced Persons and United States Immigration Policy (memo); 10 cents from League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place NW., Washington 6, D. C.

What Shall We Do About Immigration? Maurice R. Davie, and The Refugees Are Now Americans, Maurice R. Davie and Samuel Koenig; 10 cents each from Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Should the United States Open Its Doors to Displaced Persons Now? Town Meeting Bulletin, October 31, 1946; 10 cents from 123 West Forty-third Street, New York 18, N. Y.

4. *Reprints*

Available from Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Additional copies of enclosed memorandum, Shall America Reopen the Door? (Harvard Alumnae Bulletin); They Look to America (San Francisco Chronicle); Send Them Here (Life).

5. *Transcription*

For use in radio broadcast:

The Future of Displaced Persons (Uncle Sam Speaks series). A discussion between Richard C. Raymond, of the State Department, and Mrs. Louis Ottenberg, of the National Council of Jewish Women. Write Public Service Transcriptions, 112 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

6. *Booklet*

The Face at the Window, Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.; 4 cents per copy, \$4 per hundred.

MEMORANDUM ON DISPLACED PERSONS

NUMBER AND CHARACTER OF DISPLACED PERSONS

There are, at present, approximately 800,000 displaced persons confined in camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Many of these people are survivors of concentration camps, victims of all forms of religious and political persecution and of Nazi terror. Were they to return to their homelands they would, in many instances, be returning to persecution and possibly death under the regimes now in power there.

Of these people, approximately 500,000 are Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics; 100,000 are Protestants; 200,000 are Jews.

Close to 500,000 are natives of Poland (whose yearly quota is 6,524); 98,000 are natives of Latvia (whose yearly quota is 236); 60,000 are natives of Lithuania (whose yearly quota is 386); 47,000 are natives of Yugoslavia (whose yearly quota is 845); and 32,000 are natives of Esthonia (whose yearly quota is 116). The balance is distributed among other European countries, ex-enemies, and undetermined.

More than 50 percent of the displaced persons are women and children.

There are 150,000 children below the age of 17. Of these, 70,000 are estimated to be under 6 years of age.

The majority of the displaced persons are between the ages of 16 and 45, inasmuch as this is the age group withheld from execution in order to man Nazi forced labor brigades.

POSSIBLE IMMIGRANT-RECEIVING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

It is anticipated that every one of the United Nations will share the obligation to solve this problem. But many countries are waiting for the United States, as a natural leader in international affairs, to take the first step. The action of this country may thus speed immigration to the many lands where displaced people can settle. It has been calculated, for example, that if the potential immigrant-receiving countries of the world were to take in displaced persons in proportion to their population, the United States' share would be a minimum of 350,000 and should come closer to 400,000.

PRESENT IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

Immigration from the Western Hemisphere is unrestricted.

From the rest of the world, a total of 154,029 quota immigrants may enter the United States each year. These quotas are divided among various countries in proportion to their representation in the United States' population in 1920. Eighty-two percent of the quotas are assigned to Great Britain, Scandinavia, and other western European countries which are not countries of emigration. The central European quotas, from which most of the displaced persons come, total 39,000 a year. But quotas are not transferable between countries. A person born in a country whose quota is exhausted for the year may not come in on the unfilled quotas of another country.

A country may use no more than 10 percent of its annual quota in any one month. Poland, for example, has a yearly quota of 6,524 and therefore no more than 652 immigrants born in Poland may enter this country in one month. If the entire monthly quota is not used it may not be carried over and added to the following month's 10 percent maximum.

Annual quotas are not cumulative. Unused portions of quotas expire at the close of each year.

DISPLACED PERSONS AND THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION LAWS

In December 1945, President Truman issued a directive intended to set an example to the other countries. He directed the Department of State and the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service immediately to speed up and generally facilitate the use of the central eastern European quotas, totaling 39,000 a year, for the use of displaced persons. But of the 39,000 quota, 27,000 are the German and Austrian quota, and few displaced persons can qualify for that quota as having been born in Germany or Austria. This means that, at maximum, 12,000 quotas are available for the use of displaced persons.

Complete and reliable information is not available on the number of visas that have been issued under this directive. Figures secured through the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice indicate that approximately 5,000 persons from the occupied zones have immigrated to this country as of the end of September. It is believed that an equal number of visas have been issued to persons who are still awaiting transportation to the United States.

But in view of these facts, even if the Truman directive had been perfectly implemented, by the close of this year not more than 12,000 displaced persons could be admitted to this country and there still remains the problem of more than 800,000 homeless who, under our present laws, could not hope to emigrate to the United States at a rate faster than 12,000 per year.

SUGGESTED SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF DISPLACED PERSONS

For the period 1932 through 1945, our quota laws would have permitted the entrance of more than 2,000,000 people. During that period 19 percent of the quota, or 375,000, were admitted. During the war years, quota fulfillments ranged from 6 to 10 percent.

Therefore, the admission to the United States of a fair portion of displaced persons, a number approximating 400,000, would still leave the number of immigrants admitted to our shores far below the limits contemplated by our law. This number would, in fact, barely compensate for our unused quotas in 1944, 1945, and 1946.

To achieve the admission of this number, however, emergency legislation is required. Such an emergency measure should permit a fixed number of displaced persons, regardless of their country of origin, to come to this country during a given period of time. If, for example, these people were allowed to come in over a period of 3 years, this would still mean that not more than an average of 150,000 would be admitted in any one year. Many would be taken into homes of friends and relatives throughout the country, and many others would be cared for by local religious and other humanitarian agencies. Relatively few of the displaced persons have skills which would make them competitive with our highly specialized workers. On the other hand, they might serve to reduce the acute labor shortages on the farm and in the home.

All these people would, of course, be subject to existing provisions of our law which relate to physical, mental, moral, financial, and educational requirements of all immigrants to the United States, and which would guarantee, without qualification, that these immigrants would not become public charges.

Mr. FELLOWS. We will recess subject to call of the chairman until either Wednesday or Friday, to be determined by the committee.

Thereupon, at 12:35 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Frank Fellows (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order.

We have Mr. Carusi here this morning, who is Chief of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in this country.

Mr. Carusi, we are glad to hear from you.

Mr. CARUSI. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Would you give your full name and title, please?

STATEMENT OF HON. UGO CARUSI, COMMISSIONER, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Mr. CARUSI. My name is Ugo Carusi, and I am Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

I should like at the outset, Mr. Chairman, to address myself to some general figures on immigration, legal and illegal, because I think they will be helpful to a full appraisal of the situation, with emphasis, of course, on some of the figures which have been presented to this committee as reasons for or against the passage of the bill under inquiry.

I can later address myself, with your permission, to the bill itself.

Much has been said and written of late on the subject of immigration. Unfortunately, some of the writings and utterances are false and misleading. A recent example is the address delivered by Paul H. Griffith, national commander of the American Legion to the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, D. C., on May 22, last. Because of the prominence of Commander Griffith's position, these assertions of misinformation and gross exaggeration were given wide circulation in the press. Failure to challenge the commander's statements, and to meet them with facts, may give them undeserved weight in the public appraisal of the immigration picture.

The Attorney General properly insists that the people of this country should know exactly what is going on in the field of immigration, and I am happy, at his direction, and through your courtesy, for this opportunity to set forth a statement of official fact which he and I are confident will lead to a better understanding and appreciation

of our immigration problem, and what the Department of Justice and its Immigration and Naturalization Service are doing in the administration and enforcement of our immigration laws.

Inasmuch as Mr. Griffith in his recent address had something to say on each of the important aspects of immigration I have chosen to take up each point as he has raised it. I can later take up some figures which he has not raised.

You may wonder why I singled him out. I have already mentioned his prominence. But, the fact is that he but echoes in some of these statements, statements made by others in high and low station, which have been accepted by the public and the editorial writers as fact, and as long as he epitomizes them, I can epitomize the answers by referring to his assertions.

Mr. Griffith says: "Legal immigrants are entering this country at a rate of 154,000 a year."

The largest number of immigrants to come to this country in any one of the 10 years—I can say 15—was 108,721, in 1946. The annual average in the last decade is 55,157, of whom the quota immigrants comprise 29,463, and the nonquota immigrants—mainly immigrants from Western Hemisphere countries and spouses and minor children of American citizens—number 25,694.

The actual number of quota immigrants in the fiscal year 1946 is extremely close to the annual average for the past decade, it being 29,095. The nonquota immigrants in 1946 showed a decided increase over prior years, due primarily to the 45,496 war brides and their alien children who entered during that year and boosted the nonquota figure to 79,626. So far the figures for the present fiscal year indicate that that number will be slightly higher.

Mr. Griffith's assertion that 154,000 immigrants are entering legally each year may be explained by the fact that the immigration quotas fixed under law total 153,929 each year.

That is very close to 154,000.

He may have assumed, without verification, that every one of those quota numbers connotes an actual immigrant, when, in fact, in the last 10 years, 80 percent of the quota has not been used.

Mr. Griffiths says.

But for every legal immigrant for whom Richard opens the door to America, there are at least 10 illegal immigrants—black-market immigrants, if you please. They belong to the Sneak-into-America 1947 World Club.

Based on his statement that 154,000 are entering legally each year, his figure for illegal immigrants must be 1,540,000 per annum. Continuing on that basis he adds:

Every day thousands of foreigners run our borders or skip our laws in illegal entries into the United States.

The largest number of illegal entries is over the Mexican border. Almost to a single man or woman or child, those illegal entrants are Mexican laborers or members of their families. No evidence has come to the immigration and Naturalization Service that that border or the Canadian border is being used by persons from other countries seeking to enter the United States surreptitiously, in other than rare, isolated instances. The vigilance and cooperation of the Mexican and Canadian Governments have had much to do with this result. On the Canadian border most of the illegal entrants are Canadians

coming into the country to work, shop, or visit without strictly following the legal requirements. The experience of the Immigration and Naturalization Service has shown that persons who seek to "slip by" the immigration bars at our seaports are limited to less than 2,000 a year.

I said "seek to slip by." Most of them are caught before they make it. In the past year, about 1,400 of them were stowaways. All but a handful had been apprehended by the master of the vessel and turned over to the immigration officers at the pier. A few who succeeded in getting ashore have been apprehended and subjected to deportation proceedings.

In his reference to illegal border crossers, Mr. Griffith says:

Outlanders from the four corners of the earth run our borders daily along the Canadian and Mexican boundaries and over the Caribbean waters, making a mockery of our meager patrols.

It has already been pointed out that the illegal crossers are almost exclusively Mexicans and Canadians. As for the mockery which they are making of our meager patrols, it is sufficient to say that in the first 10 months of the fiscal year 1947, the border patrol and other officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service have brought about the apprehension and expulsion of 171,703 deportable aliens, of whom 15,313 were deported and 156,390 were made to depart at their own expense in lieu of deportation. Of this number more than 90 percent were Mexicans; the next largest number were Canadians.

In 1946 the number was 116,320. It may be of interest to know that this large number of expulsions has brought about a labor shortage in the States bordering Mexico; this is convincing proof that the expulsions are now exceeding the entries. Indeed, in order to meet the labor shortage, agreements have been reached between the United States and Mexico by which Mexican agricultural labor is now being recruited and imported in compliance with our immigration laws.

The largest estimate of illegal entries which can be made from the number of apprehensions (including the large number of Mexicans) clearly shows that Mr. Griffith's figure of 1,540,000 is about 800 percent too high.

And in that connection, Mr. Chairman, last night I listened to the Town Meeting of the Air and a Mr. Ketchum, who represented himself as the spokesman for the Veterans of Foreign Wars, boosted that figure to 2,000,000. That breaks the world's record, and makes him the new champion.

As to seamen, Mr. Griffith says:

Seamen, many of them that only in name, are jumping ships in American ports.

Now, as long as one seaman jumps ship, that statement is accurate but he gives the impression that it is a wholesale, widespread practice.

In the past 10 years, there have been 7,665,342 arrivals of alien seamen at United States seaports.

You notice I say "arrivals," because it may be the same seamen over and over again.

Of this number, 45,100, about two-thirds of 1 percent, deserted. The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service show that most of them have either been apprehended, deported, or reshipped foreign.

Desertions in the fiscal year 1944 were 5,811; in 1945, they totaled 5,577; in 1946, they totaled 4,365.

In the first 6 months of the fiscal year 1947, the number is 1,860.

This shows a definite downward trend of desertions; our most recent figures tally closely with those of the prewar years.

In speaking of desertions by seamen, we must not overlook the fact that this is a technical term and does not, in many instances, indicate that the seaman has left the vessel with the intention of abandoning his calling or remaining in the United States. If a seaman arrives at the pier just too late to sail with his vessel he is counted as a deserter, although he departs on her next sailing or, indeed, on a sooner sailing of another of his employer's vessels.

As to visitors and transits, Mr. Griffith says:

Foreigners arriving "in transit" on the way to other lands make it a permanent "sit" in the good old U. S. A., and aliens dropping in on "visitors" visas manage to get "lost" in our wide open spaces.

The three largest groups of legal nonimmigrants are the visitors for pleasure, who have averaged 40,642 for each of the past 10 years; visitors for business, 29,525; and aliens in transit through the United States to other countries, 33,060. Other nonimmigrants are resident aliens who are returning from visits abroad; foreign government officials, their families, and servants; students; and treaty traders.

The complete nonimmigrant figures for the fiscal year 1946 are—

Government officials, etc.....	17, 031
Temporary visitors for business.....	74, 913
Temporary visitors for pleasure.....	59, 913
In transit.....	31, 124
Treaty traders.....	378
Returning residents.....	13, 306
Students.....	5, 855
Members of international organizations—United Nations delegates and families.....	658
Other classes.....	291

The total for 1946, which is the latest year for which we have complete figures, is 203,469.

As of April 30, 1947, there were in the United States in legal status 78,543 visitors and 11,391 transits. During that month more visitors and transits departed than entered; 53,090 visitors had entered, and 55,357 had departed; 14,348 transits had entered, and 13,336 had departed.

So that between visitors and transits, there was a net balance of departures of over 1,000.

These figures are cited in connection with the assertion that visitors lose themselves here and transits just "sit."

Of course, many visitors and transits do seek to extend their stays here and some attempt to remain permanently. And I need only, if I need witnesses on that point, to bring in the large number of your colleagues who write to me and ask me to make that possible.

The experience of the Service has been, however, that most of them seek to accomplish it by legal means; that is, by asking for extensions or change of status. Inasmuch as such applications are granted only in cases of real merit and where the application is obviously made in good faith, the number of denials of applications runs between 80 and 90 percent.

A check-in and check-out system is maintained by the Service in order that illegal overstays may be detected and appropriate action taken. Our field officers are alerted to act promptly to bring about the departure of those who seek improperly to extend their stays. The law does not require nor does limited personnel permit the checking of every person who leaves this country, particularly persons who leave by train or automobile. Consequently, while we have accurate statistics on the number who enter the country legally, the recorded number of departures is always less than the actual departures. However, in order to be safe, we proceed upon the assumption that a person whose departure is not of record is still in the United States. On that basis, our records as of April 30, 1947, showed that 85,471 visitors and transits were possibly in the country in illegal status. In the past 2 months, we have assigned additional personnel to the task of checking these records.

We have taken them off of other things they were doing.

As a result, the number is dwindling fast. Already, a large number have been found to have departed, confirming our judgment that the majority of them had departed at the expiration of the time for which admitted. We hope to complete this survey in the next few months.

As to students, Mr. Griffith says: "Overseas students come here to study and make it life jobs."

In the past 10 years the average, yearly average, of student visitors has been 2,302. The number to come in the fiscal year 1946 was 5,855. Periodic checks are being made by the Immigration Service to determine whether the student is continuing his studies at the university in which he was enrolled. Some instances have been found where students have left the school to go to work or have taken up unauthorized employment while going to school. In those instances the status of student is declared breached and appropriate action taken.

We are watching the student cases very closely, and requiring reports from the school officials as to the activities of each alien admitted as such.

Very recently, we have inaugurated a new system. We do not admit an alien for the period for which he has matriculated, whether it be 2, 3, 4, or 6 years. We admit him for 1 year, and at the end of that school year, if he wants to continue, he has to make a fresh application which will be reexamined anew to determine its good faith.

Now that, Mr. Chairman, takes up as best I can, point by point, those statements made by Mr. Griffith.

Now, there have been one or two made before this committee, and one or two more which I expect will be made before this committee.

Mr. Babcock, the other day, said that there were 5,000,000 illegal aliens in this country, but that through the fine work of the Immigration Service, that had been reduced to 3,000,000.

I should like to accept that commendation, but it would not be honest.

Mr. ROSSON. Did the Commissioner check up on Mr. Babcock's notes? What I understood him to say was that there were 5,000,000 aliens.

Mr. CARUSI. He said 5,000,000 illegal aliens—the record will show if I am wrong; and that we, through our fine work—I remember that explicitly—had reduced it to 3,000,000.

Now, I do not need to tell you—you know—that what he was confused with was the alien population of this country as of 1940, under the 1940 Alien Registration Act, which by naturalization, death, and departure, has reduced itself to about 3,000,000, while absorbing the additional aliens who have come in.

Mr. ROBSION. What did it show?

Mr. CARUSI. It showed just a bit over 5,000,000. It is now—and this is partially an estimate, because we do not know of everybody who dies or departs, because there is no way we can find out about it unless we just happen to hear that a man has died or a relative reports it—our immigration officer in checking around discovers it—but that figure now, as we estimate it, is roughly 3,000,000, and evidently he was confused but that is not the important thing. The important thing is that when a person is confused he should check himself before he makes assertions on a public record.

In that connection, I wish to say also that on that Town Meeting last night, Mr. Ketchum, after giving his figures, one of which I have mentioned, was asked to prove them and he said:

That is not necessary. Why, those figures have been evidence on the floor of the House and before the committee which is hearing this bill, and they have met no challenge.

In that connection, the committee will recall that I have been sitting here 2 weeks waiting for the opportunity—not that I find fault with it—but I wish to meet the observation he made.

Another figure which crops up very frequently, and I think is believed by a large number of people—I see it in the editorials; I have seen it in the Congressional Record, and it is often quoted, and that is that the Attorney General himself made the statement that aliens were coming into this country illegally at the rate of 2,000 a day, and from the moment that first appeared in the public press, the Attorney General has denied it.

Be that as it may, the fact is that it is not a correct figure.

Mr. GOSSETT. What statement did he make?

Mr. CARUSI. He did not make that. I was not with him. It was in Florida. But he denies that he made it, and if he made it, it still is not the correct fact.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am wondering whether he did make it or what statement he did make?

Mr. CARUSI. My understanding is that he was in Florida going over the border patrol offices there and was commenting on the number of Mexicans coming in and he was alluding to the number of Mexicans coming in and the border patrol problem in that respect. There was also attributed to him the statement that we caught most of them and sent them back—or some such expression as that, which is true of the Mexican situation. In fact, not only most of them. We catch more than are coming in, as I have indicated.

Mr. ROBSION. Do only Mexicans come in over the Mexican border?

Mr. CARUSI. Speaking generally, the answer is "Yes," and in that connection the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and Mr. McDowell, a Representative on that committee, recently went to Hollywood and made an inquiry, or investigation, following which they issued press statements, that Communists were coming in illegally over the Mexican border—subversive elements.

I immediately wrote a letter to both the chairman and Mr. McDowell and told them that that did not accord with our information and experience but that it was too important a thing to ignore and therefore we should like to inquire into it and I should be glad to have the evidence which they had.

I have yet to hear from Mr. Thomas. I did receive a letter from Mr. McDowell, in which he said that he did not have anything tangible, but he had heard in some conversations that he had with some folks out there that now and then a man who evidently was a Communist, or so inclined, would appear in Hollywood and buzz-buzz around with some folks and then disappear and that presumably he came from and went back to Mexico.

He also said he went down and examined our border patrol and saw what we were doing and found that they were doing an excellent job, and if anybody was getting by them, he was doing it by airplane.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, Mr. Carusi, I do not think anybody denies that the patrol is an efficient organization and insofar as they possibly can, do a good job; but how many miles of border do we have between the United States and Mexico?

Mr. CARUSI. Counting the zigzags, it runs, I should say, about 3,200 or 3,400 miles.

Mr. GOSSETT. Better than 3,000 miles?

Mr. CARUSI. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, how many patrolmen do you have on that border?

Mr. CARUSI. About 800.

Mr. GOSSETT. Of course, a lot of that is the Rio Grande; and in certain seasons of the year, all you have to do is just walk across there.

Mr. CARUSI. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. Eight hundred patrolmen could not possibly know what goes on, on 3,000 miles of border, could they?

Mr. CARUSI. No; they would have to stand hand in hand; we know that.

Mr. GOSSETT. It is just an impossibility.

Mr. CARUSI. Of course. But, on the other hand, you would think that if all these men were coming in willy-nilly, that they would pick one up now and then.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Carusi, you would be perfectly willing to attach to your service more than 800, if Congress would appropriate the money, would you not?

Mr. CARUSI. Mr. Congressman, if I could get into the Appropriations Committee the same sentiments that I find here, they would give us thousands and thousands of men; but the thing is, we come here and are told what we must do, and we go there and are told what we must do without.

That is awfully hard for me to reconcile.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Carusi, do not the border States request aid to permit Mexicans to come in for seasonal labor?

Mr. CARUSI. We do now, and there has been a——

Mr. CELLER. I know; but do the States?

Mr. CARUSI. And there has been a sort of relaxed attitude, particularly during the war years.

If Mexicans did not come into this country illegally during the war years, and, indeed, even now, a complete agricultural industry, if I may call it an industry, of several hundreds of millions of dollars would fail.

Mr. CELLER. The States themselves along the border have asked the coming in of these Mexicans?

Mr. CARUSI. Oh, yes; and Members of Congress have protested our activities in expelling them.

Mr. FELLOWS. Would you like to have more patrols on your Mexican border?

Mr. CARUSI. Certainly.

Mr. FELLOWS. How many more would you like to have?

Mr. CARUSI. We would like at least to double the force.

Mr. FELLOWS. Why?

Mr. CARUSI. To insure the proper patrol of the border.

I am just afraid of this: It has not happened yet, at least not in any large number that we are aware of, but with all this chatter about how easy it is to get across the border, that kind of advertising will encourage the wrong people some day.

Mr. FELLOWS. Much has been made of this figure that was given us, of 37,000,000 last year crossing our border.

Mr. CARUSI. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. And, of course, that could be made up of each man crossing 25 times, and so forth.

Mr. CARUSI. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, where do you get that figure and how do you check on it? Is it correct?

Mr. CARUSI. Oh, yes. The number of border crossers—I do not want to indulge in guesses here. I had better look.

The number of border crossers in 1946 is 74,240,190 crossings.

And they were divided almost equally between returning American citizens and entering aliens, who are the regular commuters and border crossers. Some come in every day to shop or visit or work and what not. The citizens number 37,154,572; the aliens, 37,085,718.

They are checked as they come through the gates and the regular places of entry.

Now, in some places we keep an actual count. In other places, it is the man's estimate in the course of his experience as to how many come across regularly during the course of the day, but that is our figure.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Carusi, can you give us some more about your statement that Congress protested your activities in sending back Mexicans who were in this country illegally? Can you give us some more of that?

Mr. CARUSI. All there is to it is this—that they would send up the protest of a farmer who had said that we had gone in that morning and cleaned out his hired help and that he had cars waiting on the track to receive the produce and he had not the men to put it aboard. We all know—this, I think, Mr. Gossett can tell us—what the economic situation is with respect to citrus-fruit growers, cotton growers, and other produce men.

What would happen to them if they did not have the Mexican "wet back" labor? They would collapse.

And I must say this for them: We have inaugurated this system of recruitment, and already 25,000 have been brought in. Every one of those 25,000 was a "wet back," picked up by the farmer himself off his own farm, carted across the line, and made to complete the immigrant requirements and brought back.

So that for every one brought in, there is one to be subtracted off the list of illegal Mexicans in this country.

They are all cooperating—at least, most of them are cooperating fully—and trying to process these men as best they can.

They are coming in at the rate of 500 a day now, which is not fast enough, by the way, to meet the problem.

Now, you may want to ask me, after I say that these other folks were all wrong—you may want to ask me: How many illegal aliens are there in the country? So I will ask it myself.

That has to be an estimate. I cannot tell you with precision how many illegal aliens there are in this country any more than the chief of police can tell you how many people jumped a red light this morning, unless he caught them.

Our way of estimating it is this:

In the Mexican situations we estimate it by the number we pick up and by the reaction which it produces as to whether the farmers are still content or whether they are short of labor.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Carusi.

Mr. CARUSI. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. I guess you cannot segregate the Mexicans from the others, but nobody is worried about the Mexicans. They do not give us any trouble.

Mr. CARUSI. I am. It is a violation of law, and I am required to enforce it.

Mr. GOSSETT. But we are not worried about it. There are no subversives among those Mexican laborers. They come across and go back, and they come across and go back, and have been doing that for a century.

Mr. CARUSI. If the committee wants to overlook one——

Mr. CELLER. No; we would like to hear the testimony on that. I think that is very important, because if they are here illegally, that swells the number who are here illegally, and those figures are used.

Mr. CARUSI. The trouble is this: We do not worry about the Mexicans. The Mexican who comes in to work is not ordinarily subversive. But if we overlook them others may get the notion of coming in through Mexico; we have to watch that. How do we know?

Mr. GOSSETT. And how about Canada?

Mr. CELLER. Let the witness finish. We can go on to Canada after that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you finished, Mr. Carusi?

Mr. CARUSI. No; I have not answered my question as to how many I thought were here.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well. Will you give us that?

Mr. CARUSI. Shall I eliminate the Mexicans?

Mr. CELLER. No; I think we should have that.

Mr. CHELF. Give us the information.

Mr. CARUSI. Our estimate as of today—counting the numbers we have been putting out and the numbers who have been changed into

legal status by departing and coming back properly—it is our estimate that there are in the United States 75,000 illegal Mexicans, the greater percentage of whom are still at work in the border States, as I have indicated.

When the alien registration figures came in, the 5,000,000, of which I spoke, we found that there were, roughly 500,000 of them, which suggested faulty entry or possible illegal status.

Mr. CELLER. Which suggested what?

Mr. CARUSI. Which suggested faulty entry, or illegal entry.

And those were laid aside for further check and further investigation.

We had to do that in our spare time. We called that condition to the attention of Congress and asked for money for investigators to look it up, and they told us to do it in our spare time.

Now, we have checked in the intervening years about 330,000 of them. They have produced about 23,000 cases justifying the institution of deportation proceedings, less than 10 percent, you see.

We still have 170,000, and if the same percentage holds true, although lately we have not touched very many of them, because we just do not have the people to do it with—we have reduced our personnel four times since the war ended, although business has been going up constantly—if the same percentage holds true with the 170,000, that means about 15,000 more, so there are 38,000 which have been disclosed by the alien enemy registration.

Add the 38 to 75, and you have 123,000.

Now, the overstayed visitors and transients—I have told you that we have assumed—and it is not a good assumption, as I have told you—if we assume that all those who were here in April and for whom we do not have records of departure are still here illegally, you can add another 85,000. That brings it up to a total of over 200,000.

You can add the total. I cannot keep it in mind. You can add others who are not detected and lift that to make 225,000 or 250,000 or, at the outside, 300,000.

I think those are extravagant figures, but it is better, perhaps, to be a little extravagant than to underestimate.

Now, we have talked about figures. Let us look at a couple of realities.

It seems strange to me, and perhaps to you, that during the war years, when transportation was at a premium, and today, when the legitimate traveler has a very difficult time to get reservations, particularly to come back to the United States after he has gone abroad, these hundreds of thousands, or millions, nevertheless made it. I would be facetious if I suggested they probably swam the Atlantic, but I cannot think of any other way of doing it. Even if it is presumed that they crossed the borders, they must have reached Mexico or Canada in some fashion.

Now, speaking of Canada, the charge has been made that Communists are coming in over that border in droves, particularly at the border port of Detroit.

A committee of Congressmen out there investigated that situation 6 or 8 months ago and said that they would resume their investigation after they got back. I do not know what the result of it was.

They never made a formal report, nor yet has the investigation been renewed, so I cannot speak for the committee.

Mr. Gossett was there, and he probably can.

We have found no indication of that at all. The Canadians are extremely cooperative with us, and certainly if that were going on we would want to know it. Coming over at Detroit is not like crossing the desert on the Mexican border. There are bridges and tunnels and regular passenger service that they must use to get there, unless they, too, swim the river or the lake.

Now, I am not here to say that people do not enter the country illegally. After all, people commit murder, rape, arson, and robbery, and some get away with it. I suppose they can do that with respect to the immigration laws. I am not going to say that they cannot, and I am not going to say that everyone who violates the law is caught, but what I do say is that these violations are not the general rule. The Service is not being made a mockery, as is suggested. They are all working very hard, and I may add this general observation—that to the extent that there is any inference on the part of Mr. Griffith, particularly, in the language he used, that the Immigration Service is made up of persons who do not care anything about the results, or they are lazy, or, indeed, dishonest, or are not doing their jobs as they should, he is just unfairly condemning a large group of faithful servants of this Government, a very large percentage of whom, particularly now, are members of, or eligible to membership in, his great organization.

That, Mr. Chairman, unless you or some of your members have questions on these statistics, concludes what I have to say about the general over-all immigration picture.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you have some questions?

Mr. GOSSETT. How many patrolman have you got in your Service altogether?

Mr. CARUSI. About 1,200.

Mr. GOSSETT. What is the dispersement of them? Where are they?

Mr. CARUSI. I can give you the exact figures. There are 1,211 on duty: 142 of them are in the northeastern part of the Canadian sector; 196 of them are in and around the Gulf coast.

Mr. GOSSETT. Wait a minute. I thought you said you had 800 on the Mexican border.

Mr. CARUSI. I have not reached the Mexican border.

Mr. GOSSETT. The Gulf coast is there.

Mr. CARUSI. The Gulf coast is water.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mexico starts on the Gulf coast, down there, I think.

Mr. CARUSI. We are watching people that might seek to come across by water.

Mr. GOSSETT. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. CARUSI. Thirty-four in the Buffalo area.

Mr. ROBSION. Where does that come in?

Mr. CARUSI. Buffalo, N. Y., on the Canadian border; 54 in the Detroit area; 53 around the Great Lakes near Chicago; 55 in the Northwest, up around Spokane and Montana; 41 in Seattle; 1 at San Francisco; and 284 in the lower Rio Grande.

Mr. ROBSION. Why is that small number in San Francisco?

Mr. CARUSI. At San Francisco, we do not need border patrolmen. Every now and then we get a complaint that Mexicans are found up there, and we send a man up. He happened to be there at the time this tabulation was made.

Mr. ROBSION. Perhaps you need more there.

Mr. CARUSI. We depend upon the immigrant inspectors up there.

But, as I said before, we do not have enough men to send around everywhere we need them.

Mr. GOSSETT. You are talking of border patrolmen.

Mr. CARUSI. I am talking of border patrolmen, as distinguished from immigrant inspectors, of whom we have 1,000.

Now, as to the Mexican border, the lower valley, that is the east end—284.

The central midwestern, namely, with El Paso as its headquarters, 261.

Southern California and Arizona and New Mexico, 167.

This makes a total on the Mexican border as of February—these figures fluctuate, of course, as we move them around, for most effectiveness—that would be, as I get it, 682 on the Mexican border; and adding the 119 that are down on the coast, that gives you the 800 on the southern end of the country.

Mr. ROBSION. If it is not too much trouble, Mr. Carusi, just how is that operated, say, on the Mexican border?

Are these persons grouped every 2 miles?

Does any of them go along the border? Or do they fan out so that they can see all parts of the border pretty well, during the day?

Mr. CARUSI. Here is the way we do it, Mr. Congressman:

We cannot watch the border itself, because there are not men enough. The border is too long. Consequently, at the border itself, we station men at known places of entry, where it is easiest to cross or where our experience has shown that they most often try it.

We also have had in the past few years one or two little airplanes that go flying around looking for tracks through the desert or through the underbrush. And on the basis of that, we station some men at the border. But if we put them at the border, we would lose most of them, because, as I say, we just have not got men enough; so what we do, we draw most of them in. We draw them in at the entrances to towns or the roads which lead to some of the larger plantations and ranches, or at road intersections, where sooner or later, if a man is heading for civilization, he will appear, and that is where we make most of our pick-ups.

Then we have still a third line, which, of course, consists of much fewer men, who will go way back from the border, 50 or 100 miles, and patrol around to catch those who maybe did not get jobs further down and are headed for the interior of the country. We pick up some there.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Carusi, I think the statement was made that there are about 75,000,000 that go across our border every year.

Mr. CARUSI. That is right; that enter; yes.

Mr. CELLER. You broke that down in half. Why was that broken down in half, like you said?

Mr. CARUSI. Well, half were American citizens. The other half were mostly Mexicans and Canadians and other visitors from abroad. Now, those are coming in legally.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, you have given us the figure of 3,000,000 in the country.

Mr. CARUSI. At present; yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. Will you put into the record a break-down, as near as you can, of that, so that we will have it?

Mr. CARUSI. Surely. I will insert that in the record.

What do you mean by a break-down?

Mr. FELLOWS. I mean, classes—different classifications.

Mr. CARUSI. You mean, whether they reside here, or things like that?

Mr. FELLOWS. That is it.

Mr. CARUSI. I shall do it.

Mr. GOSSETT. And where they come from, the race, and all of that.

Mr. CARUSI. By country and race.

All right.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you any further questions?

(No response.)

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you, Mr. Carusi.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Carusi, that was a very splendid statement.

Mr. CARUSI. Thank you, sir.

I do not say "thank you" from the standpoint of wanting to be complimented. I think it is very important that we understand once and for all what the true situation is. I think there have been too many statisticians on this subject.

Mr. GOSSETT. You are not testifying for or against this bill.

Mr. CARUSI. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. You are just putting facts in the record, are you?

Mr. CARUSI. I have not up to this point. I propose to, if I may.

Mr. CELLER. Is the Department in favor of this bill?

Mr. CARUSI. Yes; the Attorney General has sent in a favorable report.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, have we got that favorable report of the Attorney General in? I think it ought to be placed in the record at this point.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

(The report referred to is as follows:)

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., May 2, 1947.

HON. EARL C. MICHENER,

*Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request for my views relative to a bill (H. R. 2910) to authorize the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, including relatives of citizens or members of our armed forces, by permitting their admission into the United States in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota members unused during the war years.

The bill would authorize, during the first four fiscal years following its enactment, the admission of 400,000 displaced persons into the United States as non-quota immigrants for permanent residence. Priority would be given to the widow, parents, children, and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of American citizens or of persons who served honorably in the armed forces of the United States during World War I or II. The administration of the proposal would be under the Secretary of State and the Attorney General. The President would be authorized to utilize such governmental agencies as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of the proposal.

A displaced person is defined in the bill as a person in Germany, Austria, and Italy, who, at the time of the enactment of the measure, is out of his country of former residence as a result of World War II and is unable or unwilling to return to his country of nationality or former residence because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinions.

I am in full accord with the proposal to render relief and assistance to the unfortunate people who have become homeless and displaced because of the tragedies of war and persecution. We are all mindful of the fact that it was the desire to escape persecution and establish a better way of living that inspired our forefathers to found our great Republic.

However, the following considerations and suggestions are submitted with respect to the instant bill:

For purposes of brevity and clarity, it is suggested that the bill could be entitled simply "For the relief of displaced persons," and cited as the Displaced Persons Act.

The bill makes no provision for granting permanent-residence status to displaced persons who are presently in the United States in a temporary status. It would seem unreasonable to exclude these persons, who are otherwise qualified for relief under the bill, from the benefits of the proposal merely because of their temporary residence here. It is suggested, therefore, that the bill be amended to authorize the granting of permanent residence status to these persons.

It is also noted that the bill makes no provision for the relief of those persons who may not be displaced in the literal sense of the word but who are, nevertheless, displaced in the sense that they are the victims of cruel and constant persecution because of their race, religion, or political opinions. It is suggested that provision for their relief should also be given consideration.

It is further suggested that the benefits of the proposal should not be extended to those who have no valid reason for not remaining in Germany, Austria, or Italy; those who have voluntarily assisted the enemy during World War II; or those who have been a member of, or participated in, any movement hostile to the United States or to the republican form of government.

I have been advised by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS W. MCGREGOR,
Attorney General, Acting.

Mr. CARUSI. I shall be very brief about this. There is no need of repeating the statements which have been made for the bill. You have them. You have heard them and you may hear some more.

The Department in its favorable report did suggest some amendments, and I think I ought to point out the nature of the amendments and the purpose.

The first amendment merely has to do with the simplification of the title. We will not go into that.

Mr. ROBSION. What is the simplification of the title?

Mr. CARUSI. So that it will merely read "For the relief of displaced persons," and then be referred to as the Displaced Persons Act.

Mr. ROBSION. You would eliminate Germany, Austria, and Italy?

Mr. CARUSI. I will read the title as it is:

The title of the bill is—

To authorize the United States—

Mr. ROBSION. You eliminate that?

Mr. CARUSI. We eliminate all that language. That complete title is eliminated, and we suggest a substitution for it of these words:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE OF THE ACT

This Act shall be known and may be cited as the Displaced Persons Act.

That is all there is, in place of all that language above, and the later language, which says:

This act shall be known and may be cited as the "Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act."

Mr. CELLER. Will that mean that you do not limit the displaced persons to those who are now in Germany, Austria, and Italy, with your new title?

Mr. CARUSI. We meant to leave it that way as far as the body of the bill is concerned, with one exception, which is our main amendment, and I will now mention that.

That exception provides for the taking care of—we do not know how many, but we have estimated our high figure—15,000 persons who may now be in this country as visitors or otherwise who meet the general definition of a displaced person.

Now, instead of being displaced abroad, they may be stranded here.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you mean to say that we have around 15,000 so-called displaced persons in this country at this time, illegally?

Mr. CARUSI. No, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. How many do we have here illegally?

Mr. CARUSI. I have not categorized them as to whether they are considered displaced persons or not. I do not know. I have given you the estimate of how many I think are here but how many of them would fit the definition of a displaced person I do not know.

What we have done is this: We have looked over applications which have been made by aliens here. The ones that I have in mind are here legally as visitors, overstayed visitors, and cannot get back.

Mr. CELLER. And some of them are involved in bills offered by Members of Congress.

Mr. CARUSI. Oh, yes. And they would be involved in that amended 2933.

We found evidence of the likelihood of one or two thousand of such persons from our own records—people who have applied for further extension on the grounds that they are displaced persons.

That is only one or two thousand but we did not want to underestimate that, so we said 5,000. It may be much less.

Mr. ROBSION. It could be more.

Mr. CARUSI. It could be, but we have no evidence of that. That would be a guess on our part, as, indeed, the 15,000 is.

Mr. CELLER. But you would not include the total embraced in the bill, namely, 400,000?

Mr. CARUSI. With 15,000 it would make the bill encompass 415,000.

What the language is—I can read it if you wish. It is in the record, accompanying the Attorney General's statement, but what it will accomplish is the regularization—

Mr. ROBSION. Where will this appear?

Mr. CARUSI. It will be section 3. It would push all the other sections down a notch and come in as section 3, and if you wish I will read it.

Mr. CELLER. Yes; read it.

Mr. ROBSION. It would be at the top of page 2?

Mr. CARUSI. It would be about two-thirds of the way down, right after line 14, on page 2.

It would read this way:

SEC. 3. During the first two fiscal years after the passage of this Act, the Attorney General is authorized upon receipt of a fee of \$18, which shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United State to the account of miscellaneous receipts, to record the admission for permanent residence as of the date of his last entry into the United States of any alien in the United States not in possession of an unexpired immigration visa if such alien last entered the United States prior to the passage of this Act, is otherwise admissible under the immigration laws, and is determined to be a displaced person as defined in this Act: *Provided*, That the number of aliens permitted to remain permanently in the United States pursuant to this subsection shall not exceed 15,000.

Now, the reason for that, I think, is readily apparent. If the bill passes at all, and we are to bring in a number of displaced persons from abroad, it can well be said, "Well, why not take care of those who are already here, and whom we know about, whom we have seen, and who have proved their worth?"

Or, to put it differently, where is the consistency in shipping one group out while you are going to the expense and trouble of shipping another one in?

That is why that is in there.

Mr. ROBSION. Have the members of the Commission concluded on that?

Mr. CARUSI. On that particular amendment; yes, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. Some Members of the House are very much interested in a bill I think they are preparing, to have brought in around 30,000 Poles now in Great Britain.

Mr. FELLOWS. One hundred and sixty thousand.

Mr. CARUSI. Those are the former soldiers, General Ander's men.

Mr. ROBSION. They spoke to me about a group of 30,000.

Mr. CARUSI. I am not aware of a group of 30,000. I know of a Polish group numbering probably that many, and many more, who were once in Italy fighting and who are now in England.

Mr. CELLER. For all we know, Great Britain may be willing to retain them in Great Britain. We have no evidence that Great Britain wants to push them out.

Mr. CARUSI. We have no evidence of it.

Now, there is an additional amendment which we suggest; at the end of what is now section 5, Mr. Chairman, but which if the other amendment goes in, will become section 6. In that section 5, or what would be section 6, we add the words "or United States" in order to make it consistent with where I just read.

Mr. CELLER. Where would that appear? After the word "Italy," in line 6?

Mr. CARUSI. That would appear after the word "Italy."

Mr. CELLER. Strike out the word "or"?

Mr. CARUSI. Strike out the "or," put an "or" after "Italy" and "the United States."

We have added to the definition of a displaced person, these words: After the words "political opinions," we put a semicolon and say—

was a victim of such persecution, and having had a habitual residence in Germany or Austria was detained in or obliged to flee from and was subsequently

returned to one of those countries as a result of war circumstances or is the unmarried minor child of such person. No person shall be deemed to be a displaced person within the meaning of this Act who (a) has voluntarily assisted the enemy during World War II; (b) has no valid reasons for not remaining in Germany, Austria, or Italy; or (c) is or has been a member of or participated in any movement hostile to the United States or to the republican form of government.

That is aimed primarily at the Sudetanland German or anyone else who may fit the description.

Mr. GOSSETT. You are probably going to eliminate most of that 800,000 with that definition.

Mr. CARUSI. Well, sir, if we eliminate most of the 800,000 it still is a good job. If we do not eliminate them, that means they pass the test.

If they are that type of people we do not want them.

Mr. CELLER. I take it the gentleman from Texas will accept the bill with your amendments.

Mr. GOSSETT. No; I would not accept the bill with his amendments.

Mr. CARUSI. That is up to the committee, of course.

Are you interested in any figures on the displaced persons themselves?

Mr. GOSSETT. We have most of that, I think, in the record.

Mr. CARUSI. All right.

Mr. FELLOWS. Unless there is something new.

Mr. CARUSI. I do want to say this, though, that reference has been made, at least early in these hearings, to the question of whether or not the processes of immigration under the present displaced persons program are illegal or being illegally conducted.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, you have nothing to do with the screening on the other side?

Mr. CARUSI. No; we do not.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is conducted by the State Department.

Mr. CARUSI. But we do have over here, and I just wanted to say that from our standpoint we are observing the law in every respect.

Mr. GOSSETT. You do not have anything to do with the issuance of visas. That is done by the State Department.

Mr. CARUSI. No; except when it is a preference quota or nonquota and applications have to be made to us and we certify merely that the person making the application and the person for whom the application is made are entitled under the law to do so.

Mr. GOSSETT. You do not have any of your men in Munich or Frankfurt or Nuerenburg or Berlin, do you?

Mr. CARUSI. We do not.

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Commissioner, if it be true that demand for a great many workers in various capacities as nurses, teachers, mechanics, and laborers in France and Great Britain exists and they desire these people to go there, would you favor their going there and help to build their country with the money, and so forth, we are spending, or would you prefer them to remain there until we could sit down there in those camps with them and their wives and children, until we could absorb the 400,000 over a period of 4 years, because at least 100,000 are going to sit down there for the next 3 or 4 years?

Would you favor doing that rather than to take employment in France and Great Britain, where they would be perfectly safe and where their services are needed?

Mr. CARUSI. Naturally—and I am sure I am not alone in this, by many millions—I would prefer to see any improvement of the type you suggest in their predicament. I think the sooner they are out of those camps and placed in any situation which is not worse, the better.

If while we are deliberating on this bill or seeking to administer it if it passes, there is a way of finding other haven for them, temporarily, or permanently, for that matter, which meets the humanitarian requirements or the economic requirements of the country concerned or of the people themselves, naturally I should like that. I think any decent-thinking person would.

Mr. ROBSION. Under this bill, even after it passes and nobody knows whether the legislation will be completed, we can take 100,000 the first year, and, of course, there will be a lot of those folks there still and some of them even coming within the hundred thousand would not get away until the end of the first year.

Mr. CARUSI. Yes, and if a place could be found for them to live decently in any country, they ought to do it.

Mr. ROBSION. And the other 300,000 will be there at least 2 years, and part of them 3 years, and some of them 4 years.

I am just wondering what conditions would develop there.

What I am trying to get at, is this: If this thing ought to be done, why should we wait 4 years, and keep people sitting down there for 4 years, sir, with their wives and children?

Mr. CARUSI. We should not wait 4 years.

Mr. ROBSION. If it should be done at all?

Mr. CARUSI. And if it is to be done at all, the faster the better.

I think one reason why it was spread over the period of years was to meet some of the objections that we can not absorb them.

Another reason may have been that transportation or other facilities are not available to bring them in in such tremendous numbers all at once. It just cannot be done. It is a practical physical impossibility.

And then somebody is going to have to process and screen these people, and you cannot do that overnight, if you do it well, do it as the law requires.

Mr. ROBSION. I have one thought in mind, which is this:

What effect—what bad effect—will it have on people just sitting down doing nothing with their families for the next 3 or 4 years?

Mr. CARUSI. It is bound to have a bad effect on any self-respecting human being, and I think there is a field for IRO or something akin to it to furnish temporary relief of the type you suggest, in employment, or free living, of some kind or another, while this process is being worked out, whether it is being worked out for immigration to South America or to the United States or to any other country of the world.

Certainly, leaving them there is exactly the thing that we are trying to overcome.

Mr. ROBSION. I wonder how many of those folks—I mean even the good people, and the best of them—I wonder how many of them have the thought in their minds, "If we just wait here long enough, we can get into the United States."

And I certainly do not blame anybody for wanting to come to the United States.

Mr. CARUSI. My experience was just the reverse from that, sir. I was over there.

Mr. ROBSION. They do not want to come to the United States?

Mr. CARUSI. They were thinking first of getting out of the camp. That was the first thing.

Mr. ROBSION. They do not want to come to the United States?

Mr. CARUSI. At that time, the large proportion did not want to come to the United States.

Now, if they have changed their minds since, which is likely——

Mr. ROBSION. Why do they not want to go to France or Great Britain?

Mr. CARUSI. Because of their experiences, they are not sure just how much longer it will be—they said so—just how much longer it will be before they have to undergo the same experiences. They have no faith in the stability of some of those European countries.

Mr. ROBSION. Do they want to come to the United States?

I do not blame them for that.

Mr. CARUSI. I know, for example, that of the Jewish people, the average was at that time, on personnel cards filled out by themselves, from 75 to 90 percent of those in the camps that I visited, wanted to go to Palestine, for example.

I had to go through stacks of cards finding all other solutions and every now and then I would find "U. S. A.," but the U. S. A. was in the minority of the camps that I saw. It was the minority designation in the camps that I saw.

I have been told that with further developments in Europe—after all, when I was there, the war had just shortly ended and most of them thought they could get back home safely and everything would be all right, and a good many of them did—but since then, situations have changed, and I should not be surprised if there were a larger number choosing the United States of America, than did in those days.

Mr. CELLER. Those who want to go to Palestine have their wishes balked because the gates of Palestine are closed, is not that right, except 1,500 a month?

Mr. CARUSI. That is correct. I was referring not to the Palestine situation as such, but to say what their personal choice was.

I asked them the reason for it, if that is interesting.

Mr. GOSSETT. When were you over there, Mr. Carusi?

Mr. CARUSI. In January, February, and March, of 1946.

Mr. GOSSETT. 1946.

Mr. CELLER. Do you know whether France is admitting any or do they wish to keep them out, since the largest party in France is communistically controlled, and most of these people, I take it, have fled from Communist lands?

Is it not a fact that France is not willing to take them?

Mr. CARUSI. All I know of it is what I read in the papers and the magazines and hear others talking about. I have not made any official inquiry into it myself.

Mr. CELLER. Do those opinions you get the magazines corroborate what I say?

Mr. CARUSI. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. GOSSETT. What was your purpose over there. What did you go over there for?

Mr. CARUSI. Under the President's directive to install the machinery, if I may use that expression, for the implementation of his directive; that is, to look over the situation, see exactly what the problem was, and with the State Department and Public Health and military officials, to set up the machinery for operating.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, Mr. Carusi.

Mr. CARUSI. You are quite welcome, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, I will place into the record at this point a letter I received from the Under Secretary of State.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 2, 1947.

MY DEAR MR. FELLOWS: I am writing in respect to H. R. 2910, "A bill to authorize the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, including relatives of citizens or members of our armed forces, by permitting their admission into the United States in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota members unused during the war years," which you forwarded to the Department under cover of your letter of April 3, 1947. You have asked for a report on the facts of the case and my opinion as to the merits of the bill.

I am wholeheartedly in favor of the purposes of the bill. Its passage would meet the request of the President expressed in his report to Congress on the state of the Union. Over 8,000,000 victims of Nazi aggression, uprooted from their homes, fell into the hands of the Allied armies by the end of hostilities. Over 7,000,000 of them have been repatriated to their countries of origin. Some will still return home, but there will remain close to a million persons in the three countries covered by the bill who are, through no fault of their own, unable or unwilling to return to the countries which they were forced to leave. It is the policy of this Government, and so long as the Congress approves, will continue to be the policy of this Government that these persons will not be forced to return to places where they have reason to fear persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion. Yet these persons must find a home somewhere. They cannot remain in the war-devastated countries where they now are, for the economies of those places are strained to the breaking point taking care of an already overcrowded population. We have been affording those who came into the hands of our armies temporary care and maintenance. Through the International Refugee Organization we will participate in continuing to care for and attempting to find homes for them. The IRO, however, can offer resettlement only where countries are willing and able to receive them. Several nations are already taking some of these persons. Others are giving the matter consideration. This bill proposes that we should receive some of them. Resettlement is the only permanent solution to a problem which has become ours as a result of the military achievements of our armies.

As I have said, I am wholeheartedly in favor of the purposes of the bill. There are, however, several points as to which I believe consideration should be given to its clarification or minor modification. First, I am informed that there are up to 15,000 persons now in the United States but not yet admitted for permanent residence, who, if in Germany, Austria, or Italy, would qualify for admission under the bill. It would seem anomalous not to admit them while at the same time admitting many more whose circumstances are in general the same. The Department feels that provision should be made in the bill to grant such persons permanent immigration status. Second, the bill provides only for persons who are out of their country of former residence. There are several thousand Germans and Austrians who suffered severe persecutions at the hands of the Nazis, and are deserving of all the benefits which are given displaced persons. In fact, those persons have always been treated as displaced persons by our forces. They are unable to find a place for themselves among their former persecutors and should, in the opinion of the Department, be given equal immigration opportunities with displaced persons. Third, the definition in the bill of displaced persons might include the Volksdeutsch, who since the war have been transferred to live in Germany and Austria, and other persons who gave aid and comfort to our enemies during the war, and are therefore not within the purposes of the bill.

To meet these points the Department suggests the following amendments to H. R. 2910:

"(a) Add a new subtitle and section after section 2 on page 2 as follows:

" 'REGULARIZATION OF STATUS OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES

" 'SEC. 3. During the first two fiscal years following the passage of this Act the Attorney General is authorized, upon receipt of a fee of \$18 which shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the account of miscellaneous receipts, to record the admission for permanent residence as of the date of his last entry into the United States of any alien in the United States if such alien last entered the United States prior to the passage of this Act, is otherwise admissible under the immigration laws, and is determined to be a displaced person as defined in this Act: *Provided*, That the number of displaced persons permitted to remain permanently in the United States pursuant to this subsection shall not exceed 15,000.'

"(b) Renumber section 3 as section 4.

"(c) Renumber section 4 as section 5.

"(d) Renumber section 5 as section 6, and i. delete the word "or" before the word "Italy" and add the words "or the United States" after the word "Italy" in line 6, page 3; ii. delete the semicolon and the number "(2)" in line 9, page 3; iii. delete the period and substitute a semicolon at the end of line 12, page 3; and iv. add the following as a continuation of the new section 6:

" '(2) Was a victim of such persecution and, having had a habitual residence in Germany or Austria was detained in, or obliged to flee from and was subsequently returned to, one of those countries as a result of war circumstances; or (3) is the unmarried minor child of such person. No person shall be deemed to be a "displaced person" within the meaning of this Act who (1) has voluntarily assisted the enemy during World War II; (2) has no valid reason for not remaining in Germany, Austria or Italy; or (3) is or has been a member of or a participant in any movement hostile to the form of government of the United States.' "

The Department has been informed by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON, *Under Secretary*.

Mr. FELLOWS. Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein.

We will hear from you next, sir.

Will you state your title, please?

STATEMENT OF RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN, ADVISER ON JEWISH AFFAIRS TO GENERAL CLAY, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE EUROPEAN COMMAND

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I am adviser on Jewish affairs to General Clay, commander in chief of the European Command.

Mr. GOSSETT. What kind of affairs?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. On Jewish affairs.

Mr. CELLER. Do you have a prepared statement?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes; I have a prepared statement.

Mr. GOSSETT. Why should General Clay have an adviser on Jewish affairs? Why not an adviser on Polish affairs, French affairs, Italian affairs, and German affairs?

Has he got it divided up like that?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. No.

At the conclusion of the war, it was found that the Jews had been almost completely destroyed, and about 6,000,000 Jews had been wiped out by the Nazis, and that the entire Jewish population in those areas of Europe which had come under Nazi domination had either been slaughtered or thoroughly scattered and uprooted. It was found that their problems were of a very special and delicate character, and it

was felt by the President of the United States and by General Eisenhower that this required the advice of some responsible, experienced Jew, to guide the military in the care of these people, and at that time, Judge Rifkind was appointed to undertake that responsibility and subsequently I succeeded him.

At the request of the State and War Departments, I have just flown over from Germany to testify concerning H. R. 2910.

I am adviser on Jewish affairs to General Clay, commander in chief of the European Command. I have served in that capacity since May 1946, both to General McNarney in Germany and to Generals Clark and Keyes in Austria.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt at this point, to take your home address?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes. 117 Gibbs Street, Rochester, N. Y.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I am on leave of absence from my company there, in Government service.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. During the war I was the director of the Jewish religious program from the United States armed forces. I worked closely with 311 American rabbis who served as chaplains in the Army and Navy. At the invitation of the Secretaries of War and Navy, I visited American military personnel on most of the far-flung battlefields of the world. There was hardly an island in the Pacific, from Attu to Guadalcanal, where American troops were stationed, to which this duty did not take me. In the later stages of the war and after its close, particularly in Europe, we began to encounter the displaced persons. These were the survivors of a Nazi policy which has enslaved those who could be useful, and slaughtered the rest.

The bill before you deals with the question of the admission over a period of 4 years of up to 400,000 displaced persons out of the million Balts, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, and Yugoslavs that the western Allied armies now have under their care.

Naturally this committee wants to know what these people are like. It has been felt that it would be useful to you to have some testimony from some of those who have had a long and varied first-hand contact with these people in the numerous camp communities in which they are now living.

Others can testify from wider experience and with greater authority concerning the displaced persons as a whole. But my own experience, both in the war and after, has given me a special familiarity with the Jewish displaced persons who constitute about 20 percent of the whole number. I visited nearly all of the considerable number of camps in Germany and Austria in which they are to be found. I have heard the moving stories of their past and how they would like to rebuild their lives. I have seen how they live and what they are doing in the small communities in which they are now gathered. I have also been called upon to regard them in terms of the practical responsibilities of the United States zone commanders. Perhaps that is why the Secretaries of State and War have requested me to share with you my knowledge and experience of this particular group of displaced persons.

At the close of the European war we found about 30,000 Jews still alive in the concentration camps. Soon their numbers were augmented

by many thousands, including orphaned children who had hidden in forests, caves, and cellars. Further numbers came from partisan bands who had fought valiantly against the Nazis. The majority of these displaced persons were Polish Jews. When after the German defeat they returned to their homes they learned that their families had been exterminated, their property had been demolished or confiscated, and their hopes for a new free life were blasted by violent pogroms. They then fled to haven in the United States zones of Germany and Austria. A smaller number came from Hungary and Rumania where they encountered a similar legacy of Nazi anti-Semitism.

The total number of these various uprooted, homeless Jews, now to be found in the zones of the western allies in Germany and Austria, as well as in Italy, is approximately 225,000. The majority of these are in the United States zone, Germany, where the Jewish DP population in and out of camp on June 2, 1947, amounted to 156,646. In the United States zone, Austria, the number of 27,456. The British zones in Germany and Austria contain about 16,000; the French zones about 2,000. There are reported to be about 25,000 Jewish displaced persons in Italy. Altogether, these Jews constitute about one-fifth of the total DP population.

These homeless Jews cannot return whence they fled. In most instances, they have nothing to return to, for their families, their homes, their associations, and their hopes were utterly annihilated. They do not wish to return to countries whose populations willingly assisted the Nazis in the destruction of the Jews and where violent anti-Semitism persists. Regardless of the announced policies of governments, they believe that the peoples have not changed, and that their return in any numbers would incite further pogroms. Despite the hardships of camp life, they are almost to a man unwilling to return.

There is no question that the great majority of Jewish displaced persons strongly desire to settle in Palestine. I would say that at the most about 25 percent of the Jewish DP's or approximately 60,000 would, if given the opportunity, choose to come here. Primarily, these would wish to come because they have relatives here. Jewish family life has been hopelessly shattered in Europe. The families of most of these people have largely been destroyed. Large numbers are orphaned children or lone survivors. These people have a perfectly natural and overwhelming desire to attach themselves to the remaining members of their families in America. Also, they wish to come because they see, as most Jews have seen, in the American way of life, the best hope for freedom and justice.

My observations led me to the conclusion that they would make good American citizens. Although they reveal the usual variations of intelligence, character, and ability, and although the immigration screening process would undoubtedly find some to be ineligible, fundamentally they are good human stock. Otherwise they could not have survived nor rehabilitated themselves so quickly.

It is well to recall the situation which confronted them when they were liberated in the spring of 1945. Six millions of their brethren had been killed. Their own families had been almost completely exterminated. The cries from the gas chambers still echoed in their ears. They had no homes, no jobs, no property, no business. There had been no education of the young, no religious exercises, no family

life. Each individual had personally suffered agonizing persecution. All found themselves in an atmosphere poisoned by a decade of Nazi propaganda.

This situation would have been enough to crush almost any group of human beings. But not these. With the help primarily of the American Army they made a quick physical come-back. Flesh was restored to living skeletons. Vitality surged through their blood again.

Their first interest was to seek surviving members of their families. Their agonizing search followed the trails of the Nazi hordes. In most instances the search led only to ashes. But occasionally a wife, a parent, or a child would be found. The stories were fantastic but true. This child was thrown in a suitcase out of the window of a moving train by parents who knew they were on the way to the gas chambers but subsequently escaped. Another was chloroformed by his father and carried in a sack of potatoes to a Christian peasant who maintained the boy until the war was over.

After the fragments of families were reunited they began to establish new ones. Many marriages took place and children were born. The traditional values of Jewish family life were reasserted; illegitimacy is practically unknown. In lands where venereal disease has reached the most alarming proportions among the military and the civilian populations, it is negligible among the Jews.

They were settled in camps as the best way of taking care of them amidst the hostile impoverished German population. For the most part, these camps were bare, drab, and ugly. Also, they had already seen too much of camps. Nevertheless they faced the realities and made the best of them. They organized the camps on democratic lines and gradually assumed complete responsibility for their administration as well as for their menial tasks. Most Jewish camps are conducted by the DP's themselves. They perform all the necessary services of a community.

They quickly reestablished the institution of Jewish religious and cultural life. They consecrated houses of worship in crude shacks or barren rooms. They beautified them with the symbols of the synagogue. In some camps where materials were available they built religious edifices and thronged to worship in them. When enough children were assembled they set up classes. They conducted adult education courses in cultural and technical subjects as well as in the English language. They even founded higher academies of religious learning and people's universities. They organized musical and dramatic groups. They published as many newspapers and magazines as could be provided with paper. The average camp, despite its grimness and frustrations, is alive with the manifestations of the unconquerable human spirit.

At first they could not and would not work. They were too weak. They refused to perform any labor that might help the Germans who had despoiled them. But as strength was restored their attitude changed. Today, although most of them still will not work for the Germans, they do all sorts of work for the Army, voluntary agencies, and themselves. In the past year I have not encountered a single instance where there was more work than workers. But there are, very unfortunately, limitations upon their opportunities for employment. These limitations are usually imposed by lack of materials

and by lack of machines. Sometimes they overcome this with remarkable ingenuity. There are workshops in some camps that specialize in the manufacture of utensils, toys, and religious objects out of tin cans. They do beautiful work which has been exhibited in the European Command headquarters. Every camp has a tailor shop which remakes the cast-off clothing sent from America. Damaged Army blankets purchased by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee have been refashioned into attractive practical winter garments for children.

A number of camps raise food for themselves and other DP's. Specifically, 3,600 Jews are settled in agricultural training camps where they must meet minimal production requirements set by the Army. The farm of the notorious anti-Semitic Julius Streicher is now a thriving DP settlement on which over a hundred young Jews receive training as they await resettlement.

A great variety of labor skills is represented among these DP's. Artisans predominate, namely, carpenters, painters, textile workers, shoemakers, tailors. There is a fair-sized group of technicians specializing in auto mechanics, electricity, dentistry, et cetera. Nurses and doctors, because they were found necessary by the Nazis, survived in goodly numbers. Actually, the largest single group, about 15 percent, consists of tailors, male and female. This happens to be an industry in which the United States is actually short of skilled help at the present time. I have been informed since my return that my own city of Rochester, for example, could use at least 3,000 of these tailors at this very moment.

At least one-third of the maximum of 60,000 Jewish displaced persons who would come here, if the opportunity were afforded, would be children. Most of them would go to their relatives who would provide at least temporary shelter in their own homes where there might be a housing shortage. Responsible Jewish organizations are ready to guarantee that they would not become a burden on the community.

Of course, there are exceptions to the general picture that I have given you of these people and the communities in which they are living. The corroding effects of lack of opportunity for work, overcrowding in the shelter afforded, the haunting vision of their immediate past and uncertainty and despair as to their future have at various times and in various places produced unhappy situations. But to focus attention on these and treat them as typical would be entirely misleading. These displaced persons are human beings like other human beings. They have already been through the tough screening process of the greatest adversity. By and large, they have shown the moral and physical stamina necessary to survive and rebuild their lives if given an opportunity. It has been a remarkable achievement in self-rehabilitation. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, who watched and assisted this process over the past 2 years, has appraised it as follows:

The behavior of the Jewish displaced persons has not been a major problem at any time since the surrender of Germany. The Jewish displaced persons were quickly gathered into communities where their religious and selected community leaders insisted on an orderly pattern of community life. Of course, we have had many minor problems resulting from the assembly of large numbers of Jewish displaced persons in the midst of the people who had caused

their suffering. Moreover, the unsettled economic conditions in Germany have made barter trading and black-market operations a common problem. Even in this field, the Jewish displaced persons have not been conspicuous in their activities as compared to other displaced persons, groups, or, in fact, as compared to the German population itself.

The Jewish displaced persons have on the whole established an excellent record insofar as crimes of violence are concerned, and in spite of their very natural hatred of the German people have been remarkably restrained in avoiding incidents of a serious nature with the German population.

In view of the conditions under which they have had to live in Germany, with their future unsettled and their past suffering near at hand, their record for preserving law and order is to my mind one of the remarkable achievements which I have witnessed during my more than 2 years in Germany.

I have been describing to you the particular group of displaced persons among whom I have been working for the Army. They suffered the first and the worst at the hands of our common enemy. Like other groups of displaced persons, they find themselves today under circumstances beyond their control, in the midst of the people who are responsible for their misfortunes. They are caught in a trap from which they cannot extricate themselves by their own efforts. They are unwilling to go back, and they can not remain where they are. They must go elsewhere if they and their children are to have a chance to build lives for themselves. The problem of this group with which I am best acquainted is but a segment of the border problem of what to do with the displaced persons as a whole. Let me say a word as to that broader problem.

The American people are now called upon through their elected representatives to make a decision, momentous to the fate of all displaced persons. Our own armies alone have 600,000 of them under our care. Some decision must be made. Even a postponement of decision is a decision—a negative decision. It would doom these people to another winter of blighting uncertainty and inability to help themselves. It might be the death-blow to the morale and hope of thousands. The decision narrows down, then, either to merely prolonging the existence of the displaced persons in the camps, primarily at the expense of the United States, or to an early reasonable program of resettlement in which this country would take a part to enable these displaced persons to resume life in a normal atmosphere and to achieve self-respect through work and freedom.

I trust you will bear with an expression of my personal opinion as an American citizen as to this decision. I believe that American tradition, American common sense, and decent humanitarianism here unite to say, "Take these people in."

It was prophesied of old that the time would come when nations will be told:

Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink?

When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

This is the time to practice what we believe.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I ask one question, sir?

I notice in your statement, a postponement of this decision would doom these people to another winter of blight and uncertainty.

There are 300,000 that would not come this winter, if this bill is passed.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. It will doom those who might come by this winter, and who would not be able to come.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is true, of course.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. And it will also deal a terrible blow to the hope of the people. One of the chief problems we are facing right now with the displaced persons is the gradual loss of hope and sense of disillusion that grows out of these prolonged delays of their resettlement. A decision at this time will give sustained hope.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Robsion has suggested, if it should be done, it should be done now, rather than to wait, and I am suggesting to you, that under this bill, three-fourths of them will have to experience a wait.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. Is it true, Doctor, that if we light the way and pass this bill, other countries will follow and take their fair share of these displaced persons?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I cannot say whether it is true, but I should think it is likely.

Mr. GOSSETT. Doctor, following your quotation, and I was following your quotation of the Scripture over here, do you not think we have been doing pretty good by all these folks, taking care of them up to date?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes; I do. I think the care given to the displaced persons by the United States Army has been the outstanding piece of practical humanitarianism in the postwar era.

Mr. GOSSETT. We have not let anybody suffer or starve over there. There have been no reports about it that I have heard.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Correct.

We have, however, by failing up to this point to take steps toward allowing a substantial number to migrate here as well as to other places, dealt a serious blow to their morale.

Mr. GOSSETT. Doctor, I do not doubt that, but there are probably 100,000,000 people in the world who would like to come to this country, many of whom are people in worse plight, and suffering worse hardship than the DP's in Europe.

Millions are starving in China and India. We have about 2½ million Puerto Ricans down here that are our own folks that live a substandard existence, who have little work to do, on an island that cannot even support half that many.

There is an end to how much we can do in absorbing alien populations. I think you agree to that, do you not?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I do, but I must respond by saying that this is a special group. The others for the time being, at least, are on their own soil. This is a displaced group that has no alternative but to be resettled elsewhere.

Mr. GOSSETT. What percentage of those now in these camps were actually displaced persons at the time the shooting stopped and the war ended?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. General Hilldring has indicated that between 80 and 90 percent of them were in the camps when the war stopped.

Mr. GOSSETT. We have had some testimony here, and I understand from the State Department officials, that no more than 20 percent of them who are displaced now, were not displaced at the time the war ended.

Mr. DORR. There was nothing from the State Department to that effect. It is quite the contrary.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Dorr, is it true that 80 percent of them were in the camps at the time the shooting stopped?

Mr. DORR. As General Hilldring pointed out, the exception was the Jewish group who came in after the pogroms in Kielce.

Mr. GOSSETT. Doctor, of course, the blackest page in the history of civilization has been the Nazi persecution of the Jews in Europe. Of course, they exterminated by far a greater proportion of Jewish people than of any other classes of people.

But did they not exterminate also millions of Christians along with millions of Jews?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes; they did.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you have any figures on that? I have just read general statements about how many Jews and how many Christians were exterminated.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I do not happen to know the exact number of Christians who were exterminated. It was very large. But I think the highest percentage of slaughter of any particular group was among the Jewish group, and you will recall here that I am not requesting special consideration for the Jewish group. I am requesting consideration for the Jewish group in a reasonable program for all DP's.

Mr. GOSSETT. I understand that.

They exterminated everybody that did not embrace their philosophy or that they thought might not be useful to them. As a matter of fact, that is true, is it not?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. In general; yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you have any evidence of the liquidation of any of the persons who were repatriated?

I understand that between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 were repatriated or returned to their homelands following the war. There have just been some generalities thrown in that they would be killed if they went back where they came from.

Do you have any evidence that those folks who were returned to their homelands by our forces or the Allied forces were actually exterminated?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I do not consider myself an authority on what may have happened to the non-Jewish displaced persons in going back. I just do not know.

Mr. GOSSETT. About the Jewish people, do you know of any of them?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. The Jews who have gone back have been negligible in numbers. As I indicated in my prepared statement, just a handful have gone back. The Jewish people believed on the basis of their experience and on the basis of their knowledge, that the return, for example, to Poland, of any substantial number will precipitate the same type of pogroms that made them flee.

Mr. GOSSETT. What about Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Rumania?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. In the first place, they represent small minority groups among the DP's.

In the second place, it must be kept in mind that the Jews fled those countries because they wanted to escape from the type of life, or perhaps the type of government, that dominated those countries at this time.

Mr. CELLER. What type of government was that?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. It is the Soviet-dominated government.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am not talking about what they would like to do. The question is, what can they do?

Now, as a matter of fact, however unpleasant it may be, most of them could go back to the places from whence they came and have some sort of life there, could they not?

They might be able to contribute to the rebuilding of those areas and to the democratizing of the social life in those areas.

Somebody has to fight communism in those countries, and are not some of these people equipped to do that?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I can only speak out of the feelings and out of the experience of the people.

In the first place, they feel they have nothing to go back to.

If any of us were to find that, by those very people his own family had been destroyed, his property had been demolished or confiscated; if he were to find that going back he would be faced by fanatical pogroms in which all elements of the population participated, I think it would be understandable that he feel that he does not want to build a life for himself and his children in that place.

Mr. GOSSETT. Doctor, how many German Jews were left?

I have heard different figures on that. How many were left after this terrible pogrom in Germany?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. There were about 600,000 Jews in Germany when Hitler came to power. There are at present under 20,000 German Jews.

Mr. GOSSETT. Less than 20,000?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes.

Now, that does not mean that all the balance were exterminated. Some fled; some came to this country in the period between 1933 and 1939. But I would estimate that at least three-quarters of German Jewry was slaughtered.

Mr. GOSSETT. Of course, there were more Jews killed in Poland, I guess, than anywhere else.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. By the Germans, was it not?

Mr. BERNSTEIN. By the Germans, with, according to the Jews, the assistance of elements of the Polish population.

Mr. GOSSETT. If Russia were to pull out of Poland and if Germany would let Poland alone, is there any substantial anti-Semitism among the native Polish, as such?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes. According to the Jews—this is very difficult to evaluate precisely—anti-Semitism was worse in Poland than in any other country in Europe.

Mr. GOSSETT. You mean, worse than in Germany?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes; that is, anti-Semitism in Poland historically was worse than it was in Germany.

Mr. GOSSETT. Was that true of Czechoslovakia?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. No. Czechoslovakia has been almost free of it.

Mr. GOSSETT. Is it true of Rumania and Austria and the other territories down there?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Rumania has a bad record of anti-Semitism.

Austria's record is better, but not good.

Mr. ROBSION. Along that same line, Dr. Bernstein, you have indicated that you are quite familiar with the Jewish situation in Europe.

How many Jews still remain in Europe, according to your best information?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I should say that apart from the $2\frac{1}{4}$ million Jews in the Soviet Union who are pretty much cut off from the general Jewish population, there are about a million and a quarter Jews surviving in Europe.

Mr. ROBSION. I have seen some statistics, and I believe they were issued by some Jewish organization or association of groups, that there are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews still in Europe.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. $3\frac{1}{2}$ million?

Mr. ROBSION. Yes, $3\frac{1}{2}$ million.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. That is more or less the figure I just gave you, if you include the Jews of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ROBSION. And there are about 2,250,000 of these Jews residing in the Soviet Union?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Right.

Mr. ROBSION. That would mean the Soviet Union proper?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. You say there are perhaps 20,000 Jews still living in Germany?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. 20,000 German Jews.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes, German Jews.

Now, to your best information, how many Jews are in the British Isles?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I do not have the exact figures offhand but I should estimate about 200,000.

Mr. ROBSION. And how many are in France?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Again I am not sure of the exact figures, but I should think 50,000 or 60,000 or something like that.

Mr. ROBSION. And in Italy, how many?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. In Italy there are 25,000 Jewish DP's, and I should estimate that there are perhaps 20,000 Italian Jews that survived.

Mr. ROBSION. You mean, 25,000 in camps there, in the German DP camps?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes; that is right.

Mr. ROBSION. And how many more thousand in Italy?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Perhaps 20,000 more.

Mr. ROBSION. And how many are in Greece?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I do not know exactly, but it is a small number.

Mr. ROBSION. And in Austria?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. In Austria, there are under 5,000 Austrian Jews who survived. The balance, as I have indicated here, of about 27,000, are Jewish displaced persons now temporarily displaced in Austria.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, in Rumania, about how many Jews are there?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Three hundred thousand.

Mr. ROBSION. And in Hungary, how many?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. About 180,000.

Mr. ROBSION. And in Czechoslovakia?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I do not recall exactly, but I should estimate under 20,000.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, since the war closed, do you know of your own knowledge or have definite information as to anyone of the 2,250,000 Jews in Russia that have been put to death?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I have no first-hand knowledge of what is going on in Russia. I have not been in Russia during the war or since the war, and I simply do not know.

Mr. ROBSION. You have had persons in that country who are in communication with Jews in your part of the world?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Pardon me?

Mr. ROBSION. Some of the Jews in the camps have been in communication with Jews in Russia, have they not?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. Do you know of any authentic case where any Jew has been put to death, of the 2,250,000 in Russia, since the war closed?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I would probably be able to answer that only in terms of general knowledge. My general knowledge is that in Russia the Jews have been treated equally to the rest of the population; that the discrimination that obtains in some of the other east European countries does not obtain in Russia.

At the same time, there is the same discrimination against Judaism as there is against Christianity, and the same practices that a dictatorial state applies to non-Jews, applies to Jews, so my assumption would be that whatever has happened to the Russian people has also happened to the Jews.

Mr. ROBSION. I mean, in a general way. But the Jews have not been singled out and put to death; there are no pogroms in Russia?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. No; definitely not.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, these people that you talk about in DP camps, they believe in the democratic way of life, and they are not in harmony with communism; is that it?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. That is my conclusion.

Mr. ROBSION. And one reason they do not want to go back to Russia or their countries is because of the presence there of a communistic form of government, and not the democratic form of government?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I should say that that is one reason for their not wanting to go back, although the primary reason, I think, is the personal one that I have given you before.

Mr. ROBSION. Have you heard of any instance where any Jew has been put to death since the war, in Poland?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes. I was in Poland. I went to Poland in July 1946, with the approval of General McNarney, to look into the situation that had developed there, which was sending large numbers of refugees into our zone, to see what could be done about calming the situation, about reducing the flow, and then to report back to him what the problem was and what was likely to be facing us, and I came right on the aftermath of the Kelcie pogroms, which took place on July 4 of last year, in which 42 Jews were killed outright in the town of Kelcie, by men, women, and children, using sticks, stones, and pieces of metal, without any attempt to prevent it on the part of the authorities in that town.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, is there any other country that you know of, to your knowledge, where there was an attack on the Jews, or anybody killed, since the war?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I read or heard from time to time of isolated instances, but my own judgment is that only in Poland it took the form that I have described.

Mr. ROBSION. How many Jews are there in the United States?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I think a little over 5,000,000.

Mr. ROBSION. We, then, have nearly two-thirds of the Jews in Europe and the United States in this country?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Not quite. I should estimate that there are between 10,000,000 and 11,000,000 Jews, perhaps around 10,000,000, who survived. We have about half of them.

Mr. ROBSION. What proportion of these persons in these camps want to come to the United States, of the Jews?

Now, of course, you have been associated with them.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. My estimate is that approximately 60,000, namely, about 25 percent of them, want to come here.

The overwhelming majority want to go to Palestine.

Mr. ROBSION. Do they realize that they cannot go to Palestine?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. They are living on hope.

Mr. ROBSION. How many of the Jews have gone to Great Britain?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I do not have the exact figures handy, but some thousands. I would not know the exact number.

Mr. ROBSION. And to Belgium and Holland?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Again, small numbers.

Mr. ROBSION. And to France?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. France has granted 9,000 transit visas for people who are in transit through France, at least, in theory. The French have always been fairly liberal in the interpretation of such matters.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, you have given us a very illuminating list of Jews here that have developed, along with very important and splendid work and action and life.

If people over in Europe, the good folks that you described, leave Europe, who is going to rebuild Europe?

Who is going to rebuild Europe?

We all agree it must be rebuilt and rehabilitated and who is going to do it?

We are going to furnish money. They say we have some. We are going to furnish more, they say. Who is going to do it?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. This is a very small group. This total DP group represents not even 1 percent of the European population. There will be plenty of people left to rebuild Europe.

Mr. ROBSION. You do not mean that these folks in the DP camps in Europe are the only people that are in a bad way over there, do you, out of the hundreds of millions?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. No.

Mr. ROBSION. While other people, men, women, and children, who are very needy and have not got homes, or property, are there?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes, but this particular group is a displaced group.

Mr. ROBSION. They are the one group, displaced; but are not there thousands and thousands of other displaced persons in Europe besides this small number that are in the DP camps?

I mean, they have no homes, they have not a place to live, and they have no occupation to carry on with. There are a lot of children, a lot of orphaned children, displaced. Why would you say that we would pick out this particular group of nurses and doctors and so forth and help them and not help the other displaced men, women, and children of Europe, who are in equally bad condition? They are not in a position where they can be fed every day and have a roof over their heads. Why should that be the case? You have made such a splendid statement, and I appreciate your statement very much. Now, why should that be the case?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. There are plenty of miserable people in Europe now; you are right.

Mr. ROBSION. Too many.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Too many; far too many. The difference between this group and the others lies primarily in the fact that the others have roots. The others have a sense of belonging. Even in the midst of their poverty they feel this is where they live and this is where they are staying. Now, this group has been uprooted. This group has nothing to return to.

Mr. ROBSION. You would not suggest that they go to Great Britain or to France, where they need workers, nurses, technicians, mechanics, carpenters, and all, to rebuild Europe. You would not suggest that, would you?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Yes; I would have no objection, not only no objection but I myself have explored almost every possible type of immigration possibility. I have regarded that as my primary job in the last 6 months, and I would like to see a lot of them go to some of those other countries and some of them are going, in relatively small numbers, but the practical problems of any large-scale resettlement seem to be at this point insuperable. That is, the British, for example, are not disposed in the face of their problems to take on a few hundred thousand people.

Mr. ROBSION. They need people, they say.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. If you are interested—

Mr. ROBSION. France says they need them and want them.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. If you are interested, I will tell you precisely what I learned. I dealt with Mr. George Isaacs, Minister of Labor, on this problem, at the time that the British Government announced it wanted DP labor.

He told me, in the first place, they wanted their labor from the British zone. They were interested in relieving their taxpayers of the burdens that they were carrying and that only if they could not get the labor they wanted from the British zone would they turn to our zone.

Mr. CHELF. You mean, the American zone?

If they could not get them from the British zone then they could go to the American zone.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. That is right. Then they would come to the American zone.

In the second place, he said they had no housing for these people at all but would have to put them in barracks or camps, precisely the type of camps which they were trying to escape from.

In the third place, he said, they did not want families. They wanted unmarried or unattached people who would not create housing problems for them, who could be put in large barrack rooms.

Mr. ROBSON. You have gotten on the housing problem. Congress is being denounced every day, and has for a year or two, because, they say, we have not provided housing or a place to stay, for about 25 percent of our veterans in World War II, American veterans, and we are sending out temporary housing, having camps around the American college and universities, where our soldiers and their families are arriving and staying.

I call them tin houses.

So we have a housing problem here, they tell me, from the way I get abusive letters, and other Members of Congress, saying that we are not looking after our own.

How would you explain that, now, furnishing houses to someone else, when we are not furnishing houses to our own American veterans?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I would go back to the group that I am familiar with and the prospects that we face for that group. I am interested in the other groups as well, but there are people better informed who will tell you about them.

As far as the Jews are concerned, as I have said, I estimate a maximum of 60,000 who want to come to the United States. They will not be able, according to this law, to come all at once. They will be placed over a period of time.

Mr. ROBSON. I say, if the job is to be done, then there is a weakness, and a tremendous weakness, in this bill, according to my way of looking at it, to have people sitting down there for the next 3 or 4 years. There will be a lot of them that will not only pass this coming winter, but some, several more winters.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I agree with you.

Mr. CELLER. Will you yield a moment on that, Senator?

Mr. ROBSON. Surely.

Mr. CELLER. We have had testimony from Bishop Mulloy, of the diocese of Covington, Ky., representing a Catholic organization, and he said, the Catholic organizations, through their bishops, throughout the length and breadth of the land, would settle a goodly portion of the members of their faith on various farms.

We have testimony through the National Lutheran Council, who likewise will settle many of the Lutherans on land, and various farms.

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, through their spokesman, Rev. Samuel McCrea, have said that the other denominations within the scope of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America would likewise do everything in their power, through their pastors, through the length and breadth of the land, to settle most of their brethren on the land.

Mr. ROBSON. Will the gentleman yield there?

I wonder why they have not been more active in trying to find homes for this million or more of American veterans and their families?

Mr. CELLER. That is another problem.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Let me give you the practical aspects of this, as I see it.

We think in terms of a maximum of 60,000 people of this group, spaced over a period of time, of whom at least a third are children.

Now, the children will go immediately into the homes of relatives or of Jewish-community-sponsored families to take care of them, and I can give you an illustration from my wife's family.

There are three orphaned children now in a camp in Austria whose parents were exterminated, all of whose uncles and aunts were slaughtered. They are absolutely alone in Europe, those three youngsters, apart from the family here in this country.

Now, I am ready to take those children into my own home and other members of my wife's family are prepared to do the same.

We cannot do it now, because of the obstacles imposed by the present immigration laws. These children arrived after December 22, 1945, in the United States zone of Austria, and after that date, there may be no such immigration to this country.

So the taking of those children represents no housing problem. In fact, the acceptance of most of these people does not, because they want to come to relatives. The families will take care of them. Jewish organizations that are responsible and well financed are prepared to assume financial responsibility, give guaranties for such of the Jewish DP's as will come to this country that they will not be a burden on the general public.

Mr. ROBSION. You just speak for a part, at least, of the 20 percent involved in this bill.

Dr. BERNSTEIN. That is correct; I understand Bishop Mulloy and Dr. Cavert have talked of the others.

Mr. ROBSION. You have spoken very splendidly.

Mr. CHELF. Doctor, how many orphaned children as such are located in our camps at the present time?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I estimate between 5,000 and 6,000.

Mr. CHELF. Between 5,000 and 6,000.

Now, they are located within the American zone?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. In the American zone of Germany and Austria.

Mr. CHELF. How many would you say are located in all of the zones of the DP camps?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. I can only answer for the Jewish displaced persons, or orphans. My estimate would be perhaps 7,000 to 8,000.

Mr. CHELF. 7,000 to 8,000?

Dr. BERNSTEIN. Correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, the House is in session. We will have to adjourn.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you.

The committee will adjourn until next Wednesday.

(Whereupon, at 12 m., the subcommittee adjourned until Wednesday, June 25, 1947, at 10 a. m.)

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Frank Fellows (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order.

We have Mr. Hart with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF MERWIN K. HART, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, my name is Merwin K. Hart. I am president of the National Economic Council.

I oppose the Stratton bill and all other bills designed to let down the bars and permit increased immigration, for three reasons:

First, because such immigration is generally against the interest of the American people;

Secondly, deceit and fraud of various kinds have been practiced in bringing in refugees in the past; apparently huge numbers of these have entered the country unlawfully and have been permitted to remain; and

Thirdly, increased immigration would tend to increase unemployment and to make the housing problem worse.

Before letting down any of the bars, a survey should be made to ascertain the extent, the sources, the quality, and the probable effects of this unlawful immigration.

It has been suggested in recent days that before we loan any more money to Europe, we should look the whole picture over and see the resources we have got to loan from, which has a good deal to commend it, it seems to me.

In the same way, I think before we let the bars down on immigration, here, we should look the country over, examine the situation, and see whether or not we should take any more in at that time.

First, I oppose these measures because they are generally against the interests of the American people. I say "generally" because nobody disputes the fact that here and there among the refugees who have entered in recent years are some and no doubt many of outstanding ability and character who are able to make a genuine contribution

toward the country's welfare. But, generally speaking, much of the recent immigration appears not to have been of this type and hence has been against the interests of the American people. And a continuation of it, certainly any increase of it, will likewise be generally against our vital interests.

Immigrants to the United States down to 1880 were mostly from northern and western Europe, and shortly after arrival they became well adapted to their new country. They had been attracted hither because they believed traditionally American institutions offered freedom. They sought to copy our manner of life and living. They became genuine Americans.

After 1880 the trend in European immigration shifted emphatically to a great influx from southern and southeastern Europe. Commencing particularly in the first decade of the present century and through the second and into the third, immigrants were of a different type of mind and attitude toward the United States. Many of them came not to benefit from our institutions but to import their own customs, ideas, and ideologies with them. The trend with them was, as a recent pamphlet entitled "Operation Immigration," published by Foundation for Freedom, Inc., said, "toward the alien concepts of force, intrigue, and class warfare."

While immigration down to about 1880 had benefited the United States, simply swelling the number of people who were glad to support the American Republic, the general quality of that of the next three or four decades was of a different kind. This led the Congress to pass first the Immigration Act of 1921 and then that of 1924. The Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice said that this latter Act—

represented the will of Congress to preserve the racial composition of the United States through the selection of immigrants from those countries whose traditions, languages, and political systems were akin to this country.

No further immigration legislation of importance has been enacted since 1924. The war, of course, slowed down immigration, as did also the depression of the early 1930's.

This country was set up by its founders as a republic—a representative government in which a clear separation of powers was made between legislative, executive, and judicial, and in which, under the Federal Bill of Rights and the bills of rights of the 48 States, the rights of minorities were fully protected.

The past 15 years has seen an attempt to break away from our form of government, tending in effect to merge the three powers, thus tending to bring about, as James Madison said, "the very definition of tyranny," and tending at the same time, by aid of the interpretations of a Supreme Court that represented the party in power, to blur out, if not to blot out, the individual rights of minorities.

I believe that one of the greatest factors contributing to this socialistic development was the character of our immigration for the past 30 or 40 years. Of course, some of the leaders in this revolt against American tradition and experience have been men and women whose ancestors have lived in the United States for generations. But many, if not most of them, have been of this southern-southeastern European stock.

In World War II, on behalf of other peoples, this country gave 300,000 of her most precious lives, suffered nearly a million other casualties, used up no small amount of her irreplaceable natural resources, and spent the bulk of her people's savings of well-nigh three centuries. We were able to do this because of the freedom that American institutions have brought. I do not find that our sacrifices have brought us anything like the benefits that many of our people expected we would get. And if we now let down the bars to further immigration, we will risk the loss of the liberties we have left.

Many of the Latin-American countries have been chary about admitting refugees. They are considering their vital interests first. The United States is still the greatest country in the world, even after all its recent expenditures of men, natural resources, and material savings. But if she relaxes her vigilance and indiscriminately lets in other people, regardless of fitness or adaptability, merely because they wish to come, then her greatness will not continue very long.

The prime consideration for us therefore is whether letting down the bars to further immigration is in the national interest. I believe most emphatically it is not. Furthermore, it is not in the interests of the people of the other countries of the world that we should so weaken ourselves that we cannot in proper cases in the future render assistance to other peoples in need.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, I totally disbelieve in the theory that the prosperity of the United States depends upon the prosperity of the rest of the world. I believe precisely the reverse is true, that the prosperity of the rest of the world, particularly at this juncture, depends upon the continued prosperity, the continued solvency, of the United States.

No better way to continue the undermining of our form of government be imagined than by letting in more aliens who connive or propagandize, openly or subtly, to change our form of government. And to undermine the United States today is to strike a blow at the future of the whole civilized world.

Many who favor the Stratton bill speak of the 400,000 as though passage of this bill would limit additional immigrants to this number. They conveniently forget that every one of these 400,000 can later bring in his spouse and minor children. Over a period of time these would amount to a considerable number.

Moreover, we have to consider that in addition to the usual quota immigrants, under the law of 1924, there is the matter of nonquota immigrants. In 1946, while about 29,000 quota immigrants were admitted, 79,000 nonquota immigrants were brought in. I realize that many of these were wives of GI's returning. Nevertheless, there were many that were not.

So that, if the Congress were to pass this Stratton bill, it would have gone a long way to destroy the wholesome effects of the law of 1924. That would not be in the interest of the American people.

Second, I am opposed to the passage of any of these bills because I believe that misrepresentation, deceit, and fraud have been practiced in the past in permitting unlawful immigration, and because the demand for this present legislation is based on a vast amount of manufactured propaganda.

It is safe to assume that this propaganda is by or at the instance of people of the same kind of mind and thought as those who are likely to come in if the Stratton bill is passed. I have in my office a file of clippings of various newspapers, many of them from the New York Times, that are illustrations of the incessant propaganda to promote the increase of immigration—particularly the immigration of refugees from central and south eastern Europe. There are many, many committees to aid these refugees.

I see mostly, living in New York, the New York papers. I see other papers too. We subscribe to several from different parts of the country. But if the rest of the country is getting the propaganda on immigration that we in New York City are getting from most of the newspapers there, then it is a veritable deluge.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. HART. Surely.

Mr. GOSSETT. I might add that most of them are. I have observed a great many canned editorials in the papers in Texas, written by the proponents of this legislation, along with syndicated columns of one kind or another.

Mr. CELLER. I wish to make the observation, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Stratton, a veteran and a Member of this House, offered testimony which indicated editorials and favorable comments on this bill from over 100 newspapers in over 20 States of the Union. Those editorials comments came from papers scattered all over the country.

Mr. GOSSETT. But I make the observation, Mr. Chairman, that that is organized, studied, propaganda. I just want to throw that in for the record.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, I counter by saying that that is your opinion, and I do not share that opinion.

Mr. HART. It seems to me, Congressman, that it is organized propaganda. That would be my observation. In any event, it is worth mentioning that the editorials in 100 newspapers, if that is the only number that favored it—there are some 1,500 or 1,600 other daily papers alone not to mention the 10,000 or so weekly papers.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Hart, I am not a very good authority on these things but what kind of propaganda would you call it, such as we are receiving now? We get hundreds of postcards addressed to me, just plain postcards, with the name on the back, only a name on the back, a signature, and no suggestion of what they are for, whether they are for this bill or some other. I do not know who is directing this program but we are getting hundreds of those without any suggestion of what they are supporting. They just mail them and write their name on them. I presume they assume that this is the only bill there is in Congress.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Hart, would you say that General Marshall, who favors this bill, who is Secretary of State, or Judge Patterson, who is Secretary of War, who favors this bill, and Attorney General Clark, who favors this bill—three Cabinet officers—the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; the Catholic Bishops, Cardinal Spellman; William Green, of the American Federation of Labor; Philip Murray, of the CIO, are affected by this propaganda, and that they direct their favorable comment to this bill because of propaganda?

Mr. HART. Mr. Congressman, I would say that as for the three officials you have mentioned, General Marshall, the Secretary of War; and I think you mentioned one other——

Mr. CELLER. The Attorney General.

Mr. HART. The Attorney General.

They would naturally reflect the administration's viewpoint.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

A great many of those individuals are simply good soldiers who are taking their orders and trying to carry them out.

Mr. HART. Yes; and I think it is fair to say that those same men you have spoken of have proven themselves good soldiers before, and followed the policy directed.

Mr. CELLER. I have a better opinion of those three members of the Cabinet. They are not mere soldiers or just automatons to take orders. They are men of courage and independence.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have not seen much of that around here lately.

Mr. HART. Congressman, so far as some of these organizations that you mentioned are concerned, I would say that many of them, if not most of them, quite definitely are left-wing in a good many ways.

Mr. CELLER. Would you say the Catholic bishops are left-wing?

Mr. HART. How many Catholic bishops?

Mr. CELLER. I will give them to you in just a moment:

Father Mulloy, of the Kentucky diocese, testified in favor of the Stratton bill and said that the National Catholic Rural Life Conference—and that is only a segment of the Catholic Church—represents 83 bishops, 24,570 priests, 91,706 religious, and 13,372,000 lay people. He spoke for all these Catholics.

Mr. HART. I have great respect for my many friends who are Catholics and many Catholic prelates whom I have not the honor to know, and I am not here to impugn the integrity or the right of any of these people to have an opinion.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there again?

I happen to be, I think, a loyal member of the Baptist church, and the national officials of that organization the other day endorsed this bill, and I want to say that they do not speak for the vast majorities of their parishioners.

A very prominent minister writes me that he deplors the fact that so many of his brethren have deserted the teachings of Christ and have tried to fill the vacuum with every "ism" that comes along.

I join in his view.

Mr. CELLER. We had a man named Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. He has appeared before this committee and other committees on many an occasion, and his integrity of purpose is unquestioned. If he says he represents something, you can rest assured that he does.

Mr. FELLOWS. 28,000,000.

Mr. CELLER. And he said he represented among others—and I am not going to read them all—who are in favor of the bill, the National Baptist Convention, the Southern Baptist Convention, the National Lutheran Council, the National Council of Protestant Episcopal Churches, and about 15 others.

I am quite sure that Dr. Cavert, a very splendid gentleman, and a very distinguished member of his church, would not come here as a result of propaganda.

Mr. HART. Congressman, I will tell you why I think he comes here. He comes here because the organization he represents, the Federal council, is widely recognized as definitely left-wing.

Mr. CELLER. I beg your pardon?

Mr. HART. Definitely left-wing.

Mr. CELLER. I did not hear that. There was so much noise here. What was that? I just want you to repeat that, please.

Mr. HART. I do not know that I can repeat the exact words, but I said that Dr. Cavert's organization is recognized widely throughout the country as definitely left-wing.

Now, may I continue and just explain what I mean?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes, go ahead. We will not get through today.

Mr. HART. I happen to be a member of one of the churches you just mentioned, the Protestant Episcopal Church. I have been fairly active in it, and I know that their council, or whatever it is called, agreed to affiliate with the Federal Council of Churches, and I can tell you there are multitudes of Episcopalians in this country, of whom I am one, whom neither Dr. Cavert nor anybody else represents when he comes down here and appears, as he or some other representative of the council did, in favor of the FEPC, in favor of the full employment bill; in favor of many, if not most of what is left-wing, if not Communist-like measures that have been up in the past few years.

Mr. CELLER. You call them Communist measures?

Mr. HART. Yes; they are right from the Communist program.

Mr. GOSSETT. So do I. I agree with you there.

Mr. CELLER. Then President Roosevelt espoused something which was communistic?

Mr. HART. He certainly did, I think.

Mr. GOSSETT. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hart, a lot of crimes have been committed in the name of religion, since the times of the Crusades, have they not, as well as in the name of liberty?

Mr. HART. So I understand.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I think we ought to let the gentleman proceed.

Mr. FELLOWS. Will you proceed, Mr. Hart, with your statement, please?

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Hart, I will not ask more questions until you conclude your statement.

Mr. HART. Thank you, sir.

Now, I said deceit had been practiced in the recent bringing in of refugees. A good illustration is the 984 refugees unlawfully brought in by President Roosevelt during the early days of the war and interned in the so-called Fort Ontario Refugee Shelter at Oswego, N. Y. Since Mr. Roosevelt had no authority to do this, he merely "informed" the Congress of the fait accompli. It was asserted then that they would be returned to Europe after the war. But no sooner had they been settled in the Oswego camp than a propaganda move began to see that they were kept here. And nearly all of them have been kept here.

Last month, one Serge Rubinstein, an immigrant of a few years ago, was convicted of draft dodging. So great had been his influence

and that of his friends that he won the help and support of many high officials. He had been a dinner guest at the White House. Yet Federal Judge John C. Knox, of New York, called him "an undesirable alien" whose record—if half true—shows "not a creditable thing he has done." Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York Journal American said June 4, 1947, that—

Rubinstein was allowed by the Roosevelt administration to enter this country 9 years ago on a questionable passport obtained in China through his adoption at the age of 31 by a Portuguese family.

I believe there have been a good many minor Rubinsteins.

From many parts of the country have come for several years stories to the effect that immigrants have been illegally entering the country in large numbers—particularly through Latin-American countries. One need not go so far as to accept the recent statement of the national commander of the American Legion that for every legal immigrant, there are at least 10 illegal immigrants.

I want to say that I listened with great interest last Friday to the statement of Mr. Ugo Carusi, and I thought he made a very able statement on this subject; yet it was apparent that even he conceded that some had come in illegally. How many he did not know. But if there has been one illegal immigrant for every legal immigrant, that would mean that about a half million persons have illegally entered the country during the past 10 years.

In any event, it is certain that refugees appear to be living in this country in far greater numbers than the official immigration figures suggest. In New York City they are a great factor in swelling the population of apartment houses, large and small. We hear the same story from Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, and from many other cities. Certainly, in recent years, our Government bureaus have contained numerous officials sitting in key positions who have been not unfriendly to the letting in of hosts of these persons.

Third, I am opposed to the passage of these bills because they would tend to increase unemployment, and to make the housing problem worse.

It is a threat to the employment situation now that the country is moving into the acute stage of the postwar readjustment. Now that there is greater uncertainty as to employment prospects and the possibilities of unemployment, there should be no general and indiscriminate increase in the United States labor supply.

The housing problem is now so serious and the prospects of its solution are so remote that it should not be accentuated and enlarged, as it would be if the number of persons seeking housing accommodations is suddenly and abnormally enlarged by a material increase in the number entering the country and therefore requiring housing accommodations.

With the Nation so deeply involved in ideological warfare as it now is, there should be no material increase in the number of persons entering the country, and especially when it is to be expected that among such immigrants there are bound to be numerous and important carriers of the kind of ideological germs with which it is the aim to infect the public opinion of the U. S. A.

I want to say, Mr. Chairman, parenthetically, that I think there has been no time since 1924 when the national origins principle has been more important to the country than it is today.

According to one William O'Dell Nowell, who testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities February 6, 1947, the MVD—formerly known as the NKVD—secret political police in the Soviet Union, systematically trains terrorists in an institute in Moscow. Nowell told of his experiences in the Soviet Union to which he had gone from Detroit, to be educated in revolutionary tactics for use in the United States upon his return from Moscow. Certain ex-UNRRA employees have spoken in confidence of the existence of this institute and its systematic training of terrorists.

These terrorists, after being thoroughly educated in their nefarious work, are then dispatched to the Russian zone in occupied Germany, and through various channels they presently turn up in the displaced persons' camps in the American and British zones; mostly, of course, in the American zone.

The second step is for them to pass on, through connivance with private groups who are seeking to relieve the distress of displaced persons.

It is thus extremely likely that many displaced persons admitted from Europe include a greater or less number of these terrorists. It seems likely that as more displaced persons are brought over here from Germany, Russians will see to it that freshly trained terrorists "escape" into Germany; and the process will go on.

Therefore, until this situation is thoroughly investigated, no more displaced persons should be permitted to enter the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I have sympathy for all those oppressed persons who have been the victims of either Nazi or Communist tyranny. I have the keenest sympathy for those Poles who fought on our side throughout the recent war. I understand there are more than 160,000 Polish officers and men—most of them now in England. They carried on during 6 years of war, during which Poland's allies, America and Britain, for expediency's sake, and in order to appease Soviet Russia, sold Poland down the river.

Since most of these Poles are now in England, and since the Stratton bill covers only persons who now are in Germany, Austria, and Italy, the Stratton bill actually excludes them. Yet of all the Europeans who deserve well of the United States, these Polish soldiers head the list, in my opinion. They are young and courageous; they are experienced soldiers—and in the next 2 or 3 years we may need more experienced soldiers. They would make excellent citizens of the United States.

So that I believe our immigration laws should be so amended that in the next 2 years, if we are to continue admitting any persons to the United States, these Polish ex-soldiers should have the privilege of coming in, or as many of them as can be taken.

I believe a plan should be worked out whereby the so-called displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy can go to Africa. Both Britain and France have large territories there where they could settle and begin life anew. That is what certain displaced persons in England did three centuries ago—they went overseas, and they laid the foundation for the greatest country in the world. With all that

the United States has done for Britain and France, and with all they will look to us to do for them in the future, it ought to be relatively simple—or at least certainly possible—for the United States to arrange for this in a brief time.

I would like to add further, why have these persons got to leave the countries where they are at the present time? We are apparently getting ready to spend money to build up those countries. Man-power is going to be vitally necessary. If these people are so good and so constructive, if they offer so much to the country that they are going to live in, why don't they stay right where they are and help build up that country?

If we are willing to do what we have been doing in paying out money, it seems to me they should be willing to stay there on the job.

In conclusion, no country will long survive that cannot and does not protect itself against unwanted and undesirable infiltration by those who do not subscribe to its principles. The assertions of unlawful infiltration of the United States across our borders are in their aggregate too impressive to ignore.

I believe that before the Congress lowers the bars a single inch, it should cause effective investigation to be made as to the extent of this infiltration; and whatever commission makes this investigation should be asked to recommend means for getting rid of those who have unlawfully entered the country and means for more effectively screening out undesirable applicants of whatever origin in the future.

Mr. GOSSETT. The gentleman, I take it, feels that this is the time, if you are going to change immigration restrictions, that we ought to raise and not lower immigration barriers?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir. If we move in that direction, I think, or in any direction—I think we should raise the barriers higher.

Mr. GOSSETT. The gentleman also made the point that doubtless there were a great many subversives and revolutionists in the DP camps. We have had testimony, and I understood from persons in a position to know, that a great many of those now in the DP camps have actually come out of Russian-occupied areas, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Latvia, and some out of Russia itself.

Do you think it likely that Russia would let people voluntarily leave her zone and her control who would be hostile to her ways of life?

Mr. HART. Congressman, from all I know, from all I have read, I think it is very doubtful that anyone would be allowed to go out of Russia that they did not want to go. Kraft Shenko in his book seems to make that pretty clear and various others who have written—Krovitsky, and others. All that they say bears that out. Everything that Mr. Bullitt says in his book would tend to bear that out. I know nothing that would indicate the contrary.

Mr. GOSSETT. I was interested in the gentleman's observation that there are vast areas in Africa. I think British Somaliland and Ethiopia, where people are actually needed. It is a pioneer country that needs development.

Do you not feel that if these people have anything to contribute, they could be useful in those areas?

Mr. HART. I would certainly think so.

Mr. GOSSETT. If they are not willing to work or fight, we would not want them, would we?

Mr. HART. I would certainly think not.

Let me say this. There is one of the Republics of Soviet Russia. It is over just north of the Chinese border, way out in eastern Siberia. That is given over entirely to the kind of refugees that Rabbi Bernstein was talking of the other day. I believe there are 200,000 Jews who have set up a republic of their own.

Mr. CELLER. How many did you say, sir?

Mr. HART. 200,000, I think it is.

Mr. CELLER. Quite in error. About 30,000 Jews have gone there and most of them returned because the Soviets do not wish to give very much to the Jews as such. The soil is stony and barren and the temperature is way below zero most parts of the year, and the result is that most of those who have gone there have returned.

Mr. HART. The figure that I had, and I got it quite authentically, Congressman, was that the number was 200,000 and that the conditions were quite different.

Mr. CELLER. The figures you probably remembered are the total population of all peoples there.

Mr. HART. I was told, just to finish the thought for what it may be worth, that that country had such fertility, that that particular republic could support 4,000,000 people; and seeing, in the view of what Rabbi Bernstein said the other day, there were 2,250,000 Jews, I think, in Russia, who apparently do not care to leave, the question would arise whether there would not be room in that place or elsewhere for some of them.

Mr. CELLER. I do not think he said that they do not want to leave. They cannot leave. The Russians will not let anybody out except possibly in the way that you indicated, if they surreptitiously go out. I do not know if that is a fact but the Jews who want to leave Russia because they cannot practice their religion in Russia are precluded from doing so.

Mr. CHELF. No one else can practice their religion in Russia, can they?

Mr. CELLER. No one else can.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Hart, just assuming hypothetically that we are going to take 400,000 refugees or any other number of refugees, what would you think of providing that they could settle in Alaska? That is a very broad frontier country. We just opened Alaska; and let them go up there.

Mr. HART. I would be opposed to that, Mr. Congressman, because Alaska will some day be one or more States. I believe in the maintenance of the National Origins Act. I think that was founded on great study, most careful study, and it was based, just as the Immigration Bureau said at that time, on what was best for the country.

Mr. ROBSON. It was based on the proposition of admitting people who would more readily and quickly assimilate with the people already here.

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. If we just say, "Now, we will permit unrestricted immigration into Alaska," I wonder how many would go? I doubt if anybody would go up there. They want to come over here and settle in New York, in Chicago, in Detroit, where they are already overcrowded.

Mr. HART. That is my observation.

I think in the Meader report, Congressman, Mr. Meader mentions the fact, characteristic of the refugees in the displaced persons camps in Germany, was that many of them, or most of them, perhaps, did not want to work. I think they have an exaggerated idea. I do not think they would come over here with anything like the pioneer spirit. We want people to come here who have the pioneering spirit. There is plenty of pioneering to be done and there will be for the whole foreseeable future, in my opinion.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, you said, I believe, if I heard you correctly, that those in DP camps do not want to work; is that right?

Mr. HART. I said I understood a considerable number of them, according to Mr. Meader, do not.

Mr. CELLER. Let us read the testimony of the expert who appeared here; that is, the words of Assistant Secretary of State John H. Hilldring, who has been among the displaced persons since 19——

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Celler, that is already in the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Make it brief, please.

Mr. CELLER. I will make it very brief. He has been with the displaced persons since 1945, and he was attached to General Eisenhower's staff.

He says:

I think the displaced persons have established a remarkable record for themselves in their attitude toward work. All responsible reports agree that the average displaced person is far from being lazy and inefficient and irresponsible. He is eager to rebuild his life through hard, constructive work.

I certainly would be only too pleased, Mr. Hart, to join with my distinguished colleague from Texas to have these DP's go into Alaska. It has a population of 80,000, in a land larger than the State of Texas, far larger than the State of Texas. A glorious opportunity awaits them there and I would be only too willing and they would be only too willing, to enter that land if we would let them.

Now, you have made some assertions, Mr. Hart, about the housing problem, and then you stated in one portion of your speech that you would be willing to permit 160,000 Polish soldiers——

Mr. FELLOWS. He said "if." "If anybody."

Mr. CELLER. I ask him, if that would be permitted, would that disturb the housing problem?

Mr. HART. I qualified it, just as the chairman says, that I would favor their being admitted first, and ahead of any other people, to the extent that we could admit them.

Mr. CELLER. But they still would have the effect upon the housing problem, if your assertions are correct.

Mr. HART. I think, of course, the coming in of the people who are coming in under the present quotas would do that, and my notion is that the law should be changed so that instead of having these people come in under these various quotas, we take in people like that.

Why not consider our own best interests? Here are some people that we know the caliber of them; we know the quality of them.

Mr. CELLER. You would be willing to change the quota law, then, to that extent?

Mr. HART. To admit those, for that special case, yes; but I would not raise the number that can come in.

Mr. CELLER. As a matter of fact, for the past 10 years, only 20 per cent of the quotas have been used, as you know.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. And you would take the unused quotas, I presume, and let some administrative official determine who should use those unused certificates?

Mr. HART. For the past years; no.

Mr. CELLER. In the future?

Mr. HART. In the future, I would favor such action by this Congress as would admit before any others, under the rules for the admission of any people from other countries, such people as have actually fought alongside us in battle.

Mr. CELLER. So that you would be willing to change the quota system to that extent?

Mr. HART. I would not raise the total number. If anything, I would reduce it.

Mr. CELLER. But you would change the quota system in the sense that if there were any unused quotas, you would have those unused certificates applied to praiseworthy, creditable persons?

Mr. HART. I would be willing to see the law changed in such a way that without raising it, and quite likely lowering the total number that could come in, which I think is 153,000 at one time——

Mr. ROBSION. Let me interrupt to make the matter clear: As I understand it, unused quotas are canceled, and cannot be used.

Mr. HART. Yes; but a bill is pending to use them, as I understand it.

Mr. CHELF. They are not rain checks. They are void.

Mr. ROBSION. If you do not use them, they are canceled.

Mr. HART. But, there are bills pending that would use those.

Mr. ROBSION. That is really making new quotas. It is not carrying out the present quota, or a substitute for quotas that are not used.

Mr. HART. I do not think we owe it to anybody just because he wants to come into the country or can be persuaded to, by officials of the War Department or any other department of this Government that can be circulating among them, or any other persons for that matter, I do not think we should admit them just because they want to come.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I suggest there that we know that the reason why the officials of the Government are so interested is because the Palestine question is involved; is that correct?

Mr. HART. That is something else.

Mr. FELLOWS. So I understand. We speak about the Department of State. It is a question much more broad than this question we are facing here that is involved in their position.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. That question was asked of General Hilldring, and he gave no answer to it.

Mr. FELLOWS. That question will be answered later, because they already told me that is so.

Mr. CELLER. I am glad to hear that.

Will you let me finish? I think I have the witness in hand.

Mr. HART. I was not prepared to get into the Palestine question, Mr. Chairman. I have given a lot of thought to that but I did not think that was up here.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am saying that reference has been made to it. I am saying that it is a matter that is much broader, than what we are dealing with here.

Mr. CELLER. Now, the same situation would apply with reference to the admission of 160,000 Poles, to your observations concerning unemployment, would it not?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir, obviously.

Mr. CELLER. So that you object to the admission of 400,000 because unemployment conditions would be aggravated, but you are willing to admit 160,000 Polish soldiers?

Mr. HART. Over a period of 4 years, say, the period that is covered or provided for in this bill.

Mr. CELLER. I take it that you hope, or that we all hope, within 2 years, or even 1 year, the housing problem may be solved.

Mr. HART. I see no likelihood of it myself.

Mr. CELLER. How long do you think it would take?

Mr. HART. I would not know. I hope it is going to improve. I think we will improve our housing question; but here we are getting into something totally different.

Mr. CELLER. The point is, as we improve our housing conditions, we could take more people in?

Mr. HART. We could but we would not necessarily want to.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, you know, also, Mr. Hart, that most of these displaced persons would go to relatives and live in the families of their relatives?

Mr. FELLOWS. If they had any.

Mr. CELLER. If they had them; that is correct.

Now, on page 3 of your statement, Mr. Hart, you said, I believe, that one of the greatest factors contributing to this socialistic development is the character of our immigration for the past 30 or 40 years.

Of course, you know, if you take and look at the lists of the so-called American Polit Bureau of the Communist Party you will find such names, who are all natives, as Eugene Debs, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Robert Thompson, Carlos Lamont, John Williamson, Steve Nelson, Earl Browder, William J. Foster.

Would you make the same characterizations concerning those natives who are in our country with reference to the factors contributing to socialistic developments?

Mr. HART. Congressman, I said right at the foot of page 3 that I admitted that there were some who were from families that have been in this country for perhaps generations.

Mr. CELLER. I can give you many more native Americans who are Communists and actively engaged in communism.

Mr. HART. I would be glad, if you would like me to, to file with this committee a list of active Communists and active left-wingers who are of this type of immigration that I do not like.

Mr. CELLER. So that communism and left-wingism and fellow-travelerism is not limited to aliens?

Mr. HART. No.

Mr. CELLER. And there are many native citizens.

Mr. HART. But mostly it comes from them.

Mr. ROBSION. Where did they originate, anarchism and communism and bolshevism? Where did they originate?

They did not originate in this country. These are folks that have taken up those ideologies. It originated in eastern and southeastern Europe, did it not?

Mr. HART. It was brought over here by certain people who emigrated from central and southeastern Europe.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, Earl Browder comes from American Revolutionary stock, and, of course, it is well to know also that in our history we have had many who have had socialistic leanings, who have become great in the annals of literature.

I refer to James Russell Lowell, who believed in the collectivist system, and Horace Greely and Charles A. Dana, and Margaret Fuller and Nathaniel Hawthorne. They were called names very much like the names that we hurl at Browder today, in their time, and, of course, we have Mr. Townsend, and the well-known Townsend plan, and I remember Eugene Debs, and many others, and Big Bill Hayward, who all believed in the collectivist system, and they are all native Americans.

Mr. HART. Those men that you spoke of, or many of them, James Russell Lowell, and Ralph Waldo Emerson—I do not think you mentioned them—but a lot of those people played and dallied with the idea of collectivism. Most of them dropped it.

Mr. CELLER. And we would call them today, fellow travelers.

Mr. HART. Well, hardly. Most of them dropped it.

Mr. CELLER. I will not go into that. You say, also——

The United States is still the greatest country in the world.

And, of course, that is so despite the fact that we had this large number of aliens coming into our land, particularly after 1880—the large number of aliens coming from southern and eastern Europe.

As I understand it, you make a distinction between those coming from southern and eastern Europe, which you term, in a way, inferior, to those coming from northern and western Europe, which by your language you term superior.

So despite these inferior aliens, we have gone on and we have, as you said, become the greatest country in the world.

Mr. HART. We had become the greatest country in the world long before we began to feel the impact of that immigration from southern and southeastern Europe. That has diluted it, watered it down, and put the brakes on.

Mr. CELLER. But you used “the”——

Mr. HART. Now, I think I am using the view that was given and that was held by Congress in 1924 when they passed their law of that year.

Mr. CELLER. But the date of your statement is June 20, and you say:

The United States is still the greatest country in the world.

Mr. HART. Yes, in spite of that dilution, it still is.

Mr. CELLER. In spite of all that?

Mr. HART. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, you know that all these DP's are screened by the military authorities, and, as was indicated in the testimony here——

Mr. HART. Who are those among the military authorities who are doing it? It depends on the man.

Mr. CELLER. I did not finish my sentence. I did not finish my question.

Mr. HART. Pardon me.

Mr. GOSSETT. I dispute the fact that they are screened by military authorities.

Mr. CELLER. General Hildring said there is a complete dossier.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt for just a moment? We have several more witnesses.

Mr. CELLER. I have only a few questions more.

Mr. FELLOWS. And if you will just confine your testimony to questions, it would enable matters to proceed more rapidly.

Mr. CELLER. If General Hildring gave us the facts, and he said that there is a complete dossier in the American zone of DP's, there would be something in the nature of screening because that dossier; and that there is a second screening by State Department officials and Immigration officials when an immigrant comes here, would you say that that would be sufficient to keep out undesirables?

Mr. HART. I do not think it has been sufficient in the past, anywhere nearly.

Mr. CELLER. Have you proof that it has been insufficient?

Mr. HART. Yes. Yes, for instance, we have had people admitted to this country—well, I will take one man who is a great author. He is one of the greatest authors in the country. He came from Armenia. He has changed his name a half dozen times. He has gone around and got himself in by deceit and intrigue and misrepresented himself, and he has written books that have been touted to the skies.

Mr. CELLER. You mean, Under Cover?

Mr. HART. I mean Under Cover, and other books by this man, Derounian.

A Chicago judge, as you probably know, said in his presence in the courtroom in Chicago—a Federal judge, after a jury had awarded a verdict, saying that he had lied; they said they would not believe him under oath. The Federal judge said so. And still he goes on and still he is at large and writing books that are misleading to people of the country; and I would like to throw this in, Congressman, because it is in point. It shows how the poison works.

I saw yesterday a similar phony from Idaho, as a matter of fact, from a very fine American citizen there, a list of books published by the committee on secondary education, so-called, and I looked to see what that was and that, if you please, was a list of pedagogues in about 10 or a dozen boys' and girls' private boarding schools—pretty "flossy" schools, they are supposed to be. I know they are in many ways, and yet here is a list of books sent out by them.

There is not a single book there of a character that really scrutinizes America and tries to show what is going on in the country, but instead they have books just like this Derounian's *The Plotters*.

Mr. CELLER. I read the book *The Plotters*, and I read the book *Under Cover*, and I feel it has done a great deal of good. It may have done some harm but the good far outweighs whatever harm may be.

Mr. HART. What do you think the good is?

Mr. CELLER. I do not think we are here to discuss literature or books in particular.

Now, of course, you say also that every one of these 400,000 can bring in his spouse and minor children. Of course, you know that most of the children are orphan children and would not have any parents whatsoever, and therefore they would not bring in any parents because they do not exist; and many of the spouses no longer have the other spouse because they were annihilated by Hitler's sadism; so that statement, of course, would have to be changed in accordance with those facts.

Furthermore, the American Federation of Labor and the CIO have stated that there would be not any disturbance to the labor situation in this country.

Mr. FELLOWS. By the CIO you do not mean here.

Mr. CELLER. No; they have stated that.

And William Green appeared here, and I understand Mr. Phillip Murray will appear later, and both agreed in their statements.

I am not going to take the time to read them into the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Please do not.

Mr. CELLER. That the labor situation would not be muddled and that there would be no effect whatsoever on unemployment.

Mr. HART. They have been good backers of the administration right along.

Mr. CELLER. Been what?

Mr. HART. I say, they have both been excellent backers of the administration, and anything that the administration wants, right along. I would expect them to say that.

Mr. CELLER. Are you aware of the fact that the Census Bureau reports, only recently, that civilian employment in the United States rose to an all-time high of 58,330,000 in May, a gain of about 1,500,000 over April?

In addition, there were 1,470,000 men and women in the armed forces.

So that we have a total employed list in this country of 59,800,000, the highest we have ever had.

Were you aware of that, sir?

Mr. HART. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, if Mr. Celler is going to testify, I want to testify here a little bit, too.

Mr. CELLER. You have, for a long time.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have a half hour. That is what he had.

Mr. GOSSETT. The representatives of the A. F. of L. and the CIO both came before the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments in the fall of 1945, testifying for the so-called guaranteed full employment bill, and both of them were predicting that within that time we would have 8,000,000 unemployed, and they were scared to death of what was going to happen in the event of a recession which they then predicted was just around the corner, so they kind of testify whichever way the wind blows.

Mr. FELLOWS. Just a moment, have you got another question?

Mr. CELLER. I have no questions.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Robsion.

Mr. ROBSION. I assume there is no doubt about Europe being torn up, cities upset, and a great deal of reconstruction and rehabilitation work to be done in Europe; is there not? We all agree to that.

Mr. HART. I am sure of it.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, it was put into the record here that many of these persons are good workers—mechanics, machinists, carpenters, and so forth—and would be very useful in any country as workmen.

Now, I see that the big boys in Europe are getting their heads together, because it has been suggested that the United States put up all the way from \$3,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 a year for the next 5 or 10 years—5 years, at least—to help Europe to rehabilitate itself. I think, in looking to the future, and the labor picture in the future, if there is any place in the world where they are going to need workmen, it will be in Europe; will it not?

Mr. HART. It seems so to me, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. And so far as this high employment today in this country is concerned, the census figures will show—and we do not have to look at the census; we have experienced that ourselves; I remember myself in 1892 or 1893, and from 1893 to 1897, people were walking the streets and the highways of this country looking for work, and then about 1921 we had a recession and then in 1930 and 1931 and 1932, there were so many more people than there were jobs that it was pitiful.

It went back a little bit in the latter part of 1938 and 1939. We began to get in trouble again; and some of the responsible labor leaders of this country stated that there were 13,500,000 unemployed workers in the country.

Now, it does not mean so much to me that you have 59,000,000 today or 60,000,000. I think that Mr. Murray and Mr. Green were sincere when they said that probably in a short time you would have 8,000,000 unemployed in this country.

Of course, back there in 1939, the war came along, and we began to produce for the world so now, one of these days, we are going to get caught up and you need not be surprised when I think the most careful planners and thinkers feel that this 59,000,000 or 60,000,000 cannot keep up in this country; but anyhow, I could not see the reason why these good folks, those of them that are good folks, should not stay in Europe to help use the money that will be available to rehabilitate their own country, because it is extra good folks that my friend from New York talks about, that is the kind of people they will need in Europe to help rebuild.

Now, do you not agree with that belief in the matter?

Mr. HART. I do very much, Mr. Robsion.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, there is another bill in this Congress where you are bypassing this bill, and the same folks are urging that bill, I find out, mostly, that are urging this bill, and that is that bill before the Congress—I think it will come up today or perhaps real soon—where they propose to set up this International Refugee Organization, and one of their main purposes of setting that up is to take care of these so-called million or so DP's, which so much effort has been put forth to put through here, and they urge that if that is done then our Congress of this country will appropriate \$73,000,000, and I believe there are many other nations, maybe 48 or so, that are going into this refugee organization to handle this identical problem, and they want us to put up \$73,000,000 instead of paying out through the Army \$110,000,000 or \$120,000,000 or \$130,000,000 to take care of these DP's in these camps, and this International Refugee Organization is to resettle these people—and they have a pretty clever proposition there.

Like this bill, they are not going to change our immigration laws or anything like that; but the fact is, they are claiming that they are going to take advantage of these unused visas that my friend from New York talks about.

Only one witness has appeared for that bill, but it seems to be pushed pretty hard and may come up for consideration long before this bill.

Mr. HART. Mr. Congressman, I am impressed with the fact, if it is a fact, as I believe it is, that few other countries want to take in these displaced persons.

Now, why?

I understand great hopes were held out that South America, including Brazil, or especially Brazil, would take them, and there is an article in the Sunday Times, I think, or it may have been the Herald Tribune, 2 weeks ago, to the effect that all of those countries are slow to do it.

Mr. ROBSION. Let me push this question a little further:

If that International Refugee Organization, with forty-odd nations together, is going to take hold of the proposition and resettle these folks, where we are working around here as we have been doing, taking testimony here both for and against these thousands and tens of thousands of cards and letters and telegrams sent in, they are pushing this bill that is to bypass it, and if it is to be handled at all, I think if they have such an organization, of forty-odd nations, entering into this problem in good faith, then perhaps you would be getting somewhere, rather than here where you propose to take 100,000 of them sometime this year, when this bill would become a law, and that may be months from now, and then there would be 300,000 still sitting there for 3 more years—at least 100,000 of them.

Mr. HART. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. And 200,000 would be sitting there for a couple of years, and 100,000 would be there the last year, just sitting down there, and the United States taking care of them so if there is an International Relief Organization that is going to look into the whole question, and settle this business, it seems to me that if it is handled at all it ought to be solved in that way.

Mr. CELLER. Will you yield on that?

Mr. ROBSION. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. It is not quite accurate to say that no country is willing to take these DP's out of these camps.

Sweden has already taken 45,000 of these refugees.

Canada recently took 5,000 of these DP's.

Norway has taken quite a number of them, and Denmark has, and Great Britain, in addition to the 160,000 Poles, has asked for 100,000 more of the DP's, so that it will not be the case that if we take the 400,000 refugees in 4 years that the rest will be sitting there and languishing.

Mr. ROBSION. The 100,000 that were called for by Great Britain have not gone.

Mr. CELLER. They are about to go, and arrangements are being made now. I have the report in the New York Times right before me.

Mr. ROBSION. France will take a lot of them, they say, but they will not go. They want to come to the United States.

Mr. CELLER. No; France's situation is entirely different. Most of these DP's are anti-Communists. They fled from communistically

dominated lands. The Estonians and Lithuanians and the Latvians and the Yugoslavs refused to go back to the lands of their birth or origin because they would go into slave labor or prison camps or be purged and executed. That is why they refused to return to communistically dictated France—I say that advisedly because the Communist Party has the largest number of all parties in France and are arguing against the admission of these anti-Communists.

It is interesting to note that not a single Communist—not a single communistic newspaper in this country advocates the Stratton bill.

Why?

They do not want anti-Communists, and these persons whom we seek to help by this bill are anti-Communists.

But, Mr. Hart, the statement has been made by my distinguished colleague from Texas about Ethiopia. I do not know whether Haile Selassie has made any statement. It seems rather strange that the gentleman from Texas would ask these DP's to go to Ethiopia. But many countries have the barriers up, not down. Australia has yet to indicate that she wishes to take any of these DP's.

British South Africa has yet to indicate.

But we are reliably informed that if the United States takes the lead some action will be taken by those countries.

Now, we cannot assume the attitude of "Let George do it," and they assume the attitude of "Let George do it." Somebody must make a beginning, or a start, and I think we can well make the beginning or the start.

Mr. HART. Congressman, I am afraid of doing anything in the expectation that some other country is going to do something else. We tried that out with Russia over and over again and we came out at the small end. I am in favor of doing something if we are going to do anything on any subject whatsoever only when we get a quid pro quo that really is a quid pro quo.

Mr. CELLER. You heard the chairman announce that the indications have been made to him that if we take some action here the doors of Palestine, for example, will be open.

Mr. FELLOWS. No; I did not say that.

Mr. CELLER. I am sorry. I stand corrected.

Mr. FELLOWS. I will say this for the record.

No. I say it is a broader question involved there, and that might be; but I am not saying that this would open any doors.

Mr. CELLER. I see.

Mr. HART. I do not think anyway, Mr. Chairman, that this Congress ought to take any action on this question here with any reference to Palestine. What interest have we in the United States of America got in Palestine?

Mr. CELLER. Do you think, Mr. Hart, that we should stand idly by and do nothing, that these people were forced to go back into their lands of origin?

We have three alternatives:

We can either leave them there at the taxpayers' expense of \$130,000,000 a year.

Mr. FELLOWS. This was your broadcast last night. We heard it.

Mr. CELLER. Or we can send them back at the point of a bayonet, or let the other country's officials come in and take them, and purge them.

Would you want us to stand idly by to let that happen?

Mr. HART. No; but is there not another alternative?

Mr. CELLER. What is the alternative?

Mr. HART. Why can they not go to work there?

Mr. CELLER. They cannot.

Mr. GOSSETT. None of those alternatives is true. They are all false.

Mr. CELLER. I disagree with that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any other questions?

Mr. CHELF. I think we are pulling some of the cylinders out of the motor here. We are slowing this thing down. Let us hear some more witnesses.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Lesinski is waiting here to testify.

Mr. CHELF. We are going to have a job trying to get something through the committee as it is. The session is almost over.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Javits has asked to be heard.

You will be heard, Mr. Lesinski, after Mr. Javits speaks.

Mr. HART. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, thank you very much.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir.

STATEMENT OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Javits, you are a Member of Congress.

Would you please state your full name?

Mr. JAVITS. Jacob K. Javits, Twenty-first Congressional District, New York.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to testify before the committee, and I shall confine myself only to such details as are of special interest, and are not yet in the record.

It may be useful at the outset to clarify one point, in view of the fact that I am the author in the House of H. R. 2446, of which Senator Ives is the author in the Senate, and that is a bill to admit war orphans into the United States for adoption by United States citizens as non-quota immigrants.

I need not belabor before this committee the interest in and devotion to our bill of Senator Ives and myself, nor need I emphasize its moving appeal to the heart of every American, in which we share. Yet important as is the effort to save some vestige of the youth of Europe, and to give them the opportunity of peace and hope in the New World, even more important is the solution of the problem of all the displaced persons and refugees—the walking dead of Europe—the redemption of the responsibility of the victorious nations to these unfortunates, and the satisfaction of the conscience of those powers which fought for their souls in the United Nations and who now owe them justice.

I would just like to emphasize that I talked with the Senator's office yesterday. What we have primarily is not lack of interest in our bill. Obviously, we do not, and we are very much concerned about it and believe in its very much. We are talking procedurally of the essentials. We do not want anyone to feel that we would just like to bring our bill in and sort of preempt this one in any way, shape, or form.

I am convinced that this is critically important, and I am here to testify in its support.

Mr. ROBSION. I happen to know that there are a number of very sincere people who have been strong for the Stratton bill and now are urging this bill.

Mr. JAVITS. Congressman Robsion, we are the authors of the bill and I think with all humility, we are entitled to be heard on just how we feel about it and I just want to make this very clear.

Mr. ROBSION. I am glad to get your statement.

Mr. Javits, I know of a tremendous effort to push the other one through and go around the Stratton bill.

Mr. JAVITS. We are very happy that our bill has that kind of support and we are devoted to its purposes.

We feel that deals essentially with youth and this deals with a broad problem which I think you yourself referred to a minute ago in connection with the whole refugee picture, which includes this international refugee organization, brought up this morning.

Would you like me to continue?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. JAVITS. Now, there is one other point on which I can perhaps be of some help in the consideration of this measure and that is, based upon the information which I have obtained as a member of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs which has considered and reported out H. J. Res. 2017 which provides for United States membership in the international refugee organization, and which has been referred to this morning.

When our forces entered Germany and Austria during the war, they found about 8,000,000 refugees and displaced persons. These people had entered the country under compulsion, as slave laborers or as occupants of concentration camps. A remarkable record has been made in the repatriation of about seven-eighths of these unfortunate people, leaving now about 1,200,000 displaced persons and refugees who are either in legitimate fear of persecution by communistic regimes which have taken over their former homelands or they are Jews, who find it impossible to face the surroundings or the people directly responsible for the obliteration of over 5,000,000 of their husbands, wives, children, brothers, and neighbors.

We have 650,000 of these unfortunates under our direct supervision in displaced persons' camps now flying the United States flag, staffed with United States Army officers and MP's and partly administered by UNRRA. We are spending a minimum of \$130,000,000 a year in the support of these camps and when the International Organization is organized we can reduce that expenditure to \$73,500,000 a year, in the form of our IRO contribution; but I would like to make this clear.

The International Refugee Organization is organized as a temporary agency. The United States has a right to withdraw from it on 1 year's notice.

In addition to saving us from \$50,000,000 in cost, the Refugee Organization will also put us at an arm's length position with respect to this particular problem, because as we stand today, these refugees are our responsibility and we also not only have humanitarian, statesmanlike action, but we have also the pressure of our own Army which wants to get rid of the task of looking out for these people.

That is no job for our Army.

When you have the International Refugee Organization, you have an organization separate from us, which we and the other nations can negotiate with in reference to these refugees at arm's length.

And one other point in that regard. It is true that other nations are taking and will continue to take them, but whether or not the whole problem can be handled there depends very largely upon our disposition to cooperate, too, just as others are cooperating.

Now, one other point: I have been very much interested in housing myself, and I think the members of the subcommittee know that, and in employment in the United States, and I do not believe that the objections made to this bill on both those grounds are well taken.

In the first place, the number of people involved is extremely small. Taking the country over-all, we have 40,000,000 families and over 40,000,000 homes occupied, and we are talking about 100,000 people a year, most of whom will go to families themselves.

Secondly, our unemployment situation today presents no problem whatever. Normal unemployment in the United States, due to the figure today is much less than that.

Now, one final point: I happen to know a great many of these new refugees and displaced persons who have actually come to the United States. They are new citizens, and some thousands of them live in my district. I know them first-hand. I know how they have gotten along here. I know what they can accomplish. I know their character and quality and I find that their dreadful experiences have made them the keenest and most devoted disciples of freedom and democracy, whose whole heart and soul is in this land, in its constitutional form of government; and they are showing the brand of Americanism which could put many a third- and fourth-generation American to shame.

Certainly we need have no qualms on that score.

I believe that a great human being like Albert Einstein is not an exception, but rather typical of the kind of people that we may expect to admit if this bill is passed.

An analysis of displaced persons in the United States occupied zone, for example, shows that almost three-quarters are sturdy Poles and Balts and less than one-quarter are Jewish farmers, skilled artisans, and professional men and women.

Finally, we must consider this whole situation in the light of our foreign policy. The United States enjoys the highest moral credit of any nation in the world. Any cause for which we plead immediately has the sympathetic consideration of a majority of the nations. This position of leadership gives us the opportunity for obtaining a century of peace from today through the effectiveness of the United Nations, but it also involves a responsibility to participate in the world's problems and to take our share of the world's burdens. One of the most pressing problems of the world is the resettlement of the DP's and we must take our share of this responsibility—just our share, no more, no less—and in due season.

We have just embarked on a great foreign policy of aid to freedom loving peoples everywhere. This we have done to protect the forces of individual liberty and of the security of the private economy in a world endangered by the suppression of the individual and the deifica-

tion of materialism. In all the debates before the UN about refugees and DP's and in opposition to the position of the Soviets, we insisted that our ideology commands that no man, under conditions outraging his convictions or spirit, should be compelled to be repatriated. I hope the Soviets will come around to our way of thinking on this principle one day, but in the meantime our ideas of humanity and justice will not be demonstrated by stating them alone but by showing that we have the ability to care for these refugees and DP's and to resettle them, in common with other nations.

In the measure that we solve this problem with efficiency and justice will we be judged as to our ability to solve the great problems of world peace, world security, and individual freedom.

If there are any questions, sir, I will be glad to answer them.

Mr. ROBSION. You did not read all of your statement, did you?

Mr. JAVITS. I did not. I felt the committee could go through it if they so desired.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any questions?

Mr. CELLER. No questions.

Mr. FELLOWS. I have some information, Mr. Javits. I call it authentic.

Of the 200,000 Jewish people there, a large percentage of them do not want to come to America.

Have you that information?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I think that that question, which is a very wise one, deserves a qualified answer, for this reason:

A great majority of them would like to go to Palestine if they could get into Palestine. They would prefer to come to the United States or any other active industrial and civilized country but they have been led to believe that Palestine was their great hope. That is where 600,000 of their coreligionists are. It is tied up with their whole history and their feeling of the destiny of the Jewish people and so they have an aspiration to go there. It is more an idealistic aspiration than it is a practical hope.

So the published reports, which the chairman so properly calls attention to, that a great majority of the Jewish people want to go to Palestine, is just exactly that. They want to go, if practically they could. But if practically they cannot, they will have to be resettled in other parts of the world, including our own country, if we go through with some such legislation as that.

Mr. ROBSION. That was the statement of Dr. Bernstein.

Mr. FELLOWS. I had very good information yesterday from a man who had been working there with them for some time and told me that there is not any question in his mind. His percentage was way up to 90 percent.

Mr. CELLER. Ninety-five percent.

Mr. FELLOWS. That 90 percent did not want to come to this country if they could go to Palestine.

Mr. JAVITS. It is not an affirmative, not wanting to.

Mr. FELLOWS. Perhaps I am not choosing my words very well but that was the idea, that there was where they have their eyes, if it was possible.

Mr. JAVITS. There was the Promised Land and I use that in its literal sense, as far as they were concerned and if that was impos-

sible, and it may very well be because of the international situation, then certainly they want to be resettled in the civilized countries of the world, including the United States.

Mr. CELLER. In other words, their first choice is Palestine.

If that is blocked to them, they will come to the United States, or any other place similar to the United States where they can live in dignity, honor, and decency.

Mr. JAVITS. What I want to point out is that we did not want to get the complexion into it that they do not like the United States or would not like to come here or anything like that, because we know that that is God's land to any person in that condition or any person in Europe, but it is a question of the fact that their whole idealism, their whole life is tied up in their destiny in Palestine and if that were open to them that would be the first choice.

Mr. CELLER. Is it your opinion, also, Mr. Javits, that the British have been charging us with oozing out words of sympathy but not implementing it with action, and that if we take some action on the admission of some of these DP's, they might be inclined to open Palestine to some of these Jews?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Celler, there is no question about that. That has been very well advertised, in a sense. I mean, it has been discussed in public print.

But one point that that does remind me of which may be of interest to the chairman and the members of the subcommittee, in our testimony on the IRO it was very clear that the Latin-American countries were not nearly as enthusiastic as they might be about joining in a resettlement program, because the first thing that they told General Hildring was, "Well, what are you doing about it? You are asking us to do it. You would like us to relieve you of this burden in the occupied areas; but what are you doing about it?"

A very logical question; and it was that point which impressed me much more than this other one that we have heard a great deal about and sort of in the realm of the higher international policy.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. JAVITS. Thank you very much.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Lesinski.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN LESINSKI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, my name is John Lesinski, Representative from Michigan; and for the last 12 years a member of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, and its last chairman before reorganization.

Listening to the first witness—

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you any statement?

Mr. LESINSKI. Nothing prepared, sir.

I think that the gentleman has made some misstatements when he said that the people of the southern European countries are an unwanted quantity, as I understood it.

If you will look over the quotas of those particular countries, you will find that the quotas are very small, starting with Greece and going all the way up.

You will find Yugoslavia's quota small, the Rumanian quota small; the Polish quota, 6,524; Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania with small quotas.

I am for immigration to the United States. I think we are making a mistake in not permitting immigrants to come in. If any of you recall, way back in 1890, and I was a kid then, that is when the great migration came to America, you will find that those immigrants were mostly from the central and south-central countries of Europe.

We, as America, in this war, acting as one of the so-called Big Three have double-crossed those little countries——

Mr. FELLOWS. May I ask you something there?

What do you think of the suggestion Mr. Hart made, that the 160,000 Poles who are in camps in England should come first, over any other group?

Mr. LESINSKI. I do not quite agree with that statement. England does owe the Polish army certain obligations. They fought with the British Army. They are the refugees that were shoved into Siberia and about 100,000 of them came back. About a couple of hundred thousand were released and were shoved into Iran—that is, Persia. The children were distributed all over the world, including South Africa, India, and Mexico.

From that group, was formed this Polish Army that originally defended Tobruk, and then fought in Italy, where they took Monte Cassino in 48 hours.

There are a good many Polish graves over there.

I think this should be done before the quota is enlarged:

First, straighten out your present situation. If you will remember the Presidential order of December 22, 1945, the quotas of the central European countries, which amount to about 39,000, should be utilized first for orphans and then widows, then the balance to be utilized for refugees.

I happened to be on the committee that investigated the original refugee camp in Oswego, N. Y. There were about 900 and some refugees of the Jewish faith, mostly from Austria. I recommended to the committee that they be absorbed within the quota numbers of the respective country as the quotas will permit to take them in.

Mr. ROBSION. How many were there in those camps?

Mr. LESINSKI. About 960 or 970. There was a little below a thousand.

Then the second matter that came up was the Polish refugees in Mexico. There were about 1,500 at that time. I told the State Department at that time—they were trying to make certain arrangements to liquidate the camp in Mexico on June 30, 1946—I told the State Department then—I was then chairman of the committee and I set out to call it to the attention of the committee—my own views were this:

That if they will permit under the quota system about 1,200 of those people to come to this country, I would not agree to bring them in because some were jailbirds and some were Commies and I hate the Commies, so I would not want them in here, although I am of Polish descent.

As I understand at one time, the National Catholic Welfare conference brought in 250 children, and then there were 110 or 120 brought in and after I made a big howl last January, I got about 80 in.

Out of the Polish quota of 6,524, I doubt of there were many coming in in the recent years. To satisfy yourself, all you have to do is take the Senate report in the Congressional Record of March 25, 1947, and that gives you all the information on who has come into this country.

Now, I think what should be done first is to tell the State Department that they must follow the law as it is written, and tell the same thing to the Immigration Service. I wanted them here today to tell them that. The law has been flaunted by the two departments on account of the Presidential order.

Now, are we going to follow the law, or are we going to follow certain orders or certain whims of the State Department?

I wrote the President and the State Department regarding this matter. I happen to have a letter from the White House. The envelope says December 9, 1946.

I called the President's attention to what is happening with our immigration laws. His answer reads as follows:

DEAR MR. LESINSKI: I read your letter of the 5th with a lot of interest, and for your information you are entirely misinformed as to Jews taken over all the quotas. That is not done at all. It is only intended that they should have their proportionate share. That policy will be continued.

I held hearings in Detroit. I happen to have a copy. I think this committee has the original.

No; that has not been filed because Mr. Alexander has that.

MR. FELLOWS. Who is Mr. Alexander?

MR. LESINSKI. He is the assistant chief of the Visa Division in the State Department.

He made the statement that they had to beat the bushes in Europe and only found 600 children. That was the best amount of orphans they could find.

So I wrote the President and had the letter answered December 18 and he said:

I read your letter of the 12th with a lot of interest, and I cannot see where any good purpose will be served by further conversation on the subject, since you do not seem to believe the statement which I made to you in the first place.

Well, my heavens, you have your record today, and I was right and Mr. President was wrong.

Now, I am not fighting for the Polish quota to be increased nor the Hungarian nor the Rumanian nor Serbian. I believe that the law should be followed as enacted.

Fifty percent of all quotas are preference quotas and relatives should be brought in first, and I think at the top of the list. An American husband can bring an alien wife in, but an American-born woman cannot bring her husband in, and I can show this committee hundreds of letters. With all the pleading I have done, I cannot get those husbands in. You cannot unite the wife and the husband. And yet, in 1 year, out of 82,000 migrants, they brought in 43,000 of Jewish faith.

Mr. Haerring made a point-blank statement that to be a refugee, you have to be of Jewish faith, and that is wrong. The Jews are entitled to this quota. Yes; I will be for it. But the quota that everybody else gets—but I am against any type of quota if it is a preference quota for one group only.

I listened to a lot of these radio comments, which preach tolerance and no discrimination. To me it is all bunk—just plain bunk. If you will look over the list, and I think that is what this committee should do first, before it makes any move, that the next quota, starting with December 31, 1947, must be applied as the law reads, and if it is not followed that way, then bring the departments in. I don't care if it is Tom Clark, Shaughnessy, Carusi, or anybody else, they should follow the law first, as the intent of Congress.

They do not make the law. We make the law. And that is the way it should be followed.

And once that is done, I should like to see this committee investigate and see who the Immigration Service have let in in the past 5 years.

Mr. ROBSION. See what?

Mr. LESINSKI. See what the Immigration Service has allowed to come into this country in the past 5 years.

Mr. ROBSION. Under the law, or under the Executive orders?

Mr. LESINSKI. You had better ask them that. I do not know.

The Executive order is very plain; that 90 percent of that portion of the quota for immigrants should be used for displaced persons, with preference given to orphans.

And I do think this: That we as Americans are making a mistake in not taking immigrants in. because this country grew in the past 50 years in the proportion that it is today only through immigrants, and you take the immigrants that may come from Serbia, Rumania, and that is the type of immigrant that we need in the United States today, and especially in the sheep and cattle country.

You take from Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, you find men up there of different trades—good cabinetmakers and so on. That is the type of people you have up there and that is the type of people you want.

As far as the Polish Army is concerned, I think they are entitled to some consideration: yes. I do not say we should bring them all in now. Let us first unite the families as the law is written. I think we ought to allow the husbands to come in first.

I can say this—

Mr. ROBSION. May I interrupt?

Mr. LESINSKI. Just a minute. There is just one more thing.

Mr. ROBSION. Is there any law that makes a distinction between bringing in the husband and bringing in a wife?

Mr. LESINSKI. The distinction is this: As I recall—Mr. Shaughnessy can correct me—the law was passed that if an American wife was married prior to 1932, the husband came in nonquota.

Today, he must come in within the quota, but a preference quota.

But try and get that preference number. That is the thing that you cannot get.

And yet I can prove by a letter here from the State Department that in the quotas of 1945, 1946, ending June 30, 1946, 1,158 Polish numbers were unused and yet we had potential immigrants that had been outside of Europe, some in South America, and they could be let in.

Now, there is one thing I want to say about some of these departments. If you do not strike the number on the actual head,

they will deny that there is any such thing existing. I happen to know that is a fact.

That is why, first, before this committee makes any type of move, it should investigate these departments and see how they are handling these things. Your quota numbers are assigned monthly.

Mr. ROBSION. In bypassing, say, 1,100?

Mr. LESINSKI. That quota number is gone now.

Mr. ROBSION. I mean, who is favored or who is discriminated against? What group?

Mr. LESINSKI. I am talking of the Polish quota now.

Mr. ROBSION. The Poles?

Mr. LESINSKI. Yes; 1,258 numbers were bypassed. And yet I brought into the committee hearings——

Mr. ROBSION. That was discrimination against the Poles?

Mr. LESINSKI. That is right; and yet I brought into the hearing in Detroit——

Mr. ROBSION. What group did it favor?

Mr. LESINSKI. You have a record here. You had better find out for yourself. I am not going to talk against any group.

Mr. ROBSION. You were on the committee that made the investigation and I am very much intrigued with your statement. You know about this, and I want to know what group was favored.

Mr. LESINSKI. I think your Congressional Record proves what it favors.

Mr. ROBSION. Could my distinguished friend, the former chairman of this committee, say which group it favored?

Mr. LESINSKI. Everybody knows it was the Jewish group.

An excuse the State Department will give you is that they had their registration number prior to everybody else. How they got them, I do not know.

Now, you take the Russian quota. For 25 years, it never was oversubscribed. It is always oversubscribed now, since the war.

I think we should put a little watch on that quota to see who is coming through, like the statement the first witness made. I think it should be watched. I am afraid we are getting a lot of undesirable people that we do not want here. And we are positive, and I happen to know the Russian history, that Russia does not permit any of its people to come here, unless they want someone smuggled in for a certain purpose, and that is the thing that I want to be guarded against.

Mr. CELLER. Would there not be some Russians outside of Russia who may want to come in, John?

Mr. LESINSKI. No. The law says that the quota is charged to the respective country of birth.

Mr. CELLER. That is right. But there are some Russians in countries throughout the world who are outside Russia.

Mr. LESINSKI. I have tried to get one doctor from China who was there in China since 1920. A letter from the State Department—quota oversubscribed.

Now, if you gentlemen want all this, I will bring it in. It will take you a couple of hours, though, if you want to listen to the whole story. I am giving you only a little of the story.

Mr. FELLOWS. Can you not give a little and then file the rest of it?

Mr. LESINSKI. So with this, I think you gentlemen should be careful. I am for the immigrant now, irrespective of who the immigrant is,

but fair numbers should be given to everyone. Consider everyone you are going to bring in here, screen them over there and over here by the Immigration Service, and let us bring in some real people that we need—and we need people.

All this talk about housing and all is bunk to me. We did not have housing in 1890, but thousands of buildings started going up one after another when these immigrants came in, and that is how we grew.

And I know that the aliens from central European countries and the southern countries, in percentage to this group, had more soldiers in this war than any other group.

Now, I will say this for the Jews and the Polish Army: 20 percent of the Polish Army officers were Jews, and I think they should come in under that quota. They should get the preference number. But I do not think we should allow them to come in here—allow people to come in here who have no contact with us. We should unite families first, and I think that is the thing that this committee should go into.

And as I say, see what the State Department is doing with all this stuff, and the immigration, why they permit these things, going above law.

Mr. Shaughnessy and I are on friendly terms. I do not care what he tells you here.

Mr. FELLOWS. You were.

Mr. SHAUGHNESSY. We are.

Mr. FELLOWS. What do you think of H. R. 2910?

Mr. CELLER. The Stratton bill.

Mr. LESINSKI. That is the bill I was talking about. I think we should let the immigrants in, but first find out how the quotas are going to be applied and who is going to come in here and how you are going to assign the quotas; but first, before you do that, bring your present quotas to the law as it is.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Lesinski, you heard Mr. Hart testify, in effect, that immigrants who have come here from southern and eastern Europe were not as good as the immigrants that came here from northern and western Europe.

Mr. LESINSKI. The gentleman, I think, is a little wrong. He has defended the Polish Army, and the Polish people are in central Europe, where the Hungarians and Rumanians are.

When you get down to southeastern Europe you have Greece and Turkey.

Now, that is a very small quota and very few coming in here.

Mr. CELLER. You do not agree?

Mr. LESINSKI. Not only do not agree but let us say this: The most southeastern point is Turkey. Everybody knows the rug tradesmen and we all buy rugs from them when we buy a good rug.

When you talk about Greece, most of the Greeks have restaurants down here and we go in there and eat, and none of us can find fault with that.

Then where do we go?

We go up to Serbia and Czechoslovakia which is 8,000,000 Serbians and 3,000,000 of everything else.

There is a country that I think we owe more than everybody else. The Serbians got an awful licking through our and British politics, the Big Three.

Mr. FELLOWS. You are supporting 2,910 with qualifications?

Mr. LESINSKI. With qualifications; yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. But to get back to what Mr. Hart said, then you do not believe that these races from southern and eastern Europe are inferior to the races from western and northern Europe? You do not agree with that?

Mr. LESINSKI. I do not know that I disagree to it, but I will also show you that from the territory I think we have had musicians and poets.

Paderewski was a pretty good pianist.

Mr. CELLER. We had Pulaski and DeKalb and others who fought here.

Mr. LESINSKI. Surely. We did not find them from the other end of the country.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any questions?

Mr. CELLER. No.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. LESINSKI. Now, gentlemen, I would advise you to have the committee bring in our hearings in Detroit. This is my copy, which I am hanging onto, but you will be surprised at what the State Department had to say.

Mr. Chairman, I want to add one thing, that I just forgot, that happened yesterday.

A lady was in my office who was one of the employees of the Polish Government. They have been here 2 years. They filed immediately for a quota number and all.

She was in the State Department yesterday and she was told yesterday that there is no quota number; that only quota numbers are recognized prior to 1942; that was in this representation. It is not a fact. I just wanted to bring that out here.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Davis is here.

STATEMENT OF HON. GLEN DAVIS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE SECOND DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, while all of us realize the moral aspects of the displaced persons issue, and know that our standing in the world is at stake as we decide how to meet this issue, I don't believe it is one that must be decided on emotional appeal alone. It would seem to me that much has been said already on what we should do as a Christian nation, and as a humane people, but that perhaps more attention might well be given to the financial and economic issues involved in this problem.

To me, this is not a racial nor a political matter. In my section of Wisconsin, we have a tolerant citizenry living as friends and neighbors; many are first or second generation Americans whose parents came from the native lands of many of the displaced persons now in Europe. Thoughtful people, liberal-minded leaders of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths in Wisconsin, officials of both the CIO and the AFL labor unions, farmers' cooperatives, civic associations, and social agencies have endorsed this bill and urged my support of it. Among the leading Wisconsin newspapers that are supporting this measure editorially are the largest independent paper in the State, the Milwaukee Journal; the largest Democrat newspaper in the State,

the Madison Capital Times; the largest Republican newspaper in the State, the Wisconsin State Journal; and one of the largest church publications in Wisconsin, the Catholic Herald-Citizen. No political group in the State has taken action either for or against this measure. I have received letters against the measure from two patriotic organizations that sincerely oppose any change in immigration restrictions, and from three individuals in my district who do not approve H. R. 2910. All other letters, cards, telegrams, and resolutions which I have received from my district have urged approval of the Stratton bill.

Naturally there has been some unspoken opposition, but this has stemmed for the most part from prejudice and lack of information about the bill—from a failure to understand the safeguards that are in this measure. I would like to say here that if this committee feels that requirements for investigating and screening displaced persons are insufficient in the present bill, those of us who advocate a favorable report on this measure certainly would not dissent if this committee inserted stronger recommendations to keep any objectionable persons from entering the United States under this act.

Aside from the moral aspects of this bill, I am interested in it from an economic standpoint. As a Congressman who has consistently supported efforts to reduce Government spending, I am vitally concerned with any measure which proposes a solution of a problem that has been costing our Government approximately \$1 per day for each displaced person now under our control in Europe, and which the War Department estimates has cost us more than \$100,000,000 in the fiscal year just ended. There now is a proposal to make an initial American contribution of \$73,500,000 to an international relief organization to aid these displaced persons. The American taxpayer is willing to help these people recover, but he does not want to give them a permanent meal ticket charged to his pocketbook. The Stratton bill proposes to take care of a good share of these displaced persons at no cost to this Government. American friends, relatives, or organizations would have to pay the passage to this country of DP's admitted and who were unable to finance their own travel. They would have to guarantee that those admitted would not become public charges. All that this bill provides is a means of permitting help to displaced persons by those in this country who want to aid them. And first consideration under this bill would be given to relatives of American citizens or of war veterans.

In Wisconsin, as in many other States, we have had an almost constant shortage for years of farm workers, domestic servants, and common laborers. From the ranks of displaced persons could come many persons to fill these needs, and adequate housing units are available for them. That both the CIO and AFL are supporting this bill should be proof that it will not hurt the employment chances of native Americans. And the Federal Housing Administration is authority for the statement that their admission will not affect the Nation's housing problem appreciably. I know of no community of 1,000 population in my district that cannot find a place for 1 additional person, which is the ratio if all the persons came to America that this bill would permit. However, no one expects that the maximum mentioned under this act will be able to pass the stringent requirements as to health,

morals, and beliefs we raise for our protection, nor will all find financial guaranties.

But for those who are admitted we will have done a service to humanity; we will have enabled them to find new life and become self-supporting; we will have set a proud example for other nations to follow; and will have taken steps to check the flow of American funds to support them in concentration camps.

The only alternatives to this bill are to drive these distressed people back at bayonet point to the Communist-dominated countries from which they fled to escape dictatorships, or to continue financing their present starvation diet until disease and death finish the slaughter that totalitarianism began.

Speaking in behalf of several hundred people in my district, I urge that if your committee deems it necessary this bill be revised to strengthen its protective safeguards, and then recommended for passage to the House of Representatives.

Mr. Chairman, I might also ask that there be inserted in the record a résumé of some communications that I have received from people in my district.

I will not take up any more of the committee's time.

Thank you very much, gentlemen, for letting me appear.

(The résumé of communications referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 9, 1947.

Congressman GLEN R. DAVIS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DAVIS: The Madison Committee on Displaced Persons was made happy by learning that you intended to appear in favor of the Stratton bill, and you may be assured that there exists widespread support of bill H. R. 2910 in this community. This is evidenced by the continued interest on the part of the people, from the cooperation and assistance which the committee has received from all three radio stations, and from the editorial support of our newspapers. Volunteer speakers have discussed the problem with numberless groups and organizations, and they have found wholehearted agreement, not only with the aim but with the detailed plan of this emergency legislation. No one in the area openly opposes the plan. You have undoubtedly received communications that show how universal and thoughtful the response has been to the proposal, and we trust that you will present these memorials to the Committee on Immigration.

This congressional district is especially equipped to study and evaluate a question like this, as it has the advice and active help of economists and men and women who have worked in Europe, as well as informed businessmen, representatives of labor, church leaders, and many public-spirited citizens.

I am sending you by express some data relative to the Madison committee which shows an active community interest, several editorial comments, and other material which you may distribute among the Committee on Immigration, deliver to the Wisconsin delegation in the House of Representatives, or make other use of. Among the Wisconsin Congressmen who have answered the State League of Women Voters convention resolution in favor of H. R. 2910, are Mr. Keefe and Mr. Kersten, who definitely support it. I think that Representative Hull is favorably disposed toward the bill.

May I, on behalf of the local committee, again thank you for your efforts in behalf of these victims of war, frenzied aggression, and hate and on your interest in honest American principles.

With much respect, I remain,

MADISON COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS,
By WILLIAM H. SPOHN, *Chairman*.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY MADISON COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

The Madison Committee on Displaced Persons represents a wide variety of economic and business interests, labor leaders, church groups, cultural and welfare organizations, as well as public-spirited citizenship in the Madison area. This is evidenced by a list of the members of the committee, which is attached.

Recently it adopted the following resolution intending that its expression of opinion be transmitted to the members of the Wisconsin congressional delegation in Washington:

"Resolved, That the Madison Committee on Displaced Persons having studied the problem of the unfortunate displaced persons in Europe and carefully considered American responsibility in all its aspects, respectfully urges the House Subcommittee on Immigration to report H. R. 2910 favorably and speedily at this session of the Congress.

"Resolved further, That the committee upholds and endorses the objectives of the bill, and urges the Congress to enact it into law."

WILLIAM H. SPOHN, *Chairman.*

Madison Committee on Displaced Persons

[Chairman: William H. Spohn, 1 South Pinckney. Executive secretary: Mrs. W. G. Rice, 2212 Hillington Green]

Name	Address	Identification
Rev. Merrill R. Abbey.....	2110 Fox Ave.....	Methodist.
Rev. Charles Bell.....	1819 Keyes Ave.....	Baptist.
R. E. Bewick.....	2146 Ohio Ave.....	AFL official.
Rev. Francis J. Bloodgood.....	1101 Lincoln St.....	Episcopal.
Gay Braxton.....	1826 Baird.....	Head of settlement house.
Mrs. A. T. Breyer.....	2730 Lakeland Ave.....	President, League of Women Voters.
Prof. Charles Bunn.....	Ridge Rd.....	Professor of law.
Loran Cockrell.....	2604 Waunona Way.....	YMCA secretary.
Orla Coleman.....	115 West Main.....	AFL official.
Mrs. H. E. Consigny.....	722 Miami Pass.....	P. T. A.
Vivian Croake.....	610 State St.....	Publicity for Community Union.
Ellis H. Dana.....	1001 Seminole Highway.....	Secretary, Wisconsin Council of Churches.
James E. Doyle.....	550 West Mifflin.....	AVC.
R. E. Dresser.....	2925 Sachs St.....	AFL official.
R. M. Eickmeyer.....	3829 Council Crest.....	YMCA.
Mrs. J. F. Elder.....	1341 Spaight.....	YWCA.
W. T. Evjue.....	920 Castle Pl.....	Editor of Capital Times.
Helen Farr.....	1105 Seminole Highway.....	City librarian.
A. J. Fiore.....	653 Pickford.....	Italian businessman.
Emil Frautschi.....	1112 Lincoln.....	Businessman.
Lowell Frautschi.....	2020 Chadbourne Ave.....	Do.
Rodney Fusch.....	930 Jenifer.....	President, Junior Chamber of Commerce.
Sidney Goldstine.....	842 Prospect Pl.....	Businessman.
Rabbi T. H. Gordon.....	1901 Jefferson.....	Student rabbi.
Elinor M. Grosse.....	.....	Daughters of Isabella.
George Groves.....	.....	WIBU.
Harold M. Groves.....	1418 Drake.....	Professor of economics.
Mrs. Norris E. Hall.....	1102 Lincoln.....	Wisconsin Children's Society.
Harry Hamilton.....	Route 3.....	NAACP.
Bernice C. Hanon.....	226 North Broome.....	Zonta president.
Mrs. W. A. Hastings.....	2241 Hollister Ave.....	Past national president, PTA.
Rev. Henry Hetland.....	228 Langdon.....	.....
C. V. Hibbard.....	2804 Columbia Rd.....	YMCA.
Louis Hirsig.....	1010 Sherman Ave.....	Businessman.
Merritt Y. Hughes.....	150 North Prospect.....	Quaker.
B. W. Huiskamp.....	29 Cambridge Rd.....	Attorney.
Mrs. P. H. Hyland.....	2115 Jefferson.....	President, Council of Catholic Women.
Leon Isaksen.....	Route 2.....	Lawyer.
Mrs. Joseph W. Jackson.....	2010 Adams St.....	.....
Marjorie D. Johnson.....	412 Paunack Pl.....	Teacher.
Mrs. Fred R. Jones.....	1713 Chadbourne Ave.....	.....
Robert A. Judd.....	2925 Hillcrest Ave.....	Quaker leader.
F. H. Kraege.....	1929 University Ave.....	Acting city manager.
Walter Krulevitch.....	206 Blackhawk Dr.....	Program supervisor, WHA.
James R. Law.....	2011 University Ave.....	Former mayor.
Mrs. V. S. LeComte.....	Crestwood.....	WIL.
Mrs. Arthur L. Luedke.....	2802 Oakridge Ave.....	AAUW.
Peter C. Lynaugh.....	2505 Commonwealth Ave.....	Councilman.
Roy L. Matson.....	1610 Waunona Way.....	Editor of State Journal.
Mrs. R. H. McCause.....	3309 Blackhawk Dr.....	AAUW.
Lucille Miller.....	647 East Dayton.....	NAACP.
Joseph Mire.....	10 Lathrop St.....	Public Employees' Union.

Madison Committee on Displaced Persons—Continued

Name	Address	Identification
Mrs. Russell O. Morris.....	2309 Chamberlin Ave.....	Hadassah.
Mrs. H. D. Navin.....	2530 Kendall Ave.....	District superintendent, Methodists.
Dr. J. Pierce Newell.....	1145 Rutledge.....	Catholic bishop.
Rt. Rev. Wm. P. O'Connor.....	15 East Wilson.....	Unitarian.
Rev. Kenneth L. Patton.....	504 North Carroll.....	Forest Products League.
Mrs. J. C. Pew.....	3659 Lake Mendota Dr.....	Professor of history.
Prof. Burr Phillips.....	4340 Hillcrest Circle.....	Fellowship of Reconciliation.
Ann M. Pitman.....	414 North Henry.....	Catholic Women's Club.
Mrs. Joseph J. Prokop.....	452 Virginia Ter.....	President, Consumers' Committee.
Dorothy Rall.....	1814 Kendall Ave.....	Businessman.
Louis M. Rapoport.....	1836 Keyes Ave.....	Economics department, University of Wisconsin.
Elizabeth Brandels Raushenbush.....	2228 Hillington Green.....	Former president, League of Women Voters.
Caryl A. Regan.....	320 West Washington.....	Attorney.
Frank A. Rentz.....	Crestwood.....	CIO president.
Aldric Revell.....	949 Harvey Ter.....	Daughters of Isabella.
Mrs. William R. Riley.....	2145 West Lawn Ave.....	AAUW.
Mrs. Frederic E. Risser.....	Route 2.....	Secretary, Welfare Council.
Bjarne Romnes.....	4215 Wanetah Ter.....	Council of Jewish Women.
Mrs. Joe Rothschild.....	3722 Nakoma Rd.....	President, Visiting Nurse Association.
Mrs. William B. Sarles.....	2237 Hollister Ave.....	SOS.
Judge and Mrs. S. B. Schein.....	23 South Mills St.....	President, PTA.
Mrs. R. L. Schumpert.....	4117 Hiawatha Dr.....	Director, School for Workers.
Ernest E. Schwartztrauber.....	2513 Norwood Pl.....	Clubwoman.
Margaret Shelton.....	111 West Gilman.....	Chamber of Commerce.
Margaret Smith.....	Madison and Wisconsin Foundation.	Congregational.
Rev. A. W. Swan.....	121 Bascom Place.....	Secretary, Wisconsin Council of Agriculture.
Milo K. Swanton.....	Route 1.....	League of Women Voters.
Rabbi Manfred Swarsensky.....	405 North Frances.....	YWCA groups.
Mrs. H. K. Tenney.....	2110 Chadbourne Ave.....	Dean of women, University of Wisconsin.
Mrs. G. F. Thompson.....	418 North Baldwin.....	Secretary.
Dean Louise Troxell.....	516 East Gorham.....	Farmers' Union Socialist Leader.
Ethel Troy.....	YWCA.....	President, Greek Society.
Walter Uphoff.....	Oregon.....	Congregational.
K. C. Vagenas.....	440 Hawthorne Ct.....	Associate professor of English.
Rev. A. T. Wallace.....	1220 Spaight.....	Social action committee of Madison Council of Churches.
Ruth Wallerstein.....	23 Mendota Ct.....	Community Union.
Rev. W. B. Waltmire.....	46 Lansing.....	UNRRA worker.
Carl Warmington.....	312 Larkin.....	President, AVC.
Elva J. Waters.....	730 Seneca Pl.....	Moravian.
Horace W. Wilkie.....	3909 Euclid Ave.....	International president, State, county, and municipal employees.
Rev. F. Wolff.....	658 Pickford.....	Professor of Polish.
Arnold S. Zander.....	176 Virginia Ter.....	
Prof. and Mrs. E. I. Zawacki.....	1124 Drake.....	

STATE OF WISCONSIN,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Madison, May 29, 1947.

MR. WILLIAM H. SPOHN,
1 South Pinckney Street, Madison, Wis.

DEAR MR. SPOHN: The great amount of suffering being experienced by displaced persons in Europe should be a stimulating challenge to you as chairman of the local committee and all other members of your committee.

I am entirely in sympathy with the aims of your committee and wish for you much success in helping to relieve the deplorable conditions that now exist among that group of people in Europe who today have no country to go to.

Sincerely yours,

OSCAR RENNEBOHM, Acting Governor.

Wisconsin Council of Churches represents 10 denominations, 1,500 churches, and 265,000 members. On June 4, 1947, its executive secretary wrote the committee as follows:

"In line with the statement of the Federal Council of Churches concerning displaced persons, with which I heartily concur, I am delighted personally to add my voice in support of bill H. R. 2910.

"I shall watch with real interest the results which our new Congressman, Glen Davis, may be able to obtain in behalf of this bill at the hearing in Washington.

"Faithfully yours,

"ELLIS H. DANA,
"Executive Vice President."

[Editorial from the Wisconsin State Journal, June 3, 1947, out of the State Journal Mail Bag.]

MADISON CALLED TO HELP DP's

EDITOR,

The State Journal:

On June 4, the Immigration Subcommittee of the House of Representatives begins 2 weeks of hearings on H. R. 2910 which will admit to this country a reasonable share of the displaced persons still in camps in Europe, who are unable to return to their homes.

This bill would permit some 400,000 of these people to come in at the rate of not more than 100,000 a year, and under all the regular immigration safeguards as to health, political beliefs, and affidavits of support.

Madison has shown a great response to the idea of this temporary emergency legislation. We have a committee of almost 100 people representing many groups and organizations in our community, with Attorney William H. Spohn as chairman.

We have told the story of the displaced persons over all the radio stations and to many clubs and churches in town, and have received practically universal interest and support.

Our new Congressman, Mr. Glen Davis, has reported a large quantity of mail received by him in favor of H. R. 2910, and he plans to appear at the hearing in its support.

We wish also to present at the hearing a compilation of Madison opinions, from individuals and from organizations. Will those who have already sent to Congress resolutions or telegrams or other statements on behalf of the legislation kindly send a copy to me at once?

The endorsement of many leading citizens represents, we believe, the widespread conviction of our Madison people that these victims of war and Nazi oppression deserve a welcome in this unravaged country, where they will have a chance to build their lives anew, to support themselves, and to add their economic and cultural resources to our American life.

I hope to hear from many of you, and wish to express the gratitude of the committee for your fine response.

ROSAMOND E. RICE,
Mrs. W. G. Rice,
Secretary, Madison Committee on Displaced Persons.

[Editorial from the Wisconsin State Journal, June 6, 1947]

SPANNING THE DISTANCE

The average American without portfolio sometimes feels helpless to do the good he wants to do for his ailing world.

His arm doesn't seem long enough, for example, to reach from Madison, Wis., to the barbed-wire camps of Europe's homeless. He has to depend upon someone else to do the reaching and the salvaging.

Yet here is one instance where his own arm can help. If he puts them together with his neighbors' they will stretch the span.

This way:

On Wednesday, a Washington House committee will begin hearings on a bill to give refuge to a few of these displaced persons, homeless and helpless through no fault of their own.

Wisconsin's new Congressman Glenn Davis, will testify for the bill. But he will need help, an expression of the will of his people back home—a show of these arms. They can be extended in letters, telegrams, resolutions.

They should be extended at once, through Mrs. W. G. Rice, secretary of the Madison Committee on Displaced Persons, 2212 Hillington Green.

Here is a chance for every average American to put his hand to the help he wants to give. Congress will approve this bill if the people of America want it—and if they make their wishes plain.

[Editorial from the Capital Times, June 5, 1947]

THE DAR DOESN'T SPEAK FOR AMERICA ON THE PROBLEM OF DISPLACED PERSONS

At its recent national convention, the Daughters of the American Revolution took a stand against allowing the wretched, homeless displaced persons of Europe into America. This was to be expected of the old fuddy-duddies who seem to think that immigration into America should have been stopped with the *Mayflower*.

Thank heavens they don't speak for real Americans. The true sentiment of America on this issue is best exemplified in a letter in today's Voice of the People from Rosamond E. Rice, secretary of the Madison Committee on Displaced Persons. This committee is headed by Attorney William H. Spohn and has the support of many Madison citizens from all walks of life.

We urge you to read Mrs. Rice's letter and to do everything you can to cooperate with the group she represents. We especially urge you to write or wire the Immigration Subcommittee of the House of Representatives in support of H. R. 2910.

Can we as a Nation which professes to follow the principles of Christianity, which owes its present preeminence among the nations of the world to the immigrants of other lands, refuse to accept our share of those who gave so much in the fight against the totalitarians?

America is not a nation of DAR members and here's a chance to prove it.

(NOTE.—The Wisconsin State Journal has long indulged in the practice of inviting some person which its editorial and management staff deem worthy to write an editorial for the Sunday issue of the paper. The guest writer is always well known in the community and his views are held in respect; otherwise he would not be asked to assume the editorial chair. On Sunday, May 4, 1947, Harold M. Groves, an outstanding economist, a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, who was formerly an administrative officer in Wisconsin, and an outstanding authority in the field of taxation, wrote the editorial which follows:)

WILLIAM H. SPOHN.

[Guest editorial in the Wisconsin State Journal, May 4, 1947]

SETTLING AN OLD DEBT

(By Harold M. Groves, member of Madison Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons)

Nearly a century ago Wisconsin welcomed to its shelter a German refugee by the name of Carl Schurz.

By "careful planning and wonderful luck" he had made a hairbreadth escape from his persecutors in Europe. Settled on a farm near Watertown, before long he had started a newspaper, became an alderman, a notary, and an inovator of the first kindergarten in the country. During the campaign for Lincoln in 1860 he acquired a reputation as "the tremendous Dutchman."

He went on to a distinguished career as statesman, editor, and champion of freedom. We are proud to claim him as one of our outstanding pioneers.

Less distinguished but equally memorable is the contribution made by thousands of other refugees in this State. Having found a haven here, they seem to have cherished a feeling of special obligation toward their foster country. We owe them a great debt—one that can be paid now by opening slightly the doors of our immigration laws. This would allow admission of our share of displaced persons in Europe, now in the refugee camps of that unhappy continent.

More specifically, a bill—No. H. R. 2910—would allow some 400,000 of these displaced persons to come here over a period of 4 years. This is temporary legislation and would cease to operate after a 4-year period. It would not alter the basic quota law regulating normal immigration. For those admitted, the present standards regarding health, morals, economic status, and specified political beliefs would apply. Displaced persons would also be subject to the rule which requires sponsors' affidavits that these immigrants will not become public charges.

National and local committees—our own headed by William H. Spohn—are mobilizing sentiment for the passage of this bill. They are urging supporters of the proposed measure to indicate their sentiments to our representatives in both Houses of Congress.

We rarely have an opportunity to pay a debt to our forbears and at the same time to win a present economic and ethnological advantage for our own country and State.

As to the economic side, we are facing a critical shortage of labor especially on our farms. Many farmers are finding it quite impossible to hire the help so desperately needed to maintain and enlarge farm output. Increased agricultural production is of crucial importance not only to feed the world but to combat high prices at home. A very substantial proportion of the refugees are qualified farmers.

There are those who fear any increase in population on the ground that there is not enough work to go around in this country. Unemployment is a scourge with many causes, most of them associated with the ups and downs of business known as the business cycle. No one has made a plausible case for the proposition that unemployment here is due to overpopulation. Indeed, an important group of economists believes that unemployment has been caused or at least aggravated by the decline in the rate of population increase. Every person coming to this country means an additional consumer as well as an additional producer; he brings a stomach to be filled and a back to be clothed as well as two hands to work.

Even more persuasive on the economic side is the fact that we are and shall continue to be committed to the maintenance of these people—after a fashion—in Europe. We may as well give them an opportunity to earn their keep.

On the score of our racial stock, admitting refugees has always involved a selective process that works in our favor. Those who have had the moral and physical stamina to resist political and religious persecution are the sort that can contribute mightily to our future. People who have withstood totalitarian pressures abroad will provide excellent material for strengthening our democratic way of life.

These people are not Anglo-Saxons; they are Poles, Yugoslavs, Finns. About 20 percent are Jews. No one people has a monopoly on all the virtues.

But, of course, more important than any of these considerations is our moral obligation to these people. This is not only a matter of Good Samaritanism—although that alone should suffice. Our country took the lead in the international councils which established the right of these people to avoid returning to their former homes—and persecution. H. R. 2910 is required to follow through on a commitment.

The case for the pending legislation is so strong and has attracted so many worthy proponents that one is tempted to conclude that its speedy passage is insured. But this unfortunately is far from true. In addition to some honest and decent skepticism the bill has a mountain of bigotry to defeat.

Those who believe—as I do—that this legislation represents a minimum of tardy action toward a solution of Europe's refugee problem need to act now.

Such action will be a fitting memorial to men like Carl Schurz and others who contributed so richly in the building of this State.

Mr. FELLOWS. The Honorable Mitchell Jenkins, a Member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

Mr. JENKINS. I am here.

STATEMENT OF HON. MITCHELL JENKINS, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE ELEVENTH DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, due to the lateness of the hour, I have a very short statement here which I would like to read into the record, and it will take a very short time.

Then I will yield back any other time which I might otherwise have.

Mr. Chairman, I have asked for permission to appear before this committee today to urge you to take favorable action on the so-called Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, providing for admission into the United States during the next 4 years of 400,000 of the displaced persons in Europe by utilizing the unused immigration quotas of the war years. It seems to me that there are so many reasons why this bill should be passed and why the committee should make a favorable report on it so

as to bring it on the floor of the House, that I find myself in somewhat of a quandary, in the short time at my disposal, in selecting those points that should be stressed, lest I seem to neglect others equally important.

So much can be said in support of the bill, from every angle, that it would require much more time than I have available adequately to discuss it.

From the economic, the political, using that word in its broad and not in its narrow, partisan sense, and the humanitarian points of view, it is the wise, just, and proper step to take.

In his original statement before the committee, the author of the bill set forth eight reasons why this legislation should be passed. Without repeating those reasons here, I desire to call the attention of the committee to them again and to second what he has said. It seems to me that they present cogent and compelling reasons for favorable action by this committee.

From the economic standpoint this bill, supported as it is by the two great labor organizations of America, will bring into our economy people whose variegated skills we need and can use. Already those who have come have made significant contributions to American life. There is no reason to believe that those to come will not do the same. This country became great and strong through its immigrants, for they have been and are the raw material from which our national stature comes.

In my own home country, the people of middle European ancestry, the Poles, the Slovaks, the Lithuanians have, by their sturdy qualities, made themselves a valuable asset to the community.

Ideologically, they are our kind of people. They hate communism and all that it implies as only those who have suffered from it can. Their first-hand statements of what they have endured, as they permeate through our society, will do more to awaken our people to the danger we face in the world today than all the speeches you and I can make. These people love liberty, freedom, and democracy so much that they have been willing to lose everything, including their lives, to preserve it and to avoid submitting to the tyranny of Stalin. We can use people like that, people whose only fault is that they believe passionately in the things in which we believe and for which this Nation has stood.

Today, we are, here in Congress, spending millions of dollars to attempt to stop this engulfment of democratic institutions by the rising tide of communism. Dollars will not do the job alone. It needs the whole-souled cooperation of liberty-loving peoples everywhere.

Only as we put hope into the hearts of those millions of people who want freedom, who want to throw off the Russian yoke; hope that America really meant what it said in the Atlantic Charter; hope that if they keep alight, and even faintly flickering, the torch of liberty in their lands, they or their children may some day see it turn into a blaze that will burn away all Communist domination; can we have any chance of success in the policy on which we have embarked. Otherwise our dollars are futile.

This bill gives us a chance to prove that we mean what we say, to show that our deeds match our words and that it has not all been only empty protestation.

As a veteran of this last war, with almost 5 years of service, part of it on overseas duty, I have had an opportunity to see what America means to the peoples of the world, how they look to us for leadership. Either we assume that leadership, or we yield the field to Communist Russia, with all that that implies. We cannot assume it without assuming likewise the responsibilities inherent in that position. To help solve the problem posed by these people is one of those responsibilities.

In our own interest, to say nothing of the humanitarian appeal, we cannot permit this cancerous growth to remain and fester in the heart of Europe.

This bill provides a method whereby we can help solve that problem, and I urge the committee to act favorably upon it so that the Congress may have a chance to pass upon it at this present session.

That is all I have to say, unless you care to ask some questions.

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you very much.

Are there any questions?

(No response.)

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Williams, how much time will you need?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That somewhat depends on the committee.

I intend to discuss the matter under about 10 heads, but that, of course, sounds more ominous than it really is, because about five of them will take very few words.

Mr. FELLOWS. Will you proceed now, Mr. Williams? I think we can give you more time than we could on Friday, and perhaps all that you need.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT, MARYLAND SOCIETY, WAR OF 1812

Mr. WILLIAMS. My full name is George Washington Williams. I appear here as president of, and representing, the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland.

It is with a good deal of diffidence that we appear in opposition to this bill, because we dislike very much to be put in the position, in the eyes of some people, of being callous to human suffering and indifferent to inhumane treatment.

However, somewhat to paraphrase Mark Antony, not that we love them less, but that we love our country and own people more.

I should like, as far as time will permit, to discuss this bill under 10 heads.

The first one is not very material, but it has to do with what I call a rather false name for the bill.

Secondly, what we owe Europe; thirdly, the unemployment problem; fourthly, the housing problem; fifthly, the natural resources problem; sixthly, assimilation; seventhly, the political effects; eighthly, the pressure groups; ninthly, the refugees subsequent to the beginning of World War II; and, tenthly, if I may be so bold, and can do it without offense, I would like to make some observations on what we regard to be the duties of Members of the Congress.

The name of the bill, I rather suspect, would be misunderstood by a good many people if they did not have the opportunity to read the

body of the bill. As you see, it is called the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act.

Most people would have in mind the Oswego case, and by using those words, "emergency" and "temporary," and so forth, would feel that these people were coming in here somewhat on the basis of the Oswego people.

I make no further comment on that.

Secondly, we hear a great deal about what we owe Europe. I am not so sure about what we owe Europe. I think by being mixed up with Europe, we have gotten ourselves into a mess that I am afraid we will not be able to extricate ourselves from without repercussions within our borders which would be very detrimental to our future generations.

Europe has been in wars for thousands of years or more. European nations have impoverished themselves by the continuous wars that they have had.

George Washington and others had warned us against getting mixed up in the broils of Europe, because of those very facts. There are complicated situations in racial, religious, and other problems that are foreign to us at the present time and that are bases for many of the troubles that develop there and the wars that ensue.

We are getting mixed up in them, and I am afraid sometimes we are not going to help them very much to extricate themselves from the conditions in which they have gotten themselves because of our lack of equipment, and, I am afraid, appreciation of what causes the conflicts in Europe.

So I say, therefore, we have contributed greatly to the European situation in the last two wars which they think, I suppose, with their benefit. As a result of that, we have gotten into a colossal debt in this country, expressed in astronomical figures as far as most of us are concerned.

I see in your record that we are obligated directly and indirectly something like \$600,000,000,000. We commonly see in the papers the amount of something like \$260,000,000,000, of which people hold evidences in their hands throughout the country. But there are other obligations which will fall due on us whenever we have a crash.

I noted in the Record the other day a statement made by Congressman Wigglesworth, and he adds it up to only \$432,000,000,000. But that still is a colossal figure. And that came on us because of our involvement in European affairs. And now we are still running into large figures in helping the people throughout the world.

So I think that when we talk about owing Europe, and what we owe Europe, we owe them really nothing, except what charity dictates. And I am willing, and my folks are willing, to extend charitable considerations to them where they are, as most of us would do in our household affairs. We would help them on the outside, but would not displace our own people and put them at a considerable inconvenience in order to help others.

Mr. FELLOWS. What is the membership of your organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is relatively small, about, 100, sir. But they are people of deep interest in this country, and we, of course, I hope, have influence beyond our numbers.

Mr. CELLER. Do they all live in Maryland?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. And you have heard of the Calvinists who went to Maryland fleeing persecution, have you not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. And I have heard that these people could flee to Africa, which is the same kind of country that our ancestors fled to, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Wouldn't you call the DP's delayed pilgrims?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I would not, except in a qualified way. I would say to you that if these people are willing to go to some other country that is not already organized and existing and probably overcrowded, I perfectly agree that it would be a fine thing for them to do exactly what our ancestors did, what mine did, help to hew out the forests and survive the massacres of the Indians, as mine did, and I would be perfectly satisfied to see them do the same thing.

I do not think that we ought to add to the troubles that we already have.

The third item would be unemployment.

Now, of course, I realize what Congressman Celler said. At the present time we have a maximum employment. But that is due largely to the fact that we are manufacturing everything that we can to help support Europe and help support ourselves.

But I am as certain as I am that the Lord is in his heavens that the time is coming when we shall have millions of people out of employment. I am afraid our labor friends are somewhat Janus-faced. In fact, I have a letter here in which Mr. Murray stated that by 1947 we would have some 7,000,000 people out of employment.

I may not agree with him as to the time or as to the number. But I agree with him absolutely as to the finality of his judgment, that we shall have, when the break-down comes after this war situation clears up, millions of people permanently out of employment.

If we could not absorb all the people who were here before the war, with all the deficit spending that the administration engaged in, what reason has anybody today to say, when the crash comes, that we can employ all our people then any more than we could in the past?

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Green of the American Federation of Labor, in answer to the question, said that he felt that there would be 10 years of real prosperity.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I certainly hope so. I have a child who will live beyond the 10 years, and I think more of her than I do of myself. So I certainly hope so.

But you can believe the Labor Department or the unions as you please. One said there were 7,000,000 out of employment with all the deficit spending and the other said there were 10,000,000. So I say there is nobody who looks at the thing realistically and unemotionally who can say that we are going to have complete employment or anything like complete employment when we shake down to a normal basis.

As a matter of fact, we think that there will be less likelihood of it, because I have read in a publication, such as Lawrence's paper, that the efficiency of production in this country increased something like 40 percent during the war, and with that efficiency of production, unless we can have some means of distribution, which we have not found so far, it will finally spell unemployment of a great many people.

Therefore, we are looking so often myopically at things. I think our international policy is myopic, and I know our local politics have been myopic.

We always solve problems right in front of our nose, but we never take a long-term view of it. I read Elliott Roosevelt's book where they were always needling Churchill because he wanted to go through the Balkans. And when Roosevelt was asked one night, What about Churchill and the Balkans? "Oh," he said, "he is always taking the long-term view of things. I want to get the war over."

That spirit is something that is running us into trouble today, just solving problems for the moment and not taking the long-term view of it. If our ancestors had done that, we would not be a republic today. It is only because of their long-sightedness that we have been able to maintain this position.

I say, therefore, the labor situation is a serious one, Mr. Green notwithstanding and Mr. Murray notwithstanding. And I quote Mr. Murray in support of my views in a statement of December of last year.

I know what pressures have been brought on them. I shall mention pressure groups a little later on, as I indicated.

The housing problem is a serious problem. There is no likelihood of its being cleared up in the next 3 or 4 years. And I do not know anybody who would dispute that statement. One reason is because of the high cost of building.

A person who builds a house today and sells it to the ordinary person for \$10,000 is apt to have it back on his hands. And I am afraid that most of them will be back on the hands of the United States, as they were during the 1930's, before this thing is over.

Our natural resources is the fifth item. As everybody knows who reads at all, we are now facing becoming what some people call a have-not nation. If you do not think so, I ask you to examine your records. I would be glad to read some of the items put in your record showing the probable duration of some of the very vital materials.

Furthermore, if you do not want that, turn to the Saturday Evening Post of a few weeks ago. Secretary of Commerce Harriman detailed a good deal of items which he said would result probably in our fast becoming a have-not nation.

So we do not need to exhaust our resources for other peoples when we have great need of them in the future. And nowadays, except perhaps for the atomic bomb, wars are fought by nations and resources more than they are by men, or at least as much as by men.

So we are going to be dependent as a nation upon these other nations by depleting our own resources and other vital items, which, as I say, I would be glad to read if it were at all necessary.

MR. FELLOWS. Couldn't you incorporate them in the record, Mr. Williams?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir; I can hand them in. It is only a short list, if you would like to have them read.

MR. FELLOWS. That is all right.

MR. WILLIAMS. We have virtually no tungsten, platinum, tin, nickel, mercury, chromite, or asbestos. All this must be imported. Our reserves of silver are only sufficient to last 11 years; lead, 12 years; gold, 14 years; petroleum, 18 years; zinc, 19 years; and copper, 34 years.

Whether we like it or not, in many aspects as a producer of raw materials and natural resources, we have taken a long step from being one of the "have" nations to a "have not" nation.

Mr. FELLOWS. You will notice that we are shipping petroleum to Russia.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes; and we have been shipping it everywhere in the face of the fact that this estimate is made that we are depleting our resources as rapidly as we can.

As I say, I refer anybody to Mr. Harriman's article, which is accessible to anybody in the Saturday Evening Post.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are you asking that that be incorporated into the record as a document?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I read that item, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. I see.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Sixthly, I will take up the item of what I call unassimilated peoples in this country. And of course, when I mention other peoples, I hope it will not be understood that we are trying to make moral distinctions, but rather it is because they have been unable to develop in their own areas to the extent that we think we have for self-government. It is not done with any mean spirit at all, but because of our intensity in preserving in this country its peace, its prosperity and its institutions. It is for that reason that we make these stands.

Now, when I was a youngster, I remember, as I suppose that many of you will remember, nearly every patriotic speech and every political speech was punctuated with the words "melting pot." I heard it so many times that I got irritated at the continuity of references.

Today you hear nothing of that kind. We do not hear anything more about the melting pot.

Why? Because the contents have considerably melted the pot.

Now, one of the great means of melting in this country was the public-school system. We have now an effort, apparently, to divert a large segment of our population from the public schools. I deplore that, because when you segregate the children, you eliminate one of the greatest means of melting.

The public school was the melting pot because all types of people went to the public schools, and they eventually would, we hope, evolve in what Washington terms an American character, which we think we had somewhat formed up to 50 or 60 years ago.

So I say that we have now a large number of people that are not assimilated. I am thinking of those large cities where the peoples have been thrown together and have not been able to come into contact with the old element of the country.

I repeat again that I am not charging them with moral turpitude. I am merely facing the facts as they are. And if you think I have no authority to back me up, I would like to quote from George Sokolsky. He is a columnist, as you know. He was referring to the left center, and so on, and referred to New York City, where you find inadequately Americanized and assimilated elements.

In a recent article, Westbrook Pegler, made the following observation: "Woodrow Wilson who, I presume will be recognized as a President of 'liberal' views, repeatedly expressed apprehension that adult immigrants, from the monarchies of continental Europe, would change our way of thinking and impair the American concept of personal freedom and civic responsibility under self-government."

An equally recent expression along that line, which seems to bear out Wilson's fears, is this statement from John T. Flynn's *The Epic of Freedom*, namely, "I have been about our colleges a good deal in the last dozen years and I have taken occasion to inquire as to the state of American history in the curricula and the student body. * * * Most of all I noted the neglect of history of American ideas and traditions almost as if there were no such things save as more or less vulgar offshoots of European continental institutions."

George Sokolsky again deals with this subject, but from a different angle. He was considering the Truman policy in respect to European recover, predicated upon the general opinion that Germany is the keystone to the recovery in Europe, when he said that "The problem then is to apply the Truman doctrine to Germany. But this our officials in Washington dare not do lest it arouse all the forces in this country which hate Germany more than they serve the United States. In a word, the administration, while it is sound on the theory of the Truman doctrine, is weak in its application, fearful lest the logic of its conduct reduce its vote in the big cities of this country in 1948." He was referring to "Those, for instance, who measure the New York City vote in the Presidential election against safeguarding the world from conquest by Russia, sacrifice civilization for the crumbs of election returns." So, therefore, if it is my belief that our own national interests are sacrificed on the altar of foreign interests, and because of local political pressures from foreign-minded voters, I am not alone in that belief, I respectfully submit.

Mr. CELLER. I come from New York City, and I will say that the people from New York City are just as much assimilated—at least, the aliens are—as in any other part of the country.

You take the war records of the citizens of New York City. It is just as good as any part of the country. You will find that the literacy of New York City is higher than most States of the Union.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You people put so much emphasis on education, and I put emphasis on the direction of education, more.

Mr. CELLER. On the what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. On the direction of education.

What I mean by that and what I mean by assimilation is this: That people are assimilated to the American traditions and American form of government, and so on.

I wish to emphasize, sir, in that respect, the fact that this is a dual form of government, and by reason of these pressures——

Mr. CELLER. Have you been to New York City lately?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have been to New York City a dozen times in the last year; yes, sir, and I have walked in the various areas of New York City.

Mr. CELLER. You find it one of the greatest cities in the world, do you not?

Mr. FELLOWS. We admit that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wish to say, sir, that I am talking now about the frame of mind of these people.

Mr. CELLER. I cannot sit idly by and let you disparage the people of the city of New York.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am not disparaging them in any moral sense.

Mr. CELLER. By direction you are.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am only saying that they have not been oriented in their frame of mind to our type of government and our type of traditions. That is what I meant by that. I did not say it was not as good as any other city, in God's sight. The people there may be better in God's sight than I am.

Mr. FELLOWS. You mean, of course, the things that strike you in going through sections of New York. There is Little Italy, Little Rumania, Little Austria, and so on.

Mr. CELLER. That Little Italy——

Mr. FELLOWS. Wait a minute. Let me ask one question.

Mr. CELLER. I am sorry.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is something that struck my eye when I was down there a short time ago. But I do not know that that means that there is not any assimilation. It appears that way because they speak their own language and have their own newspapers and live in their own sections.

Mr. CELLER. You have foreign-language newspapers all over the country.

And you will find, if you go into Little Italy, that the records of heroism and bravery among the Italian immigrants were equal to the bravery of the sons of native Americans throughout the length and breadth of America.

Mr. FELLOWS. Nobody is questioning that. I am referring to assimilation.

Mr. CELLER. That is a part of the assimilation program.

Mr. WILLIAMS. All right, sir. But I do not want to be misunderstood in making this very uninsidious comparison. I am not making it in any moral sense.

But I have no doubt that the most miserable gunman in New York would make one of the best soldiers fighting in the army. So the mere fact that somebody fights does not mean that he is qualified in what I am talking about now, in the sense of becoming an integral part of the Government.

Mr. CELLER. You will find if you look at the records of the experts who know that there is more crime among the native Americans than there is among the aliens. Check that up and see if I am not correct.

When you speak of those gunmen, remember this: We do not have any Jesse James in New York. Jesse James was not from New York.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am sorry, sir, that I used the illustration of New York. I meant to say any large city.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Celler would like to have it appear in the record that there is no crime in New York City whatsoever.

Mr. CELLER. No; Mr. Celler does not wish to have that in the record at all. Mr. Celler says that we are as entitled to our proportion of criminals as any other sector.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would like to quote you one passage from George Washington. That is going a long way back, and you will say a lot of people have come here since then. But this is what General Washington said in this respect:

I have no intention to invite immigrants, even if there is no restriction against it. I am opposed to it altogether. I want an American territory where the powers of Europe may be convinced we are for ourselves and not for others.

And I would like to call attention to a few words of Thomas Jefferson in that respect, speaking about the countries from which they come not conditioning them as some of the other countries have been conditioned to what we call self-government. He says:

They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, or if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as usual, from one extreme to the other. In proportion to their numbers, they will share the legislation with us. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp or bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass.

Mr. CELLER. You are quoting from Jefferson? In 1801 Jefferson said the following:

Shall we refuse the unhappy fugitives from distress that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our forefathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am familiar with that quotation. And I have always understood that he did not mean they were going to have mass migrations, which we are, practicably, asking for now. We would take a half dozen, of course. When they speak of asylum, generally speaking, they meant these leaders who were driven out.

Mr. CELLER. Would you say Jefferson meant a half dozen?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am not saying that. I am saying we would have no objection to a half dozen, and I do not think he meant what we are considering here. He would be referring only to the leaders or the small groups of people who were hit upon as being troublemakers in those countries, because, after all, the great masses of people are led, usually, by groups. That is the class of people that he had in mind.

I cannot believe that Jefferson thought that we should be swamped by people who would divert the course of our institutions, which I say would happen today.

I am a very strong State's-right Democrat, and I deplore the extent to which the States are being destroyed today by the Federal Government. I think there are many usurpations of power on the part of the Federal Government. I see today bills going through, such as the school bill, which would put many powers formerly reserved to the States into the hands of the Federal Government.

We have amended the Constitution a number of times under the head of emergencies.

I might say that those people under consideration are used to more or less a paternalistic system and centralized government. My people are not. My State was called the great free State at one time. But I am very much afraid it is slipping from grace in this respect.

Now, we have referred to the Balkan States and Balkanizing. What do we mean by Balkanizing? We mean having groups of people coming in who are unassimilable because of race or because of religion or something else, or who will not assimilate themselves so as to go along peacefully in the sphere such as is covered by the words "American character."

I deplore a development of what I call Balkanization in this country.

I remember back in the last war at a time when I was a member of the Baltimore City Park Board, when President Wilson called for what he called a foreign-born parade. And I was appointed to head up that organization. During the discussions there every fellow wanted to carry his own flag with him. Of course, the Germans could not do it. It would have been very embarrassing.

I made an occasional remark then, "It looks to me as if we are not becoming a nation of many peoples but a country of many nations." And I have just read an echo of that on the title page of a book by Mr. Louis Adamic.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Williams, your statement sounds like the following, and the following is taken from the writings of Samuel F. B. Morse, in 1835—mind you, this is 1835, now:

Immigration is the accession of weakness from the ignorant and vicious, or the priest-ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany, or the outcast tenants of the poorhouses and prisons of Europe.

In 1859 we have this statement from Edward Lawrence Godwin:

The prodigious influx of Irish during the past 20 years has created a large Irish class apart from the rest of the people—poor, ignorant, helpless, and degraded * * * filling the jails and the almshouses.

And in 1873 we have a statement exactly like yours from Joseph P. Thompson's Church and the State in the United States:

A very large percentage of vice and crime in the United States, especially in the great cities, is chargeable to European immigration.

In 1898 we have a statement from the Annual Report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, page 1047:

Immigrants from northern Europe—Danes and Swedes—interfere very much with the keeping up of the wages. That is the principal thing we find fault with.

Those statements that you have made can be found in every decade of United States history.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And I think that they are being verified today, sir, by converting our Government into a paternalistic government—into what we call a pure democracy instead of a republic. And I think they are perfectly justified.

To finish up my remarks, what I wanted to say was that Mr. Louis Adamic has put in a book, on the cover, the quotation, "A nation of many nations." And that is how he describes America today.

Mr. CELLER. That is a book entitled "Two-Way Passage"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir; "A Nation of Many Nations"—that is the title of the book.

Mr. CELLER. Suppose I say that Louis Adamic is in favor of this bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Maybe he is, like the labor people.

Mr. CELLER. No; he is not a labor man.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But maybe what is in his blood is pressing him stronger than his national obligation. When he wrote the book, at least he recognized this is a "nation of many nations," which is deplorable.

Now, the next one is the seventh head, and that would be the political and other effects of increased immigration. I have heard it said here and there, "There are only 400,000 or 500,000. What does that mean in 130,000,000 people?"

It means a great deal. It means a great deal because I think that most of us who have eyes to see know that those people who are coming in out of these groups would concentrate in these congested areas such as New York, Chicago, and Detroit, and everybody knows the effect in some of those areas even of 25,000 people.

Taking my own State, the Senatorship depends on the shift of something like 1,000 votes. The man who got the election got it by 2,200 votes, and it was later reduced to 1,600.

I understand that a shift of 300,000 votes in the last Presidential election, if properly placed, would change the result of that election. Therefore, these people are potentially controllers of the destiny of many of the States, and even in choosing the President of the United States. And I dare say, anybody who is not blind or who is not unwilling to see or who will hear anything knows that in the last Presidential election, for instance, hundreds of thousands of votes turned in one group on whether we were going to stand by one line or run back to another line, or whether certain groups were going to Palestine. Everybody knows that that is true, and that votes turned on that.

I know myself in some instances where those things definitely turned the election for the Presidency, irrespective of local interests.

I think first our interests should be centered here, and if we can help elsewhere, all right.

I am not saying that in a hypercritical sense. If I were one of that group, I would be doing the same thing. But after all, it is up to us to be watchmen on the tower, if you please, as in the old days. When we see the approach of things which are going to destroy the country ultimately if we do not watch out, it is up to us to say so.

I propose to say this whenever I have the opportunity. I am not in any way condemnatory or accusing them of moral turpitude, but am merely saying that they are not conditioned to our way of thinking.

I would like to ask Mr. Celler, where does paternalism start? Where does it root?

It roots exactly where I said. Back in Bismarck's time they had all kinds of paternalistic movements in Europe. All paternalism came from that area, and we are getting it here today.

How many millions have we got in here steeped in paternalism? That was not the spirit of America. That is what I am talking about. I am talking about the spirit which drove our people into the wilderness.

And we were not received in such a friendly manner by the Indians for long. Some of my ancestors were scalped by them.

But that is the sort of thing—a spirit of adventure, a spirit of willingness to sacrifice and pull the belt in and suffer, and not cast themselves on the Government as soon as some distress comes on.

But the people that we are considering were built up in Europe largely on paternalistic lines, and that is exactly what those people who wrote those quotations that Congressman Celler just gave us thought. And that is the very thing that I am deploring in this country.

That is what I meant when I said a moment ago that we are fast pushing this country into a democracy out of the realm of what we call republicanism. Even the great Democrat Thomas Jefferson never used the word "Democrat," as far as I know. He called his party the Republican Party.

It was never called the Democratic Party until he had been dead some 15 or 20 years, under Jackson. He told a friend who was an abbé in France that the mass of people is not fit to legislate. They are fit only to choose the legislators.

As I say, due to group pressures on the representatives, many of them do not express, I am afraid, their own feelings, but they express

the feelings of their districts. I have heard many of them say, "Well, we represent the people."

That is very true. But you only represent them in the sense that Carter Glass said you represent them, according to your conscience and your good judgment. And he said that when he could not do that, he would go back to his home in Virginia.

Now, I think the time is gradually coming when we are becoming nothing but Charlie McCarthys for the people who are informed. And if you do not think that we are becoming uninformed, ask some of the people on the street, as I have done, to test out a lot of these people.

Of course, for centuries people were in a mass, so to speak. They were hardly individuals, in any sense. Commenting on the results of that, Goethe wrote in his Journal one day:

The emancipation of the individual without the corresponding emergency of self-control is vicious.

That is the element that I am talking about that would come into this country. And I hasten again to repeat that I am not charging them with moral turpitude, or on the basis of any moral element at all, but I am just echoing what those people said from whom Congressman Celler was quoting.

I am very much afraid that I may be misunderstood, but I hope that I shall not be misunderstood in the emphasis that I am putting upon this question.

The eighth item would be pressure groups. So much of our legislation, I am very much afraid, is a result of pressure groups. The one that hollers the loudest or makes the most noise is the one that is, many times, listened to.

You have heard the old story about the one bullfrog making more noise than a thousand fish, and so the fish are not heard. But they have their feelings, and eventually their feelings will be expressed one of these days.

We have pressure groups all around here. I do not understand what reason there should be for a Polish-American Congress, for instance, in America, that is, if we are going to have these folks who are over here molded into the American character who will fall into the traditions of our country, which I firmly would hope to be the case.

But I am very much afraid that by segregating the groups in schools, in churches or otherwise, you are going to build up three or four different elements, which are bound to clash.

As I say, I have no sectarian feelings, because I do not belong to any denomination. But I believe in facing the facts as they are. And I see it growing just as other people see it is growing. Many times these things are a long time coming together, but when they take their biggest dive is in emergencies, such crashes as we had in the thirties and such emergencies as the war.

Lenin said that we will finally cause the United States—and he did not use the word "crash," but I am paraphrasing him—to crash economically, and "then it will be our time to take charge."

We see a great many people developing in this country along the lines of the Russian movement. We find a lot of people pulling their chestnuts out of the fire, whether ignorantly or designedly I do not

know. But they are apparently conditioning the minds of the people to what Lenin would hope would be accomplished when the crash comes.

I firmly believe that we are heading for one of the biggest crashes this country ever had. And I think the 1930 crash—I was going to say, will be like a Sunday School picnic, but I will qualify that.

When that time comes, that is when these unassimilated people will, under distress, do many things. They will be used as means to accomplish purposes which would be foreign to their own thought and their own hopes, perhaps, but they will do almost anything.

We have a lot of our own people, I hasten to say, who are falling in line with those people either for their personal profit, because they are totally misguided, or because they have been conditioned in mind by environment, or in some way or other.

The ninth would be the item of the deportees' coming in here based on the beginning of World War II. I am rather inclined to think that a lot of those folks who are coming out of those foreign countries would like to get to some more salubrious place not necessarily because they could not get along if they tightened their belt and stayed where they belong. I think lots of them could do that, and I think I have heard statements to that effect, that they could be taken back and would be taken back. But many of them do not want to go back.

Doubtless some of them would meet trouble. But after all, I do not think we ought to arrogate ourselves to a position of Don Quixote or Mrs. Jellyby.

In a monarchy, where they have a continuous civil service and a continuous state department operation, that is one thing. But in a country like this, I am not at all sure, where we are dependent upon a momentary form like this, whether we should play the form of Don Quixote or Mrs. Jellyby.

I think that our representatives ought to consider any legislation that is before them not on the basis of emotion, not on the basis of immediate pressures, but on the long-term effect of that legislation.

I know there are powerful organizations here engaging in propaganda, as Congressman Gossett said. Everybody knows that. That is too obvious for anybody to deny.

Now, we have no propaganda organization. This is all we do. We appear here before your committee, and that is not always. We have no means for propaganda and no funds for it, and we do not engage in propaganda to the extent of trying to stir up feeling in the country for what we want to be done, appealing to sympathies and emotions and what not.

I would say that I hope that when these bills are up that every person who has a right to pass on them will take a long-term viewpoint, and to see whether the seeds which are planted now are going to fructify, and whether they are going to fructify in the future.

So, gentlemen, I think that while the feelings of humanity prompt us to feel that we should open up the doors, I think that the best interests of this country would be served by the assimilating of those that we already have and by the molding of those into giving us the kind of government which our fathers created, and not by pushing it into a paternalistic government, which would be inimical to our country and our people.

I thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir.

Without objection we will incorporate into the record a statement by Congressman Foote of Connecticut. Also, we will put into the record without objection statements by the Honorable Ray J. Madden, Congressman from Indiana, and the Honorable Arthur G. Klein, Congressman from New York, and the Honorable Adolph J. Sabath, Congressman from Illinois.

(The statement of Mr. Foote is as follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1947.

To The Honorable FRANK FELLOWS,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am very much interested in H. R. 2910 known as the Stratton bill, not only because its author, Congressman at Large Stratton of Illinois, is a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of which I am also a member, and opposite whom I have been sitting in committee for the past 5 months, but because legislation is very desirable at this time.

The bill would permit 400,000 out of approximately 850,000 displaced persons to enter this country over a period of the next 4 years, and during these years no more than 100,000 per year. It is believed they represent about 20 different nationalities. There are approximately 100,000 Protestants; 500,000 Catholics; and 250,000 Jews.

The immigration quotas remained unfilled during the war years and under the law if they are not used by the end of each year, they lapse. The 400,000 figure is considerably less than the number of persons that would have come here legally during the past 5 years under the present quota if it had not been for wartime conditions. Furthermore, undesirables cannot come here as they must meet the standards of our present immigration laws, and must have sponsors so as to guarantee that they will not become public charges.

The longer these persons stay in the camps, just so much faster will they lose their morale. A large portion of them can be salvaged today if they are given that hope of leading decent lives under a free system of government. In addition it is costing us large sums of money to maintain them there.

It is my opinion that this is one of the responsibilities we must assume in our role of world leadership.

These people who stood out against aggression, whether of nazism or communism, and survived the terrors of war, are people of character who have demonstrated they can stand up against devastation, and it is believed they will lead useful lives in this country.

This legislation is justified from a humanitarian as well as an economic standpoint.

I have received more correspondence relative to this proposed legislation than any other subject and 95 percent of it is in favor of the passage of this bill. I am attaching to my statement a copy of a resolution adopted by the New Haven Emergency Committee for Displaced Persons which has been signed by some 200 representative citizens of that city. The honorary chairmen of the committee are former Governor Wilbur L. Cross, and the present mayor of New Haven, the Honorable William C. Calantano. The honorary vice chairmen are the Honorable John Q. Tilson, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, James P. Geelan, former Member of Congress from my district, and Edgar S. Furniss, provost of Yale University.

I also attach hereto statement from the New Haven Citizens Committee giving a list of the organizations who are in favor of the bill. You will note they represent 91 churches in greater New Haven of all denominations, labor councils, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and practically all the leading civic and fraternal organizations of that city.

I am also enclosing a statement signed by the Reverend Oscar E. Maurer, pastor emeritus of the First Church of Christ, Center Church, New Haven.

I also attach a petition signed by some 25 citizens of my district.

In addition, I have received some 500 post cards and 300 personal letters from residents of my congressional district, all advocating immediate passage of this

bill. It is also interesting to note that a great many of these letters come from people who would receive no personal benefit directly or indirectly by the passage of this bill, but are prompted only by humanitarian motives.

In conclusion, I wish to make a part of my statement, an editorial of Sunday, June 22 of the *Evening Bulletin of Philadelphia*, which has been called to my attention and in my opinion, answers the arguments of those who are opposed to this legislation.

Very truly yours,

ELLSWORTH B. FOOTE,
Member of Congress.

YALE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW,
New Haven, Conn., May 3, 1947.

HON. ELLSWORTH B. FOOTE,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The enclosed resolution comes to you from the newly formed New Haven Emergency Citizens' Committee in Behalf of the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910. This committee was organized at a meeting last night, attended by approximately 200 invited representative citizens. Our committee is affiliated with the National Citizens' Committee for Displaced Persons, headed by Dean Earl Harrison, former Commissioner of Immigration, and now dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School. I presume you are familiar with the purposes and personnel of the national committee. The honorary chairmen of the New Haven committee are former Gov. Wilbur L. Cross, and the mayor of New Haven, the Honorable William C. Celentano. The honorary vice chairmen are the Honorable John Q. Tilson and James Geelan, former members of the Congress from this district, Edgar S. Furniss, provost of Yale University and Prof. C. E. A. Winslow, of Yale University.

The New Haven committee represents the leadership of the entire New Haven community, including spokesmen for every group and interest of our population—the churches, the trade-unions, both political parties, business leaders, educators, and civic organizations of every type. Our purpose is to bring the issues raised by the Stratton bill before the people of this district. Our membership includes leading members of all the clubs, committees and working bodies of the town, and these organizations are now actively and independently considering the bill, and will communicate their opinions to you separately. I wish to assure you that the process of forming this committee indicated that our people feel deeply and spontaneously that the United States is under a strong obligation, both moral and political, to participate in the rescue of the displaced persons left homeless by the war and the immediate postwar crisis. People have thought long and carefully about this problem, and most of those approached were of the opinion that American leadership and American action in this field are overdue, and are urgently needed.

There are about 1,000,000 unfortunate men, women, and children in camps in Europe. They are homeless and stateless, helpless victims of war. Twenty percent are Jewish refugees who cannot face life in countries where their friends and relatives have been ruthlessly slaughtered. Most of the rest are Catholic Poles and Baltic peoples, who are refugees from political persecution in their former homelands. America is one of the few places where all these people could come as freemen and have an equal chance to develop in a free society. We feel as sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of immigrants who were victims of similar oppression that we ought to give these distressed people of Europe a chance, too. We feel that as trustees of the American tradition we owe these people as well as ourselves a duty to carry out that tradition. And we are convinced that if we want to stand before the world as champions of democratic principle we cannot refuse to accept these surviving victims of totalitarian oppression.

Of course, the problem of displaced persons is an international one and should not be solved by the United States alone. But we must take the first step and accept a substantial number of these people. Then other countries will do likewise and the tragic waiting of these displaced persons will have ended.

The Stratton bill would do no more than take that necessary first step by permitting 400,000 out of the total of 1,000,000 displaced persons to enter the United States. This would be accomplished without any drastic change in our recent immigration policy, because the figure of 400,000 additional immigrants is far less than the total of the deficit of the unused quotas which we have built

up during the depression and war years. We therefore see no reason why every true American should not lend his wholehearted support to this bill.

We wish to communicate our views to you with our deep sense of the moral issues behind this legislation and to petition you respectfully in its behalf. Have you definitely made up your mind to support or to oppose this bill? Or, are you undecided? Would it be helpful to you to receive further evidence of community sentiment? We would very much appreciate a prompt reply to these questions.

Sincerely yours,

EUGENE V. ROSTOW, *Professor of Law.*

RESOLUTION

We have met together as a New Haven Emergency Committee for Displaced Persons, out of our keen sense of obligation to urge immediate Congressional action to permit a substantial number of the displaced persons of Europe to enter the United States as immigrants. We favor the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, and we have pledged ourselves to carry the purpose and principle of this legislation to the citizens' organizations to which we belong—trade-unions, church and religious groups, civic bodies, fraternal, business and service clubs, and every other kind of organization in our community. We have formed this committee as an educational body, to bring before our fellow citizens the simple humanitarian need for this legislation. We believe this legislation is nonpartisan and nonpolitical in character. We believe its passage will help the United States economically, and will contribute to the democratic goals of our foreign policy. Above all, we believe it is incumbent upon us as human beings not to pass by on the other side, while men, women, and children, innocent victims of totalitarianism, suffer helplessly in refugee camps.

Therefore we most earnestly petition your support for the prompt passage of the Stratton bill.

Arcudi, John
 Arpaia, Anthony F.
 Augustine, Miss Joan
 Bainton, Roland
 Beach, Dr. David N.
 Beers, William L.
 Bellinger, Mrs. Alfred
 Bernard, Harold
 Bosse, Miss Grace
 Bourne, Henry T.
 Bree, Miss Elizabeth
 Bronson, Clarence
 Brubacher, J. S.
 Buckland, E. G.
 Burns, Mrs. William
 Callochman, Henry
 Carter, Mrs. Lawson
 Case, Leroy F.
 Celentano, Mayor William
 Coker, Francis
 Cook, Mrs. Edith
 Cooper, Mitchell
 Cousins, William J.
 Cross, Avery
 Cross, Wilbur L.
 Dahl, George
 Davenport, Russell W.
 Davie, Maurice R.
 Day, George Parmly
 Day, Osborne A.
 Cooper, James
 Denoyen, Mrs. Edward
 Di Cenzo, George
 Diminstein, William
 Dirlam, Mrs. Kenneth
 Dockman, Norman
 Donnelley, Rev. Joseph F.

Dooley, Vincent P.
 Ecklund, John E., Jr.
 Emerson, Tom
 Feinmark, Harold V.
 Ferguson, Mrs. J. F.
 Fleming, Dr. Harold J.
 Fleming, Robert
 Flint, Richard
 Fox, Miss Elizabeth
 Fox, John H.
 Freese, Carl G.
 Furniss, E. S.
 Geelen, James P.
 Gillie, Mrs. James
 Gottesman, M.
 Gradeck, Rev. A. Edward
 Graves, Henry S.
 Gruman, Mr. and Mrs. Ellsworth S.
 Hansell, H.
 Harrison, Miss Helen
 Harrison, Mrs. Julius
 Harvey, Mrs. Samuel
 Hastings, Hudson B.
 Hickerson, Mrs. Allen T.
 Hitchcock, Mrs. David
 Hoffman, Bernhart
 Howland, Mrs. Charles P.
 Jacob, George
 Janney, F. W. M.
 Keefe, Donald F.
 Kopkind, Bernard P.
 Knight, J. Stephen
 Kramer, Richard
 Kubler, George
 Ladd, Mrs. W. P.
 Landow, David
 Lear, Dr. Maxwell

Levhart, Rev. James Wills
 Levine, Miss Selma
 Lewis, Mrs. Lansing
 Liebert, Herman W.
 Livingston, Max
 Logue, Edward
 Lovett, Sidney
 Lacosky, Frank
 Maretz, Julius
 Markiewicz, Edward
 Matasavage, Vincent P.
 Maxcy, Ellis C.
 McCrone, Edward
 Mignone, A. Frederick
 Mokrynski, Richard
 Montgomery, Miss Elsa
 Moors, Miss Martha
 O'Brien, Rev. Edward
 Olena, B.
 Osgood, Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius
 Ottaviano, John B., Jr.
 Pickett, W. W.
 Pilvelis, Albert
 Pitken, Mrs. Bainey
 Podoloff, Mrs. Nathan
 Pollak, L.
 Pond, Miss Millicent
 Preiskel, R.
 Rabinowitz, Rabbi Stanley
 Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Earl
 Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. T. R.
 Rogowski, Bernard A.
 Rorabach, Miss Catherine
 Rostow, Mrs. Nelson

Rostow, Eugene V.
 Rourke, Joseph
 Rowe, Lucius D.
 Sachs, Louis
 Sacks, H. A.
 Santella, Gino
 Sargent, C. Forbes
 Savitt, Robert
 Scott, B.
 Semack, Miss Sarah
 Sherman, Nathan
 Simonds, Bruce T.
 Sinnott, Edmund B.
 Siskin, Dr. Edgar
 Slocum, Miss Margaret
 Steponkus, Dr. George
 Stern, J.
 Stevens, Mr. and Mrs. Shephard
 Strauss, W. J.
 Sweet, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon H.
 Tilson, John Q.
 Tilson, Mrs. John Q., Jr.
 Tomasino, Charles
 Topkis, J.
 Tucker, Luther
 Trotts, Fred
 Tyler, Mr. and Mrs. Morris
 Walker, Charles
 Wallace, Miss Agnes
 Welch, Mrs. G. Harold
 Whitney, Mrs. Josepha
 Willard, Rev. C. Lawson
 Winnick, Alexander
 Winslow, Dr. C. E. A.

NEW HAVEN CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS WHO AS OF MAY 17 HAVE COME OUT IN FAVOR OF THE STRATTON BILL

New Haven Council of Churches (representing 91 churches in greater New Haven)
 New Haven Association of Congregational Churches (represents 27 churches)
 Catholic Graduates' Club
 New Haven Catholic Social Service
 Jewish Synagogues
 New Haven Central Labor Council (55 A. F. of L. unions with a membership of 25,000)
 League of Women Voters
 Teachers College
 New Haven Branch of the American Association of University Women
 New Haven Branch of the American Association of Social Workers
 Junior Chamber of Commerce Executive Committee
 Young Men's Christian Association
 Young Women's Christian Association
 Young Men's Hebrew Association
 Young Women's Hebrew Association
 Parent Teachers Association
 American Veterans' Committee
 American Veterans' Committee Wives
 New Haven Colony of New England Women
 New Haven Women's Club
 Colonial Dames
 New Haven Polish Clubs
 Knights of Pythias
 Quota Club
 Probus Club

Smith College Club
 Radcliffe College Club
 Soroptimist Club
 Council of Jewish Women
 Women's Assembly Jewish Center
 Hadassah Club

The following Italian groups :

Elm City Lodge
 Elm City Ladies Lodge
 Società Regionale Marchegiana
 Sons of Italy Club
 Italia Magna Lodge
 Marconi Lodge
 Stella D'Italia Lodge
 Maria Montessori Lodge, Meriden, Conn.
 M. S. S. della Vergini Society
 Arti e Mesteri Society
 Casali di Faicchio Society
 Sannio Auxiliary
 St. Theresa Society
 Queen Helen Society
 Mandamentalle Cusane Society
 Queen Margherita Society
 Italian Veterans of World War I Society
 Cerreto Sannita Society
 Ladies North Italian League
 Italian Settentrionale Society

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, CENTER CHURCH, IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.

HON. ELLSWORTH B. FOOTE,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FOOTE: Please record the undersigned as favoring the passage of the Stratton bill permitting the entry of a stipulated number of displaced persons into the United States over a period of the next 4 years. All the signers are native-born citizens of voting age.

OSCAR E. MAUBER.
 ERIC W. MAUBER.
 MARION MAURER.
 MARION E. MAURER.

We undersigned Christian citizens of the United States, residents of Third Congressional District in the State of Connecticut respectfully request you to support H. R. 2910.

Marie Sorokin, Milford.
 Michael Sorokin, Milford.
 Valerie Waehlk, Milford.
 Asta Tenisson, Milford.
 Andrew Pranspill, Milford.
 Hilda Pranspill, Milford.
 L. Copelman, Milford.
 Ella Pranspill, Milford.
 Frank S. Warge, Devon.
 Hattie Hildebrand, Milford.
 Laura Haydock, Milford.
 Anna Zurko, Milford.
 Stelle Peruzzi, Milford.

Coral La Vallee, Milford.
 Frank Stolle, Bridgeport.
 Walter Karpowicz, Milford.
 John Figlov, Bridgeport.
 Martin Janson, Milford.
 Oscar Laul, Milford.
 Edward Magi, New York.
 May Martinsan, New York.
 Lusi Magi, New York.
 Henry Copelman, Milford, Conn.
 Johanne Erack, New York.
 Theodore Erack, Milford, Conn.

[From the Philadelphia Sunday Evening Bulletin, June 22, 1947]

WHO'S GOING TO BOARD UNCLE JAKE?

More than 2 years after the end of the war in Europe, some 850,000 human beings are living in concentration camps under Allied control. It is usual to blur the edges of this hard fact by referring to the victims of war as "displaced

persons" and to their quarters as "assembly centers." This makes us feel better. Whether it cheers them up or not we don't know.

Who are they? Well, they're mostly Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, Estonians, Russians, and Czechs.

Why don't they go back where they came from? Because they can't run the risk of political, racial, or religious persecution under the new governments of their homelands.

What kind of people are they? The majority are under 40; 150,000 are children under 18. Among the adults are 60,000 farm laborers, 20,000 housemaids, 7,000 teachers, 4,000 nurses, 23,000 professional people, and 40,000 industrial workers.

So what? So they're not charity cases. They can take care of themselves with half a chance.

What would they consider half a chance? The opportunity and permission to emigrate to some country where they could settle down and support themselves.

Where, for instance? Not the United States? Sure, the United States, among other nations. Why not?

Why pin this problem on us? How about the other countries? The others have already spoken up. France, Belgium, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and Canada will take some of the extra people in central Europe. It won't hurt us to do our share, under the Stratton bill.

You mean let down the bars to a flood of dangerous immigrants? No. We mean allow 100,000 people a year to come in for 4 years. Total—400,000. The national origins law under which we now operate permitted the entry of about 2,500,000 immigrants in the last 16 years. Less than a million actually came in. In 1945, for example, they used only 7 percent of their quotas. There's room.

What about the speech of the national commander of the American Legion? Didn't he say something about a lawless tide of 1,500,000 a year now pouring in? That's what the man said. But the good colonel seems to have zero trouble. No other figures match his.

Just the same, they'd take jobs away from American veterans, wouldn't they? Not necessarily. Maybe some of them would create jobs. That's the way immigration has always worked in this country, although some politicians have used the taking-the-bread-out-of-American-mouths argument ever since 1790.

Wouldn't they work for less money, and break down the standard of living? If they would, it doesn't seem likely that the unions would support any move to let them in. Both the AFL and the CIO have come out in favor of the Stratton bill.

Why let a lot of dangerous Reds into the country? Why, indeed? Only it happens these DP's aren't Reds, dangerous or otherwise. They are probably the most thoroughly screened group in the world right now. But even so, they'd have to take a couple of more screenings before the American consuls could give them visas. The Stratton bill doesn't change any of the strict rules of the Immigration Bureau. An emigrant still has to be healthy, able to read and write (with certain exceptions for close relatives of people already here), and capable of supporting himself. If he becomes a public charge within 5 years of his arrival, he is liable to deportation.

How can we be sure they won't be a burden on the community? Under the regular procedure, some individual or some organization vouches for them and is responsible for their getting settled. Incidentally, they're a burden on the community right now, since we have to pay for their support in the DP camp. If we can get them to work again, in other countries all over the world, that item will come off the expense account of our European armies of occupation.

What about housing? Shouldn't we wait till every American has a place to live, before we let anybody else come in? That sounds plausible. But, again, it doesn't reflect the way immigration actually works. A lot of them will go in with friends or relatives. A lot of them are construction men. Maybe they'd speed up the housing program.

Anyhow, they're human beings, and we're partly responsible for the fix they're in. There's not much use sitting around like a family council quarreling over who's going to board Uncle Jake.

(The statements of Messrs. Madden, Klein, and Sabath are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF RAY J. MADDEN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM FIRST DISTRICT,
INDIANA, JUNE 18, 1947

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for this opportunity to appear before your subcommittee to urge favorable action on H. R. 2910.

The United States is looked upon by all the nations of the world as the country which must exemplify the kind of leadership which others should follow.

The legislation now under consideration by your committee is emergency legislation to aid temporarily displaced persons, now without permanent or temporary homes. A great number of these displaced people are anxious to work and become good citizens, if only given the opportunity.

In practically all of the smaller nations of Europe hundreds of thousands of patriotic people, who fought side by side with our country during the recent war, are now asking for an opportunity to work and provide for their families in peaceful surroundings.

America owes a debt of gratitude to those displaced citizens who aided and fought with her and her allies in the battle of liberty and freedom against Hitler and the dictators.

In our vast country we have millions of acres of fertile and tillable land now dormant and uncultivated. If H. R. 2910 is passed in this session of Congress, numerous displaced persons can come to our country and settle on small farms, and aid in producing food for the starving of the world.

I think it is only fair that for the next 4 years displaced persons should be allowed to enter our country as nonquota immigrants.

Our country has progressed to its present world leadership by reason of millions of immigrants coming to our shores during the last century and a half. Let us continue to grow, expand, and prosper. The adoption of H. R. 2910 will be a step in the right direction.

I hope this legislation is passed unanimously by your committee.

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR G. KLEIN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE
NINETEENTH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON
IMMIGRATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY IN SUPPORT OF
H. R. 2910

Mr. Chairman, I am heartily in favor of the passage of H. R. 2910. I have given a good deal of time and study to the displaced-persons problem, and it is my considered opinion that the passage of this bill would not only be an act of human kindness, but one of justice. In these troubled times it is the duty of this country as the leading nation of the world to assert its leadership, not only in military and financial channels, but in leading the way in justice and humanity.

I would like to include at this point a speech which I made on the floor of the House of Representatives on April 29, 1947. This will clear up many misrepresentations made with regard to the problem of admitting displaced persons to this country.

DISPLACED PERSONS

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much confusion and so many misstatements with regard to immigration practices, aliens, and displaced persons, that it is time to have the true picture open for inspection by Members of Congress. The State Department, the Department of Justice, and the well-informed are fully aware of the conspiracy of distortion and misrepresentation which has been launched to confuse the public and bedevil Congress on this subject.

Richard C. Raymond, adviser to the Department of State on displaced persons, recently stated:

"We are concerned about a lot of false propaganda that is going around about the displaced persons. There is so much of it that there almost seems to be a campaign behind it."

In the last issue of the Monthly Review of the Immigration and Naturalization Service—March 1947—Commissioner Carusi exposes some of the false stories about immigration in an editorial entitled "Rumor Versus Fact."

Earlier this year Earl Harrison, former Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, said:

"Right now, there seems to have been launched a campaign of misrepresentation and distortion concerning immigration into the United States."

Mr. Speaker, I should like to disclose and expose this campaign of misrepresentation and to take up point by point each count of this conspiracy of distortion.

Count 1 of the conspiracy consists of the false propaganda that hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of refugees are entering the country illegally. A reputable news magazine recently stated that illegal entries were skyrocketing, that foreigners caught entering the country under false pretenses are now at a rate of 170,000 a year, and it implied that this number consisted entirely of refugees. There have also been newspaper editorials and articles which have been repeated and spread upon the Congressional Record to the effect that 2,000 aliens enter the country illegally every day. And here again an attempt is made to convey the thought that these are refugees seeking illegal entry into the United States from European shores. Commissioner Carusi answers this oft-repeated falsehood as follows:

"Rumors repeatedly infer that millions of European refugees are crossing our borders illegally. These rumors may stem from the fact that many Mexicans are illegally crossing the southern border of the United States in quest of work. These illegal Mexican entrants are being apprehended and returned to Mexico by the immigration border patrol at the rate of 15,000 per month. If we may judge from protests that we are receiving from the area along the Mexican border, our expulsions of Mexicans are depleting the labor supply to an extent which may exceed the current rate of illegal entries. Be that as it may, these people are neither Europeans nor refugees. Attempted illegal entries from the European area are less than 100 per month; most of these aliens are stowaways who arrive on vessels in groups of from 2 to 10. Practically every one of these stowaways is apprehended by the captain of the vessel before he reaches port and is then turned over to our officers at the pier. They are being returned whence they came by the steamship companies which brought them."

Count 2 of the conspiracy is that all displaced persons of Europe are riffraff and undersirables.

There are approximately 850,000 displaced persons in the various zones in Europe. Of these, more than 50 percent are women and children. There are 150,000 children below the age of 17, and of these 70,000 are estimated to be under 6 years of age. There are 77,000 farm hands among the displaced, some 20,000 housemaids, and 18,000 construction workers. Many are skilled workers, some are professionals, and others are business people. An investigation of these displaced persons, set forth in a House Military Affairs report, Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, House Report 2740, states:

"The great majority of them are law abiding and sincerely grateful to the United States."

Count 3 of the conspiracy is the attempt to paint all displaced persons as Communists. Richard C. Raymond, adviser on Displaced Persons in the State Department, stated in this connection on February 1, 1947, as follows:

"A current report stated that there would be many Communists among them and that they would constitute a grave danger. To anyone who has lived among these people and knows them, this is simply not so, for they are thoroughly unsympathetic to communism."

And this is what Commissioner Carusi has to say about the same subject:

"As to those having foreign political philosophies the law requires the exclusion on political grounds of persons who are anarchist or who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law, or who disbelieve in or are opposed to organized government, or who advocate certain specified acts consistent with these prescribed doctrines. Any immigrant who falls within one of these classes is ordered excluded."

In passing I ask: Could it be that the charges of the professional alarmists against more liberal immigration and the admission of the displaced are inspired by the Communists themselves? They want the displaced turned over to Russia and Russian dominated countries. They would like to see the failure of the Presi-

dent's program for the displaced of Europe. Members of Congress owe it to themselves to ascertain the sources of these falsely inspired rumors. Let us not have the immigration question confused and divided by the Communists. Let all those who repeat these false charges pay heed lest they innocently front for the Communist Party-line on the refugee problem.

These displaced persons prized freedom deeply enough to have suffered for it. They are presently in detention camps because they refuse to return to Communist-dominated lands and to countries where growing racial and political persecution has taken hold. They are today resisting as they have in the past all forms of totalitarianism. Our democratic way of life was born on European shores among oppressed displaced people and was first brought here on the *Mayflower*. Today's displaced people of Europe are worthy successors to the Pilgrims.

Count 4 of the conspiracy is the attempt to make a Jewish issue out of the problem of immigration, to convey the thought that most of the displaced persons are Jewish, and to fan the flames of anti-Semitism and racial hatred. This would be despicable even if all the displaced persons of Europe were Jewish, which is not the case. It is even more contemptible because of the attempt to mingle race prejudice with malicious falsehoods. Eighty percent of the displaced persons are of the Catholic and Protestant faith. And religious organizations of these faiths are solidly behind the movement to take our fair share of the displaced persons of Europe. Only 20 percent of the displaced are of the Jewish faith, and of these an overwhelming majority desire to emigrate to Palestine, and not to the United States.

On this subject, Commissioner Carusi says:

"Other rumors imply that large proportions of those persons who are admitted to the United States are of one faith * * *. A preponderance of immigrants from any one religious faith is a matter of chance influenced by economic or other factors which may persuade particular groups to migrate to the United States at any given time. Such a preponderance, if it occurs, is not a violation of law nor does any alien's religious affiliation bear upon his admissibility into this country."

Count 5 of the conspiracy is the attempt to disparage refugees who are lawfully in the United States and to describe them as criminals and Communists. The short answer to that is the statement of J. Edgar Hoover, made during the war years. He stated that the "experience of the FBI in coping with foreign agents, spies, and saboteurs has conclusively illustrated that the great mass of aliens are loyal to the United States, devoted to the principles of democracy." And all those who have ever made any studies on the subject of immigration and crime have concluded that the overwhelming majority of aliens in the United States are law abiding.

Count 6 of the conspiracy is the double-barrelled falsehood that there are a million veterans unemployed and that the immigration of displaced persons will result in aggravating this unemployment problem. It is true that more than a million veterans were drawing veterans' unemployment compensation. On the other hand, statistics show that not more than 80,000 drew benefits for any sustained period. At the same time, Department of Labor statistics disclosed that there were critical manpower shortages in agricultural workers, certain types of medical personnel, construction workers, and domestics. It is an economic fact fully supported in a recent booklet entitled *Economic Aspects of Immigration*, published by the National Committee on Immigration Policy, that immigrants do not take jobs away from veterans or other Americans.

The bulk of the displaced persons are workers. As I previously stated, there are some 77,000 farm hands among them; some 20,000 are housemaids. Many are skilled workers; some are professionals; others still are business people. There is a great shortage of farm labor and domestic service in the United States. New immigrants who are not workers tend to open noncompetitive business shops. A recent study in a metropolitan city showed that each refugee entrepreneur in business created a job for seven Americans. The largest labor unions in our country, the CIO and the AFL, representing over 13,000,000 workers, are on record as favoring the admission of displaced persons. As stated in recent testimony by a Department of Justice representative, "a great number of immigrants, both quota and nonquota, are not within the competitive field of employment." Many of the displaced are women and children. The small number admitted in proportion to our total population cannot create a serious unemployment problem, and it should be remembered that all immigrants are consumers.

Count 7 of the conspiracy is the inspired falsification that a regular swarm of persons from Europe has been and is now coming into this country. It has been said that the present influx is seven times the immigration rate during the depression years of the early thirties, and greater than any year since 1929. What are the facts?

In 1929 the United States Congress passed immigration laws permitting 153,000 quota immigrants to enter the country annually. During the war years, from 1940 to 1946, only 15 percent of the total world quota was used. Nine hundred and fourteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-two people who could have entered the United States legally under quotas did not do so. In the fiscal year ended, 1946, only 29,095 quota immigrants entered. Is this greater than the number who entered any year since 1929 or during the depression years of the early thirties? I merely call your attention to the fact that in 1930, 141,497 quota immigrants entered the United States and in each of the five additional years the admissions have exceeded the number who entered during the last fiscal year 1946.

These are the major counts of the conspiracy which has taken shape to distort and confuse the picture of immigration and displaced persons. It is interesting to observe that many of those who have been misled are the first to cry for the expenditure of moneys to investigate rumors they helped spread when by mere contact with administrative officials the true facts can be ascertained.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come when we should do something about the displaced persons of Europe. Our program should be guided by full knowledge of the facts and not by blind prejudice, false rumors, or propaganda which seeks to hinder and obstruct action by the United States.

H. R. 2910, introduced by the gentleman from Illinois on April 1, 1947, authorizes the admission to the United States of 100,000 displaced persons in each of four emergency years. It will, if enacted into law, recapture only in part the unused war quotas. The principle of this bill has been endorsed by more than 100 separate organizations. Religious groups, labor and civic organizations, and some veteran groups, have all gone on record as favoring the admission of our fair share of the displaced persons of Europe.

In conclusion, I call attention to Barry Bingham's keen analysis of the displaced-persons problem in the Courier Journal of Louisville, Ky. We might well weigh these words:

"There are four courses which America might pursue in dealing with this human problem. One is to let the DP's stay forever in former concentration camps, at a cost of \$300,000,000 a year to the American taxpayer. Another is to abandon them and let them starve. A third is to try to force them on other countries, while insisting that we ourselves can give shelter to none of them in the United States. The fourth is to take the lead in distributing them among various nations by offering to take a limited number into this country.

"The first two solutions seem out of the question, as too expensive and too brutal. The third is the course we have been tacitly following, though we have never officially adopted it and it is not sanctioned by any of our responsible leaders. It has produced no results to date, for almost none of the DP's have been resettled in new countries.

"The fourth solution has both logic and humanity on its side, but unfortunately creates an emotional block in many American minds. The Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons has proposed admitting 400,000, more than half of whom are women and children under 18."

Mr. Speaker, there are eminently practical reasons for America to take the lead in placing the displaced persons. General McNarney, the commanding general of our military forces in Europe, has said that our occupation troops in Germany could be cut sharply if the DP's were moved out of the country. At present they are a dead expense on our hands.

The moral reasons for coming to their rescue hardly need recital. One of the proudest of American traditions lies in the fact that this country gave harbor to the victims of religious and political persecution. The Pilgrim Fathers came to our shores for those very reasons. The same impetus sent thousands of German families to American shores after the revolution of 1848, and our country has had few more useful citizens. America was built by refugees from foreign lands. Is it any wonder that the world looks to us today for an act of leadership?

I commend to your attention H. R. 2910, introduced by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Stratton]. This bill would permit the admission into this country of 100,000 DP's in each of four emergency years. It deserves your support and I trust that the Members will support it, both in committee and on the floor.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE A. J. SABATH, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM ILLINOIS, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY SUBMITTED IN WRITING JUNE 28, 1947

Mr. Chairman, as you are aware, I am, myself, the author of H. R. 464, a bill to provide for the admission of certain displaced persons to the United States for permanent residence, which I introduced on January 6, 1947.

My bill provides that a number of displaced persons equal to the total number of unused immigration quotas for all nationalities for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1947, and June 30, 1948, shall be admitted to the United States for permanent residence at any time prior to December 31, 1948.

The effect of this bill would be, of course, to open quotas for two current years to the tragic victims of Nazi aggression and horror in Europe and speed the task of mankind to help these frightened starving people to build new lives.

Since my main interest is, however, in supporting any practicable and acceptable means of aiding the victims of Hitler, without regard to race, religion, or nationality, I wish to express my full support of the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, and to urge its favorable report.

At the same time, recognizing that much of the opposition to the Stratton bill is based upon the fact that under its provisions the quota is more or less set aside for the benefit of 400,000 displaced persons, I should like to point out that my bill might well prove an acceptable substitute, since it would provide only for the use of unused quotas for the 2 years in the immediate future.

Let me recall that for 24 years of my 41 years in Congress I was a member of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of this House. Most of the present immigration laws were adopted during my service on that committee.

My attitude has been consistent. I have recognized the necessity in the modern complex world of providing some restrictions on the free flow of human migration. I have believed that criminals, the insane, public charges, and other categories of definitely undesirable immigrants should be screened out.

But I have also insisted and urged and pleaded that restrictions apply equally to all people without any discrimination based upon national or racial derivation, and that the restrictions be the minimum required for national security and international comity.

Because the entire world was the intended victim of the madman Hitler, and because the helpless, defenseless people of Germany and the European areas conquered by the Hitler armies and the Hitler ideologies were sacrificed to the benefit of the rest of the world, it is now a world responsibility to do everything within human capacity to help restore these tragic victims to useful and productive lives.

The record of these hearings has been filled with statistics, so I shall not burden you with further recapitulations of facts already known to you.

I address myself rather to the humanitarian aspects of the problem.

Traditionally, the Western Hemisphere has been the refuge of all people fleeing from religious persecution, political repression, or economic desperation. Every nation in the world, every religious cult, every racial stock, has contributed to the greatness of the United States and its sister nations in North and South America.

Immigrants have developed and made great this land. It has been the common task and common glory of mankind. We are not crowded in this country. There are still frontiers—frontiers of land, frontiers of the mind. We can absorb easily those human beings who dream of coming to this free land from the oppression and misery they have known in Europe.

These helpless people, deprived of every opportunity of rebuilding their lives, originated in practically every one of the war-torn nations of Europe. In religious faith they are predominantly Roman Catholic; some are Greek Orthodox; some are Russian Orthodox; some are Mohammedan; between one-fifth and one-sixth are Jews. Slavic and Teutonic people predominate overwhelmingly.

Many of the refugees are women and children. I should like to remind you of the Christian invitation, "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

The women and children and elderly men will, of course, go to the homes of relatives, or friends, or to the residence halls of welfare agencies which have sponsored and guaranteed their maintenance. They cannot conceivably affect the housing shortage, nor can they threaten the employment of American workingmen. Let me remind the committee that the stupendous total of 58,000,000 persons are gainfully employed in the United States today, and that there is

no indication of a slowing up of demand for many years to come. We actually need the labor and industrial experience of the relatively few able-bodied men who would be able to come over here. The children will be received with open arms and fully supported by blood or foster relatives.

Mr. Chairman, there is a pathetic malady to which human flesh is heir. It is commonly called xenophobia. It means an irrational fear of what is strange or unknown. I suppose there is no real cure for xenophobia; but it is possible to expose to the reasonable and informed members of this committee some of the curious misconceptions of the xenophobes.

There have appeared before you in the course of these hearings some gentlemen who have been long known to me and perhaps to you. Their morbid dread of the new and the unknown is so obvious it scarcely needs my pointing up. However, I must point out to you that this dread has given rise to the most amazing misstatements or distortions of facts. This is nothing new. As far back as 1790, when the population of the United States was only three to four million souls, there was strong agitation to bar all further immigration lest those here first should be crowded out and foreign ideas brought in.

I can recollect reading, many years ago, the report of the Commission on Restriction of Immigration appointed in 1790, and reconstituted in 1810, and can, I think, recall the exact words with which the report began: "We look with apprehension on the great influx of undesirables who are filling our poor-houses and our penal institutions, overcrowding our cities, and overflowing our maritime borders."

We realize now that the findings of that commission and its fears were unjustified. The country was never harmed by immigration. On the other hand, it is conceded by every authority that immigration developed our resources, enriched our history, added vastly to our wealth, and contributed to our culture. In every war, and especially in the two World Wars, immigrants and the sons of immigrants proved their loyalty and devotion to the last full measure.

You have had before you John B. Trevor, a perennial witness before congressional committees, who has been chewing this soiled rag of xenophobia and anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism for some 40 years. You have heard the badly-mixed-up Merwyn K. Hart, who fears all things foreign except the Spanish despot, Franco, and Mussolini's corporate state. You have heard a few others of the same ilk who deal in reckless and unfounded misstatements and exaggerations to which no credence should be given by the thoughtful and unprejudiced members of your committee.

You have, from the other side, heard in support of the bill such distinguished Americans as Gen. John H. Hildring; Justice Owen Roberts, of the United States Supreme court; William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor; the Reverend Samuel McCrea Cavert, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, speaking for the united voice of most Protestant Churches; Bishop William T. Mulloy for the Roman Catholic Church in America; my friend, Charles Rozmarek, of the Polish Congress; and the Honorable Ugo Carusi, Commissioner of Immigration and spokesman for the national administration. Ten Members of Congress, including myself, have formally urged favorable consideration.

Against the statements of this great weight of authority and enlightenment, I do not believe the committee can or will give serious consideration to the narrow selfishness of the opponents.

There are no new arguments to be advanced on this subject. The question must be and will be decided on the basis of selfishness and self-defeat; or it will be decided in the beneficial light of progress and selflessness which, in the brief span of 170 years, has made this Nation the greatest power on earth.

I hope sincerely that this committee will be swayed by noble humanitarianism, supported by the facts of history.

The Stratton bill has been endorsed and recommended and urged by scores of outstanding American leaders and organizations; it is opposed only by the misguided and professional opponents of immigration, still reciting the same misstatements of a century ago. I am confident, and I hope that the committee will favorably report this bill, or an acceptable substitute which will be directed toward the same end.

Mr. FELLOWS. I have here a tabulation submitted by Mr. Carusi of the estimated alien population in the United States by countries.

Without objection, that will be incorporated in the record at this point.

(The tabulation referred to is as follows:)

Estimated alien population in the United States June 30, 1946

British Empire-----	703,000	Mexico-----	366,000
Germany and Austria-----	270,000	Other countries-----	895,000
Italy-----	386,000		
Poland-----	228,000		
U. S. S. R.-----	206,000	All countries-----	3,054,000

Mr. FELLOWS. We will meet again on Friday at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon at 12:40 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10 a. m., Friday, June 27, 1947.)

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Frank Fellows, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The hearing will come to order.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, may I offer at this time to be placed in the record the following resolutions, both in favor of the Stratton bill and those against it?

First, that of the Butler Council of Protestant Churches, of Butler, Pa., a resolution offered at a regular monthly meeting of the Butler Council of Protestant Churches, June 12, 1947, favoring the enactment of the Stratton bill into law.

May I offer the resolution of the Presbytery of Beaver, Beaver County, Pa., my home county, favoring the enactment of this into law? This is dated June 24, 1947.

Next, that of the State Council of the Pennsylvania Junior Order of United American Mechanics, protesting against the enactment of this bill into law.

Next, the resolution of the National Council, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, protesting the enactment of the bill into law.

Next, the Beaver Falls Ministerial Association, of Beaver Falls, Pa., favoring the enactment of the bill into law.

I would like to have these five placed in the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well, sir.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

BUTLER COUNCIL OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES,
Butler, Pa., June 23, 1947.

RESOLUTION OFFERED AT THE REGULAR MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BUTLER COUNCIL OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES, JUNE 12, 1947

Whereas one of the basic principles of our Christian religion is a genuine concern for the whole welfare of our fellow men; and

Whereas there are now almost a million of our fellow men classified as displaced persons and living in detention areas in the British and American zones in Germany; and

Whereas we of the United States have the resources to offer these people that which they need most, an opportunity to start life over again and achieve for themselves a place of independence and usefulness in the world; and

Whereas the nations of the world look toward the United States of America for leadership in things spiritual and humanitarian: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we the officers and members of the Butler Council of Protestant Churches urge upon our Congressman, the Honorable Louis Graham, the passage of House bill 2910, known as the Stratton bill, to make possible the admission of 100,000 of these displaced persons per year for the next 4 years.

Respectfully submitted.

W. CARL BOGARD, *President*.
DOUGAL E. YOUNG, *Secretary*.

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF STRATTON BILL

The Presbytery of Beaver, assembled in regular session in the First Presbyterian Church of Freedom on June 24, took the following action:

Resolved, 1. That we hereby express our hearty endorsement of the Stratton bill, which would temporarily lower the immigration quota in order to permit the entrance into America of 400,000 displaced Europeans over a period of 3 years. Our Christian sensibilities have been deeply stirred by the pitiable plight of these unfortunate victims of war who cherish ideals of democracy quite similar to those which have made America a haven of refuge for the oppressed and a land of Christian opportunity.

It is our deep conviction that America would both discharge a phase of its responsibility in receiving 400,000 displaced persons and would be strengthened by the future services of these persons. We understand that these people will be carefully screened to exclude undesirables and that friends and relatives will provide opportunities for them in America. America with its Christian background and traditions must not do less than this minimum act of humanitarian service. 2. Be it

Resolved further, That a copy of the above action be mailed to our Senators in Washington and also to our Congressman from this district. 3. Be it

Resolved also, That Dr. W. W. McKinney and Dr. R. H. Stephens be appointed a committee to mail these resolutions with an accompanying letter to the three individuals named above.

Respectfully submitted.

PRESBYTERY OF BEAVER,
W. W. MCKINNEY
(On behalf of the Presbytery).

STATE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA,
JUNIOR ORDER UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS,
Philadelphia 40, Pa., May 22, 1947.

HON. LOUIS E. GRAHAM,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GRAHAM: Kindly be advised that our organization is emphatically opposed to the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, as well as to all immigration, other than that allowed under our present immigration laws.

We do not have employment and homes for our own people and we cannot burden our taxpayers to support hundreds of thousands more.

Hundreds of trouble makers have already been admitted, under cover of "needy refugees and displaced persons." We do not need any more, but should deport those who are now here.

Americans are not afraid to return home, and if these refugees and displaced persons are afraid to go back to their own countries we surely do not want them here.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. H. HALL,
State Secretary.

NATIONAL COUNCIL JUNIOR ORDER OF UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS,
OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,
Philadelphia 5, Pa., June 17, 1947.

Hon. LOUIS E. GRAHAM,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GRAHAM: The Junior Order United American Mechanics is America's oldest patriotic fraternity. It was organized in 1853 and has recently celebrated its ninety-fourth birthday. It is a secret, patriotic fraternity, dedicated to the best interest of its members and to the welfare of the American Republic, and the support of the American public free schools.

Our fraternity has advocated the restriction of immigration and had much to do with the passage of the immigration law of 1917. As a matter of fact, John L. Burnett, Member of Congress from Alabama, who sponsored the immigration law of 1917, was an honored member of this fraternity. We had to pass the immigration bill of 1917 over the veto of Woodrow Wilson. This was done due to the fact that the people of the United States were fed up with the hordes of immigrants who were being brought into this country keeping wages down, lowering social standards, and bringing about unsettled social and economic conditions.

Our fraternity also sponsored the change in the immigration law of 1924 and favored the quota restrictions which that law imposes.

H. R. 2910, which your subcommittee is considering, if enacted into law, would be detrimental to the public welfare. The resolution which we are enclosing gives our reasons for this statement.

We request that you follow the good old American doctrine of the restriction of immigration in your consideration of H. R. 2910. It ought to be defeated. We are under no further obligation to these displaced persons. We are in no way responsible for their condition. They ought to be repatriated, and when they reach their homelands go to work. Your refusal, or your vote against this bill will help to put these people back in their own nations to which they belong, and will safeguard our American people, and particularly our veterans who can take up all the slack so far as employment is concerned in this country.

This bill speaks about the fair share the United States should accept in dealing with this problem. We submit that our fair share has already been done, and more besides. The taxpayers of this Nation are feeding these people, and have been for a long time. There is really no excuse for that; however, we do not object to that, but we do seriously object to bringing 400,000 of these people in 4 years into this country, and their relatives down to the fourth degree of consanguinity. Think what this will mean. There will probably be a million relatives that will come in without quota restrictions and under the relative clause of present immigration laws.

This is a serious matter. These people are concentrated in spheres of Germany, Austria, and Italy which are under military occupation. Can it be that the military is without force to handle this situation and to repatriate these people? We think not. We must not let our sympathy run away with our judgment in this matter.

Respectfully yours,

Harvey Morgan, Roy D. Dare, Geo. A. Morgan, Paul H. Wenrich,
John S. Gottshall, Joseph C. Kabler, J. Wesley Allgood, C. Nevin
Mears, C. Kaufman, H. S. Robinson, Harry Waterman, W. P.
Horner, Thomas L. Scaife, R. J. Curry.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE IMMIGRATION OF DISPLACED PEOPLE TO THE UNITED
STATES BY BEAVER FALLS MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION

MAY 14, 1947.

Whereas there are around 850,000 displaced persons in Europe; and

Whereas they dare not return to their homelands in fear of religious and political persecution; and

Whereas America is committed to the policy of not forcing their return; and

Whereas it is costing the American taxpayers something around \$300,000,000 a year to maintain them in former concentration camps; and

Whereas General McNarney has said that our occupation troops in Germany could be cut sharply if the displaced persons were moved out of the country; and
Whereas they could make a positive contribution to our American economy through their labor and skills; and

Whereas 914,762 quota numbers for immigrants permitted to enter into this country between 1940 and 1946 were never used; and

Whereas the admission of 400,000 displaced persons in the next 4 years would use only 50 percent of immigration quotas already allowed by Congress; and

Whereas all such DP's admitted would have to be screened according to present immigration laws, eliminating all anarchists, vagrants, criminals, paupers, and subversive elements; and

Whereas everyone coming would have to be vouched for by individual or corporate affidavits so that they would not become a public charge; and

Whereas the great majority of them would be housed by relatives so they would not materially complicate the housing shortage; and

Whereas above all the humanitarian consideration involved and the Christian conscience dictates that these people who are hopeless exiles now because of their resistance to tyranny should be given our sympathy, interest, and a chance to rebuild their shattered lives and contribute to the welfare to freedom and democracy; and

Whereas such Christian organizations as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Catholic War Veterans, as well as such organizations as the A. F. of L. and CIO have endorsed this movement; and therefore be it

Resolved, That we inform our people regarding this emergency; that we urge their support of the Stratton bill (H. R. 2910) which provides for the accomplishment of these things; that we support President Truman in asking for this amendment to the immigration laws; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Congressman Louis E. Graham and its urgency placed before him, as the UNRRA disbands June 30.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Williamson.

STATEMENT OF JOHN C. WILLIAMSON, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE SERVICE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Mr. WILLIAMSON. My name is John C. Williamson. I am assistant legislative director of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am grateful for this opportunity of presenting the views of the Veterans of Foreign Wars with respect to the bill H. R. 2910.

This bill provides for admitting to the United States as permanent residents, notwithstanding existing immigration quotas, 400,000 European displaced persons during the next four fiscal years.

I would first like to state that the Veterans of Foreign Wars is opposed to any relaxation of immigration quotas except in those cases affecting the wives, fiancés, and immediate next of kin of members or former members of the armed forces of the United States who served in World War II. We are therefore opposed to the bill, H. R. 2910, which we believe is repugnant to our established national immigration policy.

I wish to emphasize that the position of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is based on a resolution adopted by approximately 15,000 delegates to our forty-seventh national encampment in September 1946. A similar resolution was adopted a year previously at the forty-sixth national encampment.

The proposed admission of 400,000 displaced persons poses many problems not ordinarily engendered in the consideration of the relaxa-

tion of immigration quotas. First, it is our understanding that the displaced persons who would benefit through this bill have been classified by their champions in this country as nonrepatriable to their countries of origin because those countries have been absorbed by the Soviet Union or are Communist-dominated. Eligibility would therefore be based on the inability or unwillingness of the displaced person to return to the country of his origin because of the fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion.

It is natural, therefore, that the sympathy of this Nation be aroused at the plight of those who vehemently denounce communism and the political tyranny of their former homelands. This sympathy, coupled with an overly generous and unrealistic handling of the displaced persons problem in the non-Russian zones in Europe, has brought about a mental attitude on the part of those people that the United States would take care of everything.

Who are these 400,000 persons who, it is cried, merit admission to the United States at the cost of undermining our immigration structure?

They are what is left in the displaced persons camps after millions of other displaced persons who, when delivered from bondage by the Allied forces, returned to their homelands in order to assist in rebuilding their homes and to carve out a new life in the wilderness that confronted them there.

They are well represented, to an overwhelming percentage, by persons who arrived at the displaced persons camps in 1945, 1946, and 1947, slipping clandestinely across the border zones with the encouragement, or at most the passive resistance, of the Soviet Union.

They represent the rear guard of millions of displaced persons and refugees, at least 600,000 of whom have already trickled into the United States without the benefit of visa. On June 9, 1946, Attorney General Clark stated that over 2,000 people a day were entering the United States without visas; 85,000 of these were apprehended in the last 6 months of 1946.

They represent the resultant product of systematic starvation and enforced slavery, a group which has struggled to survive for 7 years or more in a lawless bestial environment which reduced many at varying times to what the Army calls the "animal level."

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Williamson, would you care to be interrupted as you go along or wait until you finish your statement?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I only have a little more than a page. I prefer to finish.

They are the surviving group of millions who led a primitive existence under their Nazi overlords. Now in the pleasant custody of the United States they have developed an overwhelming distaste for the new economic patterns in their homelands.

They represent a group, 48,000 of whom in 1946 accepted food bonuses from the United States as an enticement to return to their former homelands. It may be that a similar bribe at this time would dislodge another such group.

The only justifiable criterion which should be applied to the question of immigration or immigration restriction is: What is best for this country?

In the opinion of the Veterans of Foreign Wars the admission of 400,000 displaced persons in addition to those entering under existing

immigration quotas would act as a deterrent to the achievement of a well-balanced economy.

They would require homes at a time when millions of veterans are unable to find decent lodging within their income bracket.

They would require jobs at a time when over a million veterans are drawing readjustment allowances, with the unemployment curve on the increase.

It has been said that these displaced persons will be screened and that only those who adhere to democratic principles and who have the attributes that make good American citizens will be admitted. Will the records of the Soviet Union be made available as to the conduct in their homelands of those who entered the American occupation zone after VE-day? Will we effectively be able to eliminate those whose vehement anticommunism is based on their adherence to the Fascist principles which have kept eastern Europe in a state of semi-feudalism since time immemorial?

Our system of democratic capitalism is far from perfect. Many of these displaced persons will receive serious set-backs under our system of private enterprise. They would prove most amenable to the cries and blandishments of those who carry the banners for alien ideologies.

The veterans of World War II, as well as World War I, must question seriously the propriety of the displaced persons in Europe who, delivered from bondage at the cost of the blood of American youth, now seek to avoid their share in the responsibility for creating a new freedom and civilization in Europe.

In the opinion of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, this whole question of what to do with the displaced persons in Europe will find its own solution as soon as they are adjusted to the accomplished fact that the immigration quota system of the United States is to be kept intact. You will then find that they will assure their own ultimate survival, as have the displaced persons which have followed all the wars of history. We refuse to accept the finality of alternatives such as death at the hands of the Russians, a life of hostility and bitterness at the hands of the Germans or Austrians, or the continuing and ceaseless dole at the hands of the United States. Unless the United States takes a firm and realistic stand on this problem, then we may soon expect a new host of former Hungarians, Rumanians, and Bulgarians all vehemently denouncing communism and clamoring for admission into the United States.

I urge you, therefore, in behalf of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, not to favorably report the bill H. R. 2910.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any questions?

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Williamson, the statement appears in your prepared statement that over 2,000 people a day are entering the United States without visas. I take it, you mean they are entering this country illegally?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. You probably do not know that Mr. Carusi, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, took issue with that statement, namely, the statement that the Attorney General stated that over 2,000 people are entering the country illegally a day, and he indicated to our committee that that was not the fact and that the Attorney General was misquoted; that he never made such an assertion.

Are you aware of that, Mr. Williamson?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. No; I am not aware of that.

Mr. CELLER. You also state on page 3, as you read it, that the unemployment curve is on the increase. Have you examined the latest figures of the Census Bureau as to civilian employment?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. No; but the unemployment curve is certainly on the increase from the letters that have come in to our office and from the work that evolves upon our unemployment section.

In fact, just the other day we received a letter from a VFW post that gave us a list of 200 veterans who were given discharge slips in a certain industry in Indiana.

Now, that is what prompts us to make a statement like that, because there are 200 veterans who will be out of work and who will be looking for jobs.

Mr. CELLER. I presume there are always some veterans out of employment, but the Census Bureau informs us that we have reached the peak in our history of civilian employment; namely, 58,330,000 civilians employed.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I think it is because we are at our peak of employment that it is very safe to make an assumption that our unemployment will be on the increase from here on out.

Mr. CELLER. There is no indication of that in the Census Bureau figures.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I accept the Census Bureau figures, but I will not accept their conclusions.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, Mr. Green, who testified, the president of the American Federation of Labor, expressed no such fears. On the contrary, he implied that we are in for something like 10 years of prosperity.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I, personally, hope he is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Williamson, regardless of the employment problem, I believe you touched upon the fact that most of these people would bring into this country alien ideologies, which might be more detrimental to us on the social and political fronts than the question of jobs would on the economic front; is that true?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I believe that this is a wrong time for any immigration—any postwar period. These people will be coming into a new type of life. They know nothing of our type of society, our type of free enterprise. We do not have the paternalism or the semifeudal governments of eastern Europe, and they are going to get set-backs. There is not any question about it. And I think that the first great set-back will have such a psychological effect that they would be amendable to any type of alien movement in this country. I think any postwar period in any country is a bad time for the movements of population.

Mr. CELLER. Do not we admit under the quotas certain numbers of the very peoples that you inveigh against?

We admit Poles; we admit Slavs; we admit Russians; we admit Hungarians and Rumanians, who are the same people who are involved in the Stratton bill.

We admit them now under quotas.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is perfectly all right, but the Veterans of Foreign Wars is mandated to oppose any immigration in this post-war era.

Mr. CELLER. That is, the Veterans of Foreign Wars take a position that we should hermetically seal our doors against any immigration?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Not completely seal it.

Mr. CELLER. With certain minor exceptions?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. There are certain exceptions, but we are mandated to a suspension of our immigration system for a period of 10 years after the war.

Mr. CELLER. That is, you would admit, I presume, wives and husbands and children of veterans?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. As a gesture to the veteran.

Mr. CELLER. That is, you believe that the families should remain intact?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. What about those who are not wives and husbands and children of veterans but who are wives and children and husbands of nonveterans? Would you want to unite the families there also?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I think our basis for that is not so much the unity of the family as it is that we believe it is a small gesture that the country can make to a veteran, that he be united with his mother or his children or his wife.

Mr. CELLER. Then that statement is not based on the principle of union of families?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. No.

Mr. CELLER. You do not believe in that?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Are you asking me personally?

Mr. CELLER. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Of course, I think I can concur with your views on that. Our Veterans of Foreign Wars in its national encampment has certainly not taken a position against that. It is an over-all position on the immigration question. There is no question but that you are bound to have inequities—even under your immigration quota system you have inequities. Families have been disunited even through the operation of the immigration-quota system.

Mr. CELLER. But you personally believe as far as possible families should be united; is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I think so.

Mr. CELLER. Whether there are veterans or nonveterans involved?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; that is my personal opinion.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

Families can be united by the members on this side joining those on the other sides, as well as those on the other side joining the ones on this side.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. And there are a lot of families that are not united even in the United States, and there seems to be a great reluctance upon even the Congress in many respects to take certain measures that the Veterans of Foreign Wars has suggested that might seek an early solution to that problem. We have our own displaced persons.

Mr. ROBSION. Briefly, what are those?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I am speaking with reference to the housing program of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; but that is not the subject before this committee.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Williamson, may I ask you a few questions, please?

By way of preface, I live in a community that is very heavily populated by people of foreign birth. My own home county is 43.8 percent foreign. A few years ago, in making a Constitution Day address before a high school, I asked the superintendent, "How many nationalities are here today"?

And he said, "We made a census this morning. You are going to speak to 67 nationalities."

That is the district I come from.

There are three things I want to ask you:

First, if these people should be permitted to come into this country, have you any opinion as to whether they will remain segregated, having their own language newspaper, living in their own units, their own fraternal organizations, and the like, or will they become assimilated and become Americans in fact?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. My personal opinion is that this group is not amenable to ready assimilation in this country.

Mr. GRAHAM. Secondly, have you any opinion on the prevalence of the tenets of communism among the people in these camps?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. It is very probable. We have talked a lot about communism, but what do we know about their political views?

For example, I was reading in the paper the other day that there is a possibility that legislation might be introduced to bring into this country the exiled Polish Army.

Well, there are probably a lot of people in the army that would make good Americans, but I wonder just how many of the people in that army, particularly among their leaders, have persistently adhered to fascism?

You know, in my opinion, Poland has never laid claim to being a great democracy. We heard Rabbi Bernstein the other day saying that anti-Semitism was a great problem in Poland and in any country in Europe. There is a possibility that Communists might come into this country. There is also a possibility that rabid anti-Semites and Fascists might also come into this country. That might be the reason why they are afraid to go back to their homelands.

Mr. GOSSETT. And is it not possible, Mr. Williamson, that at least a good portion of these Polish soldiers are of one type or another—either bitterly one way or they are bitterly the other way?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is right. I am not ready to pat on the back everybody who says he is an anti-Communist. I want to know what else he is.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Williamson.

Mr. GRAHAM. I had not finished.

Mr. CELLER. Pardon me.

Mr. GRAHAM. In many of the letters written to me personally, this feature is emphasized—that there is no danger, or chance, rather, that any of these persons, should they be admitted, will become public charges—that they will be adequately screened in the first instance and will be properly distributed after their arrival here and will not congest in certain overpopulated or dense areas.

Have you any thought on that?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I think that is a lot of wishful thinking. The statement has been advanced that these people will not require housing because they will go into homes with relatives. Well, there is no

house that big. If a couple or family are coming over and going into somebody's brother's or sister's home, from the first day they step across the threshold, they are looking for a house.

Mr. GRAHAM. Finally, I have one other question.

Have you any fears of a business recession and of these people becoming public charges later on?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I think there is just as much chance, if not a greater chance, of those people becoming public charges as a lot of our native Americans, and probably more.

Mr. GRAHAM. Have you any thought on the question?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Excuse me.

They are probably a little more, because if they are in any area where there is a surplus of labor, I do not think that they are going to get as much of a break as veterans who are unemployed and citizens.

Mr. GRAHAM. Have you any information on any criminal propensities among these groups?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Only from statements that I have heard from officers who were in charge of the camps and were with the army of occupation. This very morning I was talking to a former Army officer who was stationed in Bavaria and had considerable contact with the displaced-persons camps; but even from his statement I am not ready to venture an opinion one way or the other.

Mr. GRAHAM. What I was driving at is this:

The lowered morale in Europe, the impairment of physical mechanism, and how far down the mental and moral processes have gone?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. This is very possible, that after years of enslavement under Nazi Germany that people like that would fall into dismal patterns of behavior. That is very possible.

Mr. GRAHAM. In fairness to the groups that are in my section, when they first came in there they were very lawless. I have tried 299 murders in my town. I have tried 37 nationalities in one term of court. But as they went on and became Americanized, adapted to our institutions, they became fine citizens, and many of them today are outstanding men in our community, and women, as the process of time went on, but it has taken some time to do that.

I venture that that group came in before the advent of nazism and communism and fascism and the like.

Now, there is the mental criterion, as I see it.

Mr. GOSSETT. As a matter of just everyday common sense, it takes time for roots to grow deeply and for people to become deeply attached to institutions in their adopted lands. Do you not agree with that conclusion, Mr. Williamson?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes. I think our melting pot ought to boil a little longer.

Mr. GOSSETT. I think you made a very fine statement, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Thank you.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Williamson, have you read the statement of Gen. Mark Clark, who is fresh from Austria, who says that the proportion of crime in the displaced-persons camps is infinitesimally small? Would you believe that, if he made that statement?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I would certainly lend a lot of credence to what General Clark said.

Mr. CELLER. You heard the testimony of Rabbi Bernstein, who quoted Gen. Lucius Clay with reference to crime among the persons in the displaced-persons camps, did you not?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. You will note that General Clay's statement, as repeated by Rabbi Bernstein, indicated that there was very little crime amongst the displaced persons.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is correct, Mr. Celler. That is why I did not want to form an opinion one way or the other as to the prevalence of crime among such people, should they be admitted to this country.

Mr. CELLER. And General Hildring, who has first-hand information because he has been in the displaced-persons camps since the beginning of 1943, and, of course, you have not been over there, have you?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. No; I was on the other side.

Mr. CELLER. General Hildring indicates that as to any innuendo or intimation of communism among the displaced persons, that is unfair, and that there is no communism among the displaced persons, because they are fleeing from Communist-dominated lands.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I was just asking a question on that.

Mr. GOSSETT. You keep going back to General Hildring.

Now, I do not take everything General Hildring says as the gospel truth, and he does not have any more right to speak to the effect that there is no communism in those camps than anybody else. He is a good soldier. He came up here as a representative of the State Department and he had to testify for this bill.

Mr. CELLER. He had to testify?

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes. Or resign.

Mr. CELLER. I must counter by saying that is an unfair statement concerning the conduct of General Hildring.

Mr. GOSSETT. He is a good soldier. He is taking his orders.

Mr. CELLER. He is in the State Department. He is in charge of civilian affairs in the State Department, was attached to General Eisenhower, and I think you ought to reconsider that statement concerning the attitude of General Hildring, that he comes here under orders, and testifies to something which may not be the fact and is contrary to the fact.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Mr. Celler, I do not see how any individual can stand up and say that there just is not any communism among the 400,000 or 500,000 displaced persons, just because they are fleeing from Russia. I do not think that that is logical. They might be Communists of just a different color or they might be Communists who are anxious to get over to this country under the guise of being refugees.

Look at all the Nazi refugees that poured into France?

Mr. ROBSION. I was going to say that when you have a million or so people there under the control of the Army, and there would not be much likelihood of the commission of a lot of crimes over there, or if there are Communists there, and these folks want to come into this country, they would not be practicing it at this particular time.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is right. They would try at least temporarily to conform to a certain standard but just because they are

refugees from communism, I would not shut my mind to the possibility that there may be quite a few who are Communists.

Mr. ROBSION. I agree with the distinguished gentleman. I am just as bitterly opposed to a lot of totalitarian forms of government in the world as I am to communism and each one of them would destroy human liberty and freedom. Both are based upon the same idea, that one man controls.

It means the overthrow of the Constitution and the laws that give rights to the people.

Is not that the idea?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, in China today, we talk about communism, but we have there, on the other hand, a totalitarian government that is distasteful to the majority of the people even in China, as well as communism is distasteful. They are just two different groups, entirely overcoming the principle of self-control of the country, without regard to the liberty of the people.

Mr. CELLER. I think you will agree with me that the district of our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, Mr. Graham's district, is an intelligent district for repeatedly sending him back to Congress, notwithstanding its 67 nationalities that are represented there.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I must concede that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. GRAHAM. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Thank you.

Mr. FELLOWS. We have Mr. Twomey and Mr. Green of the American Legion.

You may take your choice as to which one shall be first.

STATEMENT OF COL. JOHN THOMAS TAYLOR, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, once again the American Legion has the opportunity to appear here before your committee on a matter of immigration.

We have been coming before this committee for the past 25 years on this matter. Now it reaches an acute stage.

Here America spent its billions of dollars and its manpower in two world wars because of conflicting ideologies and oppressions that were sweeping Europe.

We believed at the time that we were contributing to advancement, so far as those countries were concerned, and yet the same thing happened again after this war that happened after the last war. As a result of our efforts, the displaced persons as they are now called, the upset persons, immediately, because of the hardships that they were enduring as a result of the war, in which we think at least we helped to contribute some freedom, immediately start a great movement to come over here to the United States.

I am glad to see the way in which this committee has considered this whole matter objectively. There has been no rancor or bias injected into the discussion or the hearings. This committee has been looking upon this matter as we of the American Legion and other patriotic organizations, as to what is best for this country of ours, and I was

interested in what Judge Graham of Pennsylvania brought out, that when we became involved in this war, it was because of new ideologies that had come into existence, that had really caused the war—the conflict between fascism and nazism and all of the other isms; ideologies that had created new thinking and an entirely new aspect so far as those people living in those countries are concerned, and those very ideologies are the things that are being most discussed now and to some extent putting some degree of worry—I could almost say fear—in the minds of the American people as to whether we are being subjected to them.

And at that very moment we are asked to set aside our immigration laws to permit these hundreds of thousands of people, the results of the war that we were involved in to save and rescue them, to come over into this country.

I have here with me today Jeremiah Twomey, the chairman of the subcommittee of our Americanism commission, who has devoted years to the study of this matter, and I present to you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, Mr. Twomey, as our first witness.

STATEMENT OF JEREMIAH J. TWOMEY, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMISSION, AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. TWOMEY. My name is Jeremiah J. Twomey, chairman of the subcommittee on immigration and naturalization, on the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion.

The American Legion's mandate to oppose the admission of hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the war-ravaged areas of Europe is prefaced with the preamble:

Our country is faced with a most critical housing shortage and hundreds of thousands of our war veterans are unable to secure homes, and the fact that serious unemployment is possible in the not distant future * * *.

This specific mandate supplements the long-established policy of our organization formulated during the postarmistice period when millions of Europeans were making their plans to emigrate to America, and propositions similar in nature to the bill now under consideration were before the Congress for the relief of refugees from the Near East. Congress at that time enacted the first numerical limitation on immigration, and embarked upon a study of restrictive measures aimed at preserving the character of our population which eventually found its expression in a national policy known now as the basic national origins quota law.

We view immigration as a long-time national investment in human family stocks which will inevitably influence greatly the character, the natural abilities, and weaknesses of the Americans of the future; and, accordingly, we are constrained to urge that immigration be controlled in such a manner that every immigrant would constitute an economic asset, a future social asset, and an asset to the natural hereditary qualities of the Nation.

Now, as immediately following World War I, appeals are being addressed to our humanitarian impulses to summarily jettison our well-considered national policy by increasing immigration in such large numbers as would drastically increase some of the quotas al-

located under our national origins plan, and to the serious detriment to our own efforts to achieve a well-balanced economy, as well as presenting an unwarranted challenge to the rehabilitation of our unemployed and unhoused veterans of World War II.

Our housing crisis is as acute as ever. About 40 percent of the men who were in uniform are living doubled up with friends and relatives, or approaching other makeshift quarters; and 25 percent of all married veterans are without homes of their own. In the cities, apartment houses are bulging with tenants, and most of the limited number of multifamily buildings will bring rentals far beyond the average pocketbook. Many a rueful displaced veteran looks about his improvised quarters and wonders about the dictionary definition of "temporary."

The specter of unemployment is still another hazard challenging the successful rehabilitation of our World War II veterans. Vast numbers of them have not yet found their places in our postwar economy, and many are still engaged in training programs and in schools and colleges and destined to seek their places in industry upon the completion of their training and educational courses during the next few years. They should not then be forced into competition with hundreds of thousands of the very people for whose liberation they made such sacrifices—not to mention the exasperating competition for consumer goods which is already an increasingly serious domestic problem.

These young Americans have already contributed more than they ought to have been called upon to do for the establishment of human liberty throughout the world, and have a right to expect that our American statesmen would follow up their military successes with the type of diplomatic offensives that would help the discontented, war-weary peoples of the world to work out in their own homes for themselves what our forefathers worked out here for us. And certainly our war veterans should not now be made victims of any economic overcrowding which is so likely to result from the introduction into this country during these years of readjustment of so many thousands whose capacities to make any sound contribution to our economic life cannot be said to have been enhanced by the hatreds and prejudices born of their wartime experiences. We certainly make no contribution to the progress of political, educational, and social reforms in those countries by admitting their people in such large numbers into our own country.

Millions of people in the war-ravaged areas of Europe, who are needed there to reclaim the war wreckage and make a success of the governments American manpower and the American taxpayer have contributed so much to establish, are seeking to come here, and would come if they could. The term "our fair share" is being used in a way that would connote this is America's initial step in the alleviation of world conditions generally. A true analysis of our supreme war effort and our post-war contributions to the stricken areas would seem to indicate that America has done far more than any impartial observer would consider "our fair share."

And while it is argued that America could use thousands of farmers and domestics, we must realize that there is no provision within our American concept of regulations that will insure against their migra-

tion to any place in America once they are permitted to land. And, once they are here, we have adopted them permanently, whether they prove assimilable or not—nor even if they become criminals—because our deportation decrees are so frequently nullified by the refusal of foreign countries to take back their nationals whom we seek to deport. Right now there are some thousands who are here improperly, and some here illegally. It is not any desire to contribute to our national economy that motivates their desire to come here to America, but just that conditions are so bad at home they believe they would be better off anywhere else, and naturally most of them would choose America as the country of greater promise. We have enough surplus labor, radicalism, and other objectionable conditions which this proposed bill would only intensify and make worse.

Our first and most important concern should be the defense of American interests and institutions, and the well-being of American citizens, and particularly those who have earned a first claim to America's generous consideration—our returned fighting men and women of World War II.

Repeatedly bills are offered in the Congress to revise our basic immigration policy, and certainly this bill has such an intent and purpose.

We owe it to America and our posterity to first make a comprehensive study of the character of immigrants received under our present laws and of the degree of assimilation or nonassimilation of these groups. No real study has ever been made, and consequently Congress has no adequate source of information bearing on the nature and effect of immigration since the present quota law was enacted. This proposal is a drastic revision of our present policy in that it would admit thousands in excess of the quotas allocated to certain countries. The purpose of the present law was to restrict and select, so why now hastily riddle it with devices calculated to defeat its object?

While it is true that the appeal of those who would admit hundreds of thousands of immigrants touches the heart, such generosity can only be practiced at the expense of our own people, and particularly our World War II veterans.

Until the problems of housing and the increasing unemployment potential have been solved, it is unwise to invite any such considerable increase in immigration.

Mr. FELLOWS Are there any questions?

Mr. ROBSION. How many members does the American Legion have?

Mr. TWOMEY. About three and a half million.

Mr. ROBSION. And that includes, of course, many who served overseas as well as those who served here?

Mr. FELLOWS. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, is this action that you declared there as the policy of the American Legion, was that adopted at one or more of your national conventions?

Mr. TWOMEY. At several. That quotation is from our last national convention at San Francisco, but these are general mandates of our Convention.

Mr. ROBSION. Over a period of many years?

Mr. TWOMEY. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. And you are the head of the group of your American Legion that has the mandate or the authority from your national

organization to make a special study of this particular subject, the matter of our immigration laws?

Mr. TWOMEY. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION. I think the record shows that our country has contributed somewhere between 15 and 18 billions of dollars toward the benefit and rehabilitation of the people of Europe and those countries. There is a great deal of talk now about a program trying to be worked out whereby we might contribute financially toward the rehabilitation of Europe.

We all agree that it must be rebuilt and rehabilitated.

Now, how can we really justify the action, seeing as many saved of these million or more persons in DP camps—and they are high-class people who are mechanics, teachers, nurses, doctors, scientists, and so forth—how could we justify taking such a lot of this fine group of people out of Europe and bringing them over here and thereby cutting down the number of people who would be necessary to rehabilitate Europe?

Ought that not to be worked out in such a way whereby these people will remain in Europe and help to rebuild their own country?

Is that not true?

Mr. TWOMEY. That is our position. If they can make the contribution which is claimed in their behalf, they certainly can render a greater contribution to their own countries with what assistance we can give them over there.

Mr. ROBSION. Then, too, you understand, this bill provides that we will only take 100,000 a year, of our, so-called, supposed, share, and that our share is approximately 400,000.

Now, what will these people be doing, the big part of them, for the next 1 year, 2 years, 3 years, or 4 years?

Do you think it will be a good policy there just to tell them to sit down now and wait for three or four years and we will get you and we will bring you over to our country?

Mr. TWOMEY. I certainly do not.

Mr. ROBSION. We would not tolerate our own American citizens taking that attitude, would we, and taking care of them? We would say, "Now, get out and move around and try to get yourself a job. Do something here, and help carry your own load off the taxpayer's back."

What is your information as to whether or not there are demands for workers in Great Britain and France and in some other countries there where there can be no question as to the personal security of these persons should they go there?

Do you not understand there is such a demand?

Mr. TWOMEY. Yes; I understand that there are countries in the world, including Great Britain and South American countries, that are giving consideration to importing or allowing some of these people but with restrictions, and restrictions that we certainly do not want to inaugurate here, restrictions that will enforce the continuation for at least 5 years of the calling for which they said they were going to be destined when they went there, either as farmers or domestics.

Mr. ROBSION. But there is nothing in this bill, when they are once brought here to go to the farm or to the factory or shop or mill or to do anything, as far as that is concerned?

Mr. TWOMEY. Not only in this bill but I do not think we as Americans would want any such regulation.

Mr. ROBSION. And you definitely believe, from your investigation and your knowledge and study of the subject, that this bill would operate against the best interests of the people of the United States?

Mr. TWOMEY. Definitely; yes.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Twomey, I paid very strict attention to what you had to say here in your statement. I think the one point that concerns me chiefly, and impressed me certainly more than any other statement which you have made or anyone else has made, may I say, is these lines right here, referring to the veterans of World War II:

They should not be then forced into competition with hundreds of thousands of the very people for whose liberation they made such sacrifices.

That is the thing that worries me, frankly, about this thing. Certainly there is not a man on this subcommittee whose heart does not genuinely and sincerely bleed for the poor, miserable unfortunates overseas. Certainly that is true insofar as every single American is concerned. Had it not been so, I doubt seriously that we would have fought the Second World War, to give the same liberty and the same freedom of movement to these unfortunates as we have here in our own democracy.

This thing here has begun to disturb me considerably because after we fought the war, our boys come home maimed, butchered, many of them will be confined in hospitals as long as they live, after our Government has spent some \$300,000,000,000 in gold and treasure, and about a million casualties in blood, to preserve and protect for those people their right of freedom, their right of choice, to a nation, or to their own country, I am just about convinced we have gone just about as far as we can go.

This thing disturbs me and I just want to call to your attention that that has certainly driven home to me more than anything that has ever been said by anybody up to now.

Mr. TWOMEY. There are these youngsters whose lives' courses have been tentatively mapped out by their own minds and by their parents, suddenly catapulted out of those schoolrooms and classrooms and into a strange atmosphere where hatred had to be put into them and where they had to be taught something that they were never concerned with.

They were never concerned with being in a war. They did not hate anybody. They were suddenly catapulted out of that serene course that they had mapped out and now they are returning and their progress to adulthood has been hastened and they are a problem. They are in on the job training. They are trying to resume at schools.

Mr. ROBSION. How many do you estimate will finally take this GI bill of rights?

Mr. TWOMEY. Of course, they are being added to as these boys are getting out now. These boys are coming out in professions and when they get through, with the GI bill, they propose going into dental schools, medical schools, and law schools.

Mr. ROBSION. And vocational schools?

Mr. TWOMEY. Yes, and they will be deferred that much longer.

Mr. ROBSION. It will be some 3,000,000 or more?

Mr. TWOMEY. Oh, yes; at least.

Mr. ROBSION. 3,000,000.

Now, some good folks appearing here seem to think that we have plenty of jobs, and we employ now 59,000,000 or so, but can we hope for this condition to continue right along?

We all must agree, I think, that it is abnormal, and we can have declines here as we have always had in the history of this country.

Then whether or not there will be plenty of jobs for these 3,000,000 that we are spending billions every year to train, as well as other American workers, and so forth, it is a different question, is it not?

Mr. TWOMEY. I would say so, very much.

Mr. CHELF. Do you have any figures, Mr. Twomey, on the displaced persons from the standpoint of some 8,000,000, as I understand originally, when the shooting war stopped, from the evidence which has been presented her, as my memory serves me—I do not have any notes before me—but some 7,000,000 and a fraction over have been rehabilitated.

Mr. GRAHAM. You might remember that this gentleman speaking here was in the shooting war. He was one of those who were shot.

Mr. CHELF. I did not know that.

If my memory serves me, there are about a million left.

What disturbs me is, how is it that 7,000,000 of these good people were repatriated and they cannot repatriate this other 1,000,000? What is the reason for that now?

Mr. TWOMEY. That disturbs me, too, and I do not know what the reason for that is.

Mr. CHELF. That thing has been with me constantly, and right in my mind all through this thing. I cannot understand that.

Mr. TWOMEY. I have read, and I think it was the testimony before this committee, of approximately 7,000,000 that were displaced.

Mr. CHELF. Now, don't misunderstand me. I think that they have done a magnificent job, a beautiful job, but for the life of me, I cannot understand why, if they repatriate 7,000,000, that they could not do the job on the other million.

What is the reason? Is it truly the dregs that are left?

Mr. GRAHAM. You are coming to the very thing I was going to ask.

Mr. CHELF. I am just a country boy. What is it?

Mr. GRAHAM. One allegation is that it is the dregs. The other is that it is the cream. Now, is it anything in between?

Have you anything on that?

Mr. TWOMEY. It can hardly be the cream. The cream are the 7,000,000 that left there.

I do not like to believe that we ought to confess defeat in a program that we are continuing to carry out in Europe and in all the countries of the world where we have participated to liberate their peoples, and after this shooting ended, and after this successful repatriation of so many, that we now going to admit defeat against the ideologies that have been maintained, these prejudices and these race hatreds—we are trying to wipe those out, as I understand it.

I understand that is the so-called Marshall plan. That is the American plan everywhere, to bring about in these countries a type of government that will somewhat conform to our theory of government, to get the people educated, even in spite of Soviet Russia, educated to the believed that human rights are divinely inspired and they do not come from any individual or group of individuals.

Now, if we are going to admit our defeat and say we will take this crowd over this year and for the next 4 years, I think it is just the beginning, when we will have these displaced persons, and more displaced persons, and if these people come here, it certainly will not be difficult for them to become citizens.

Mr. CHELF. Frankly, I might say to you, Mr. Twomey, I hope you will not misunderstand me. I have tried very, very hard to confine myself to the evidence, and I have conscientiously striven to keep from formulating an opinion until I was sure of my ground.

I wanted, in other words, to hear the pro and con, and I felt if I had my mind made up before the hearing started, that it would be more like a judge deciding a case before he heard the argument of counsel as to the evidence.

I have voted here now, as a Member of Congress, for every relief bill that we have had, every single one, trying to do what I thought ought to be done in the way of succor and help for these poor, unfortunate people.

God knows, I wish we could open up our doors and take them all in, every one of them, if we could do it, but when you have the choice to make, as I see it, between your own kith and kin and a stranger, I think blood is a little thicker than water when you get right down to the basic principle of the whole thing.

So what is left for us to do?

I would not have any objection to taking in the orphans, most certainly not. I am an orphan boy myself. I know something about that. I lost both my parents at the age of 5, and can well appreciate the trials and tribulations and the troubles and the hardships that these youngsters are going to have. My heart genuinely bleeds for these kids. I hope it is so that we can amend this bill, even, and take them in. I hope it is so that we can take in a few of the others. But I cannot see for the life of me where our share of this comes in at 400,000 of the 900,000.

Where do those figures come from?

After all, there are some 54 or 55 nations members of the United Nations. We are one of that number; and yet it is proposed here that we take 50 percent of the total displaced persons.

Mr. ROBSON. It will finally work out that we take more just as it is with the money and other contributions. We say that so and so is our share, but when it comes to putting out, the other folks don't put up. That was expressed here by a witness the other day. We are likely to have to take more than the 400,000.

We talked about the cream but I think a lot of this is the dregs. Some folks have gone there, and they have just sat down with this propaganda going over the world that they are going finally to get to the United States.

What do you think about that idea?

Mr. TWOMEY. I think that is the ultimate aim. They all want to come here. - More than 400,000 want to come here.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Twomey, a few days ago, Hon. George Dondero quoted Constantine Brown as saying after returning from Europe, after 4 months spent abroad, that there was not a person in Europe who would not come to America gladly.

Mr. TWOMEY. That is a fair statement.

Mr. GRAHAM. And my own personal experience in dealing with thousands of them as a State district attorney, State deputy attorney general, and as United States attorney, in handling many deportation cases, I never saw a one that wanted to go back.

Mr. ROBSION. We have had quite a number of cases before our committee of special bills to let people in that the immigration authorities picked up and wanted to send out but it develops that they have wives and children over there and they have been over here for years and have not been trying to get back to them at all but they just want to remain here themselves.

I believe a good deal, as has been suggested here, in uniting families, but I do not believe that they ought all to unite in the United States.

It is just as close for some of these folks to go back over there as for them to bring several folks over here.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

(No response.)

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you, sir.

Mr. TWOMEY. Thank you.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to present to you James F. Green, a young World War II veteran who served in the South Pacific, and who is the chairman of the Americanization commission of the American Legion.

Mr. Green.

Mr. FELLOWS. Will you please excuse me for 10 minutes? I have another committee to appear before.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Green, will you please give your full name to the committee?

STATEMENT OF JAMES F. GREEN, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL AMERICANIZATION COMMISSION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. GREEN. I am James F. Green, of Nebraska. I am chairman of the national Americanization commission of the American Legion.

I appreciate the opportunity to supplement Mr. Twomey's remarks here this morning, and would like to present at this time my statement in opposition to the proposed Stratton bill.

A galaxy of witnesses has appeared before this committee to give heart-stirring word pictures of the plight of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Soulful descriptions have appeared in our press and literature. These have been designed to place the decision which confronts you squarely upon grounds of humanity rather than reason. The appeal has been to the heart rather than to the intellect. The gauntlet of challenge has been hurled to question the charity of our Nation, which has never been found wanting in charity—our Nation, which admittedly has done and is doing more than any other to bind the wounds of displaced persons.

The tragedies inflicted upon these unfortunate people by the madman of Europe cannot but stir the heart. However, it is a platitude of law, but true, that "difficult situations make bad law." Now the misery of these unfortunates is being used in an easily detectable effort to breach the wall of our national origin plan of immigration.

This plan was formulated only after 5 years of deliberate and careful study. It was intended to preserve the racial composition of

the United States through the selection of immigrants from those countries whose traditions, languages, and political systems are akin to those in the United States. It should not be cast aside in a moment when the mind is blinded by emotions.

Those who favor the Stratton bill brush aside the argument that it will destroy our national origins plan by pointing out that the proposed legislation is only temporary. The history of the last two decades in Government will disclose how many of these "temporary" measures are now the law of the land. In legislation as in war, the flank attack often gains more final results than the frontal. Infiltration is less easily detected than an open engagement. Mark you well that if the Stratton bill should become the law of the land the national origins plan of immigration is relegated to a place in history. I am convinced that the large majority of our population—those who have no voice to speak for them—is opposed to this proposed legislation. These are the people who would suffer the full impact of enlarged immigration. Their interests deserve consideration.

Proponents of the measure have testified that this added immigration will bring to our shores sorely needed farm laborers. Yet in January of this year the National Immigration Service in its Monthly Review reported that, although 43.3 percent of the quota immigrants of southern and eastern European origin who came here since 1930 were given preference within the quota and despite the preference given in the quota law to skilled agriculturists, their wives and children under 18 years of age—

Statistics indicate a general decline rather than a rise in the agricultural type of immigration since the enactment of the law. Most of the skilled agriculturists have come from northern and western Europe.

The last annual report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service discloses that of 16,183 males over 16 years of age admitted during the year ending June 30, 1946, only 189 were farm laborers or farm foremen.

In this connection it is important to again call attention to Mr. Twomey's statement—

* * * We must realize there is no provision within our American concept of regulation that will insure against their [displaced person farm workers] migration to any place in America once they are permitted to land.

Once on our shores these persons can enter any occupation at any place they choose. They need not remain farmers. But still more important is the fact first pointed out—that preferences do not produce farmers.

It is characteristic of "do-gooders" that they lose sight of what is for the best interest of the Nation as a whole in their efforts to accomplish the immediate objective. A fundamental question is before you. If controlled selective immigration is for the best interest of the United States—and the American Legion maintains that it is—then laws establishing it must be enforced. Such laws cannot be circumvented and abandoned each time an emergency situation with heart appeal arises.

I have deliberately refrained from comment upon the nature and character of the persons whose admission is sought. For if we grant to them all virtue and admit in them no vice, still it is folly to abandon the measures designed to insure the caliber of our citizenry. For what-

ever laudable purpose the present change is advocated, another time and in another's hands the precedent thus established could be the tool of our destruction.

Much has been said about our duty in conscience to displaced persons. That duty is being discharged. To enlarge upon the scope of relief being afforded by introducing large numbers of them into the United States at this time—and this, mind you, in addition to the normal flow of immigrants—disregards our duty in conscience to present citizens and more particularly to the returning veterans among them. The young men and women who served in uniform are attempting to reestablish the pattern of their lives broken by 3, 4, and 5 years in our armed forces. It is a difficult task now, even in the midst of plenty. It might well prove impossible in a contracting economy. A grateful government cannot add 400,000 competitors, over and above normal immigration, for the places these hopeful young men and women are seeking. And 400,000 is a beginning, not a terminal figure. No mention is made in the proposed legislation of what is to become of the families of those admitted. Families could not be permitted to remain separated. They would have to be permitted to follow the household at a later date. The 400,000 figure is a myth.

There are now no homes for many of the brave in this land of the free. Nor is lack of housing a problem reserved for veterans. It acutely threatens the physical and spiritual well-being of large numbers of our population. No increase in immigration can be tolerated until some solution of this problem is in sight. Words indicating that the admission of these displaced persons will have little impact upon this housing problem are mere persiflage. Homes in America for America's homeless take precedence over homes in America for Europe's homeless. Displaced veterans, displaced Americans have first claim upon America's conscience. They must not be abandoned.

The American Legion has resolved that they shall not be abandoned. Our first duty in America is to Americans. For that reason we appear before you in opposition to this bill.

Mr. GRAHAM. Senator Robsion, are there any questions you wish to ask?

Mr. ROBSION. I have just the comment that you, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Twomey, and Mr. Williamson have made very clear, elaborate, and splendid statements to the subcommittee.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chelf, do you have any questions?

Mr. CHELF. Not just now.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. I concur in the senator's appreciation of your statement. I think it is very fine.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Green, like Mr. Chelf, I have approached this subject with an open mind. My experience has not been altogether sweet and pleasant, as you know, from hearing me speak.

I have read everything I could get my hands on on this subject, and have carried it home at night and sat up in bed and read and ruined my eyes, and everything else.

I was amazed the other night in reading a survey made by a Jewish organization to the effect that almost invariably when persons had been sent to farms, they returned to the congested areas, such as New York.

Do you have any knowledge on that subject?

Mr. GREEN. I have none. Nor would I venture an opinion. Mine would be taken from literature or surveys as much as your own. We do know that there has been a trend, and I think it is a fact in the history of our population, to concentrate in industrial and more largely populated areas rather than in the country, with the exception of people from the Scandinavian countries.

Mr. ROBSION. If Judge Graham will permit—

Mr. GRAHAM. Very well.

Mr. ROBSION. I believe you have in your statement that out of 16,183 males over 16 years of age admitted during the year ending June 30, 1946, only 189 were farm laborers or farm foremen.

Where do you get that information?

Mr. GREEN. I quote that from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, from their annual report.

Mr. ROBSION. That is very illuminating.

Mr. GRAHAM. My second question is this:

In the editorial section of the New York Times of last Sunday, there were three articles that attracted my attention. One was a statement by an official of the medical school of Ohio State University stating that in substance there were 127,000 young American boys and girls desirous of entering medical schools this year, and less than 6,000 could be accommodated.

Do you have any figures on that?

Mr. GREEN. If I go around the Nation, I would have none. Now, I went to Creighton University, myself, in Omaha, Nebr. Their potential of students on admission in the freshman year in medical school is approximately 300, and they had more than 1,000 applications for those 300 eligibilities in that school a year ago.

Mr. GRAHAM. I have from my own district letters from two boys who are ex-GI's who attempted to enter the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, the University of Pittsburgh, and Temple, and all have been denied.

Mr. GREEN. I know of many such individual cases myself, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GRAHAM. Third, on the question of the fair share of America, a great conflict of opinion has been expressed before this committee as to what our fair share is.

Mr. GREEN. It might become pertinent at this time to inquire the fair share of what. That has frequently entered my mind.

You say we must do our fair share in the hopes that others, too, will do a share. If we were to assume that they are—and, of course, I am a country boy like the Congressman, and I do not have those figures at my disposal—still in all, it would seem that 400,000 would be much larger than could even be contemplated as our fair share.

Also, when we talk about the fair share, I have brought a copy of a New York Times article with me which points out that in aid for Europe's reconstruction since the end of the war, we have poured in \$11,000,000,000 in various forms, direct loans, UNRRA, and Army relief work, and that does not include the \$350,000,000 figure recently appropriated.

Mr. GRAHAM. You have read the same piece that I did.

Mr. ROBSION. You say it does not include the \$350,000,000 which we recently appropriated?

Mr. GREEN. It does not. That money has been unallocated and is not included in the figure.

Mr. GOSSETT. I also read the figures which the gentleman quotes. That is actual cash outlay that we have expended.

Mr. GREEN. That is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. That does not take into account the monetary fund or the International Bank loans. That is money that we have poured already into rehabilitation and relief.

Mr. ROBSION. It does include the British loan?

Mr. GREEN. It does include the British loan.

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes; it does include the British loan.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Green, in this same connection, and in that same paper, there is a statement as to the desirability on the part of certain communities wanting large increases of population, particularly from the displaced-persons camps. It said that British Columbia was expecting to take a large number. Then, by way of contrast, it said, or intimated, that no offering had been made by the Dominion of Canada.

Do you have any information on that?

Mr. GREEN. I do not. I noted that some of your testimony before this committee delivered earlier indicated the numbers which might be admitted with reference to our own country. And as I read the testimony, I could not help but note that when the specific figures were down, then the numbers later described with the modifying adjective "large" really were not so large. So these adjectives sometimes are as misleading as some of the statistics which I heard quoted this morning.

Mr. GRAHAM. Now, here is the \$64 question.

We hear in Congress this statement: "There ought to be a general overhauling and investigation of labor laws."

Mr. GREEN. Of what, sir?

Mr. GRAHAM. Of labor laws.

We hear the same thing in connection with banking laws. In fact, we hear it in respect to almost every division of national activity. In short, we have grown as a great, sprawling Nation, simply adding here and there until we have sprawled out.

Do you believe that the time has come for a thorough revision of the laws on immigration and naturalization?

Mr. GREEN. I think that my opinion would probably be worthless on that subject. However, I can state this generally, that if after an extended study and scientific research had development improvements based upon knowledge rather than emotion, you probably would not find so much opposition to it.

It is the sudden, reckless abandonment that we fear largely.

Mr. GRAHAM. Now, drawing a parallel, in your opinion, as reflected in your statement, this is not the time to lower our standards, open our doors, or to dispense with the national-origins plan, but rigidly to adhere to our present system until such time as a complete, thorough investigation has been made in all fields?

Mr. GREEN. Certainly. We would have to accept the facts that were found. That is our point exactly.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Green, is it your belief, then, from what you said about the housing situation, and from the overcrowded conditions that exist in our colleges and universities throughout the land, that the full impact of the unemployment situation has not yet been seen or been felt?

Mr. GREEN. I am convinced of that.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, do you have any idea as to how many hundreds of thousands or how many millions of boys of World War II, the some 10,000,000, are in school today?

I know what the situation is in my State, because I have had applications time and time again, and I have written letters and pleaded and begged with the presidents of the colleges not only of Kentucky but of Kansas, and everywhere that they thought they had a Chinaman's chance to get in; and always it was the same old story: "I am sorry, but there are thousands upon thousands ahead of you, and I just cannot do anything for you."

Mr. GREEN. All the schools are overcrowded.

Mr. CHELF. Do you have any numbers on that?

Mr. TAYLOR. It is 2,304,625, which includes 612,583 who are taking on-the-job training.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, that is a potential labor market yet to be reckoned with.

Mr. TAYLOR. And that will be increased yearly.

Mr. ROBSION. I would like to inquire about how many veterans are now drawing unemployment insurance in this country, saying they cannot find jobs.

Mr. TAYLOR. 677,305.

Mr. GREEN. And that is based upon a time when we have a comparative plenty, as far as employment is concerned.

Mr. ROBSION. And, of course, I think we can reasonably expect that the number of these jobs will one of these days soon decline. Perhaps the number of jobs that are available is now on the decline.

Is that what you find, you and Colonel Taylor?

Mr. GREEN. Definitely. Despite the statistics, that is my opinion formed from observation in my local community.

Mr. GRAHAM. And your opinion as reflected here today in your testimony is the gathering in of all the figures all over the United States of America?

Mr. GREEN. That is correct.

Mr. GRAHAM. You are giving a cross section of what you know.

Mr. GREEN. That is correct. I am attempting to refrain, as a matter of fact, from opinions on things about which I know nothing.

Mr. GRAHAM. Is there anything further, Colonel Taylor?

Mr. ROBSION. I want to ask Mr. Green one question.

Mr. GRAHAM. Senator, would you keep your voice up, please?

Mr. ROBSION. Yes, I will.

Now, under the Presidential Executive order issued, I believe, in December of 1945, and perhaps earlier, I understand that several hundred thousand refugees have come to this country, and are still here, most of them.

I wonder whether any other countries have given asylum to as many refugees as the United States.

Mr. GREEN. I would doubt it. But that is just a guess, sir. I have no figures on that.

Mr. ROBSION. Colonel Taylor, what do you have to say on that?

Mr. TAYLOR. In closing, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I, of course, want to express the deep appreciation for this opportunity to present the point of view and the attitude of the American Legion.

To reply specifically to Congressman Robsion's question, the American Legion presently is an organization of 3,850,000 veterans, about 2,250,000 of whom are World War II men, men who are probably most directly affected by legislation of this character, and 1,000,000 women in the auxiliary.

These statements that were made by the chairman of the committee on immigration and the chairman of the Americanization commission are the result of action taken by every one of our national conventions, so far as immigration in its broad aspects is concerned, and specifically the San Francisco convention in regard to the question of displaced persons.

It is a matter that has come up to the national organization at its national convention from the grass roots, from the more than 16,000 posts throughout the country.

That 3,850,000, with its over 2,000,000 men from World War II, is composed of individuals whose parents unquestionably and in some instances the men themselves came from the various countries in Europe. So they might be prejudiced a bit themselves on the other side of the calendar.

But they are not. They are against this legislation, specifically against it, and said so in specific language.

In closing, I want again to repeat and remind the committee what Mr. Green has said, that the 400,000 is not a number of limitation at all. But when you open it up to the parents and those that will bring in their wives and children and so forth, it is just going on to some number that neither you nor I have any idea about.

The two great organizations of veterans of the United States have been here this morning. They are a unit on this.

I can say to you that the organized veterans of this country do not want our national origins system of immigration quotas disturbed. It has too great and vital an effect upon the country itself and upon those men who fought to free these very people.

I desire to thank you on behalf of the American Legion for your courtesy this morning in hearing me.

Mr. ROBSION. Before the gentleman sits down, I might say that this bill admitting these DP's would not only overturn our national origins quota system, but it would do it for a particular group.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION. That is, eastern and southern Europe.

Mr. TAYLOR. It does it for those persons; that is correct.

Thank you very much.

Mr. GRAHAM. I want to thank you.

Mr. TAYLOR. Very well, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM. Will the chairman resume his seat, and I will depart from the chair.

Mr. FELLOWS. Senator Gillette.

STATEMENT OF HON. GUY M. GILLETTE, FORMER UNITED STATES
SENATOR, STATE OF IOWA

Senator GILLETTE. My name is Guy M. Gillette. I reside in Cherokee, Iowa. I am at present president of the American League for Free Palestine.

I am, however, appearing in my individual capacity, and not speaking on behalf of the organization, except relatively. In that connection, I want to thank the gentlemen of the committee for their great courtesy in permitting me to appear.

I well realize that the committee cannot hear 140,000,000 individuals who might wish to come.

I have followed as best I could, from 1,500 miles distance, the searching investigation that this committee has made in connection with this proposed legislation. And I know that the record, when it is reported embodied in your report to your full committee, and in course of time to the House, will be a document of real value to the country.

I have been concerned, gentlemen, because of the fact that it seemed to me there was one phase of the matter that had not been emphasized, and it might be well a part of your report, in order to present a complete picture. And for the purpose of emphasizing that, I have presumed on your kindness in allowing me to appear and have prepared a formal statement, which you have. And because you have been considerate of me, I will abide by your wishes. I shall read it or let you include it in your record as you see fit.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that inasmuch as all the other witnesses have read their statements, the same courtesy?

Mr. FELLOWS. It is all right with us, Senator.

Mr. CHIEF. Yes, Senator Gillette.

Senator GILLETTE. I am appearing before this subcommittee at a rather late stage in its hearings and after much evidence, most of it very brilliant and very cogent, has been submitted. There are, however, some aspects which have not been brought to your attention up to this moment and which I feel are important enough to justify my testifying for H. R. 2910.

I have been for the past couple of years intimately connected with the work of an American organization whose efforts have been directed, among other things, toward the repatriation of displaced Hebrews from Europe and other countries where they are subjected to discrimination and oppression, to their homeland—Palestine. I have acquired in the course of this association a considerable experience and knowledge of matters concerning the displaced Hebrews, their needs and aspirations.

Today, however, I am appearing before you as a private citizen and the opinions expressed by me will be my own and do not commit any organization or group with whom I am associated.

There are two problems which to my mind should be carefully analyzed in considering H. R. 2910:

1. The fact that some Jewish organizations in this country and individual Americans of the Jewish faith have testified or declared in favor of the bill may lead to confusion. It may create the impression that the bill is intended to offer, or would in fact offer, a solution to the problem of displaced Hebrews in Europe and in other regions

where, they are subjected to discrimination and oppression. I wish to restate most emphatically what was stated before by some witnesses, Gen. John H. Hilldring among others, that (a) the displaced Hebrews in Europe constitute only 20 percent of the total number of unre-patriable displaced persons; and (b) that the overwhelming majority—I might even say, all of them with a very few exceptions—do not wish to emigrate to the United States and have expressly stated so on several occasions when polls were conducted among them and the question asked was to what country would they choose to emigrate. Ninety-five percent of the displaced Hebrews in the camps of Europe declared that the only country to which they wanted to be repatriated was Palestine, which they consider their only homeland and which was recognized as the homeland of the Hebrew people by the League of Nations mandate given to Great Britain, and to which the United States became a party through the Anglo-American Convention approved by Congress in 1924.

It is, therefore, of paramount importance that the consideration of this bill should not be taken to mean that admission to the United States of a certain number of displaced persons could even in part substitute for the only solution to the problem of displaced Hebrews in Europe; their repatriation to their homeland, Palestine.

2. Secretary of State Marshall in his statement on the policy of the United States on the repatriation of displaced persons said:

It is the fixed policy of the United States Government to oppose any forced repatriation of displaced persons. It is also the policy of our Government to facilitate the repatriation of those displaced persons who desire of themselves to return to their homelands. This is in conformity with the principles approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The current repatriation program sponsored jointly by UNRRA and the armies of occupation was approved by the United States Government prior to its initiation, based on the voluntary desire of the individual to return to his home. Any coercion of displaced persons under our jurisdiction would not be tolerated. No instances of coercion have been brought to our attention, although one-half of the program has already been completed.

It is my opinion that the solution for this tragic situation demands that the democratic countries of the world join in offering sanctuary to these displaced individuals. Further, it is my opinion that the United States should take the lead in this matter.

I wish respectfully to draw your attention to the situation of the displaced Hebrews in the light of Secretary Marshall's statement. Here is a group of people who desire to be repatriated to their homeland and who are being kept by coercion in concentration camps and forcibly prevented from repatriating themselves to their homeland—Palestine. This heartless treatment is being inflicted on the Hebrews by sheer force of arms, with the British Navy and Air Force patrolling the Mediterranean Sea and the approaches to the shores of Palestine, intercepting any vessel carrying Hebrew repatriates to Palestine and brutally herding them onto prison ships. They are then interned on the island of Cyprus in concentration camps where conditions are even more appalling than those prevailing in the concentration camps of Europe. Thus they are prevented by force from exercising the legal option to dwell in their historic homeland, Palestine.

Not only are those displaced Hebrews denied all help in their efforts to repatriate themselves under the program referred to by the Secretary of State, but their repatriation, sponsored and initiated by the

efforts of humanitarian and charitable organizations in this country and in other countries, is being thwarted by the worst kind of coercion which our Secretary of State so rightly disclaimed on behalf of the Government of the United States.

It is, therefore, my opinion that your committee should draw the attention of our Government to this violation of our stated policy, and submit to it instances of flagrant coercion now being exercised against the Hebrews. Such coercion has the effect of forcing upon the Hebrew survivors the status of displaced persons in violation of all consideration of international law and humanity. Also, your committee must suggest to our Government steps to put an end to this inhuman and cruel treatment of displaced Hebrews who, by their own efforts and heroism, seek to repatriate themselves to Palestine and strive for a normal peaceful status. The crime which Hitler committed against these people is equalled by the crime now being committed in deliberately withholding from the Hebrew people their right of self-determination.

I further suggest that while considering this bill your committee should prevail upon our Government, in accordance with the policy stated by the Secretary of State, to instruct the army of occupation and our military government in the United States zones of occupation to facilitate the repatriation of displaced Hebrews to Palestine in the same manner and to the same extent in which other "displaced persons who desire of themselves to return to their homelands" are being helped under the current repatriation program.

In summing up, I should like to state: It is impossible, indeed, to solve the problem of displaced persons, on one hand, and to assist those who are sabotaging the solution, on the other hand.

The problem of the displaced Hebrews in Europe is an organic and integral part of the Palestine issue. The Government of the United States, by its failure to oppose the coercive measures by which the British Government prevents the repatriation of Hebrews to their homeland, is condoning violations of its own stated policy with regard to displaced persons. Further, it is assuming moral and financial responsibility for the consequences of British policy with regard to the Hebrews.

Had we implemented our statements of sympathy and lofty avowals of the principle by assisting the repatriation of the Hebrews to Palestine, this problem would be well on its way to solution at present, instead of a continuing burden to the American taxpayer.

We must stop trying to ride with the hunter and run with the fox. We have a clear-cut obligation to the citizens of America as well as to the embattled Hebrew people to adopt an honest and courageous solution to the problem of displaced persons. It is getting very late. Only swift, bold action can avert a complete tragedy, and permit us to live in peace with our own conscience.

Mr. Chairman, may I very briefly supplement the statement?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes, sir.

Senator GILLETTE. Mr. Chairman, recently, quite recently, I was in London and talked with the members of the Government, both the Government and the opposition. I have been in Lebanon and talked with the President of Lebanon, and with leaders in Palestine.

And almost invariably, when this question is discussed, the admission of this proportion of displaced persons to Palestine, the question is asked:

Well, why doesn't America open her doors? You want us to change the policy we have adopted with reference to Palestine. But why don't you open your doors and let the people in?

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you there?

Senator GILLETTE. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. What people are you referring to?

Senator GILLETTE. The displaced people, the Hebrews, particularly, that are specifically prevented from entering Palestine, the country of their choice.

Mr. FELLOWS. You do not have reference to the 850,000?

Senator GILLETTE. No, sir. I am speaking specifically of the Hebrew element of that population, who, on the report of Mr. Earl Harrison, who was sent to Europe to investigate, some 90 or 93 percent, expressed the desire to go to Palestine, but are prevented by the restrictive policy.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you think we should bring them here against their wishes?

Senator GILLETTE. Certainly not. And to me that is the vital question, the right of self-determination. Here is a segment of people who are denied the fundamental foundation of things that we have gone on record as being willing to accord everywhere in the world.

With respect to this legislation, were I still a Member of Congress, I should vote for it, I believe, but I am afraid that this legislation is the result of this continual pressure, "Why don't you change your immigration laws and allow some of these people to come to your country?" again referring to the Hebrews.

Mr. GRAHAM. Senator Gillette, may I interrupt you at that point?

Senator GILLETTE. Of course.

Mr. GRAHAM. Do you, in your knowledge of conditions that you have found by these personal visits and conversations, believe that this problem can be solved within the framework of the United Nations?

Senator GILLETTE. I certainly do.

Mr. GRAHAM. You do?

Senator GILLETTE. I do, if the United Nations will use the power that it has. I do not believe that it will be solved merely by appointing commissions of inquiry and paying no attention to their report.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, yesterday the House passed a bill whereby we are to join the International Refugee Organization.

Senator GILLETTE. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is a step in the right direction?

Senator GILLETTE. Definitely; definitely so. The thing that I wanted in the record, and perhaps am presumptuous in so doing, is this: I wanted your record to show, comprehensive as it is, that even if this legislation is passed in the form in which it has been introduced, or with such amendments as you gentlemen choose to recommend, it will not meet the situation that now obtains, whereby these people are denied—

Mr. ROBSION. You mean, as far as the Jewish people are concerned?

Senator GILLETTE. As far as the Hebrew element is concerned.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, the distinguished Senator served many years ably in the United States Senate.

Senator GILLETTE. Not ably, but many years.

Mr. ROBSION. Well, you are regarded as being an able Senator and a distinguished Senator.

Now, will the gentleman suggest in what way this bill could be amended to meet his suggestions?

Senator GILLETTE. I do not believe, Mr. Robsion, that this bill could be amended to meet that situation.

Mr. ROBSION. Now, the next question, then, is this:

What power have we under the Constitution or under our form of government to force Great Britain or other countries to accept the Hebrew people in Palestine? Could it be done short of force?

Senator GILLETTE. Oh, yes. I do not want to burden your record, but in answer to that question, may I state clearly what I believe?

In 1924 we entered into a bilateral treaty with Great Britain, setting out the terms of the mandate, as agent of the 52 nations of the world, that Great Britain is operating in Palestine.

Mr. CELLER. And before that, we accepted the mandate.

Senator GILLETTE. We accepted the mandate before that; that is right, Mr. Celler. But in 1924 this mandate, or this agency, of Great Britain enjoined her, as the agent of the 52 powers of the world, to facilitate the immigration of Hebrews into Palestine and their settlement on the land, with the added injunction that there should be no change in that policy without prior consultation and approval of the council of the League of Nations.

In 1924, we, not having ratified the covenant of the League of Nations, entered into this bilateral treaty with Great Britain setting out the mandate word for word with its policy, endorsing it and underwriting it as a treaty agreement, with the added provision that no change should be made in that policy without the prior approval of the United States.

Great Britain, for reasons of her own, changed the policy, and slammed the doors of Palestine in the face of further immigration of Jews.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I interrupt at that point?

Senator GILLETTE. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM. Do you feel there was any justification on the part of Great Britain to change the policy, in view of the Arab situation?

Senator GILLETTE. From my personal investigation over there, and conversations with the Arabs, I feel there was none. But whether there was or not, she did not consult with the United States as she was required to do under our treaty.

Mr. CELLER. Senator, will you yield there?

Senator GILLETTE. Yes; of course.

Mr. CELLER. In answer to the question propounded by our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, is it not a fact, when you speak of the white paper of 1939 which closed the doors to Jewish immigration into Palestine, that that white paper was condemned as illegal by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations?

Senator GILLETTE. If she had attempted to secure the approval of the mandate of the League of Nations, as she was required to do and did not do it, she never, as she was required to do by the treaty provisions, sought the approval of the United States.

And in answer to Mr. Robsion's question as to what can be done, in my humble opinion, as a former Member of Congress, there is

only one thing to be done, and that is to say to our executive department, "There is a clear violation of a treaty. What are you doing about it? Why have you not called them to account?"

Mr. ROBSION. Now, going a little further, Senator, suppose that we should say that, and suppose that our executive department would want to carry out those suggestions and Great Britain says, "No, we won't do it," where do we go from there?

Senator GILLETTE. There is only one forum, and that is the forum that we have set up for international cooperation.

Mr. ROBSION. That forum has not been very effective thus far.

Senator GILLETTE. I am afraid, sir, you have made a true statement. I had a very minor part in formulating it.

Mr. ROBSION. Of course, if they were not effective and declined to do it, couldn't Great Britain or any one of the great powers veto any action?

Senator GILLETTE. Unfortunately, that condition still obtains. And in addition to that, gentlemen——

Mr. ROBSION. And if it could not be handled that way, then the only other way would be for us to say, "We will enforce it."

Senator GILLETTE. Of course, that goes into the field of war.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes. That is too far.

Senator GILLETTE. And that we are trying to prevent.

Mr. ROBSION. We would then have, not 400,000 displaced persons, but we would have several million displaced persons.

Senator GILLETTE. I am not willing, for one, to admit that we cannot cooperate internationally for the prevention of war.

Mr. ROBSION. And I was one of those that helped pass the Fulbright resolution. And I had hopes. But my hopes fell greatly when things developed the way they did.

Now, in San Francisco, I suppose we were forced to put in that one-nation veto. But I do not believe it can ever work successfully with that in it.

Senator GILLETTE. I share your perturbation, but not your complete lack of hope. I do not want to admit that civilization cannot accomplish that.

Mr. ROBSION. They say that "hope springs eternal."

Mr. GOSSETT. I want to ask the Senator a few questions.

I read your statement, Senator. I was not able to be here earlier.

I want to ask you, don't you think that we have been fair and generous as a nation in the matter of immigration of the Jewish people?

Senator GILLETTE. I think none more so.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, as a matter of fact, under the President's directive, issued in December of 1945, setting aside 90 percent of the quotas, the nonpreference quotas, for the DP's, the last evidence that we had on those coming in under that is that 75 percent were Jewish.

Mr. CELLER. No. The President denied that, Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Alexander of the State Department so testified before our subcommittee having hearings in Detroit.

So the Jewish people could not complain that we have been unfair in the administration of the immigration laws as to them.

Now, they say that 20 percent of the persons now in the DP camps are those of Jewish faith.

Senator GILLETTE. That is what I understand.

Mr. Gossett. And in his directive the President said that visas should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds, and nationalities. He desired that special attention be devoted to orphaned children.

Now, as a matter of fact we have given the Jewish people a little more than they are entitled to under that directive. And if there is any discrimination, the discrimination has been against the Protestants and the Catholics.

Senator Gillette. Of course, Congressman, you did not infer from anything in my statement that I said that discrimination had been exercised in this country against the Jewish immigrants?

Mr. Gossett. No; I did not infer that. But I wanted the record to be clear on that point, because a lot of this pressure—and I am not saying it is illegitimate; it is probably motivated by sincerity—for the Stratton bill has come from the Jewish organizations.

Mr. Celler. I will say, Senator, pressure has not been limited to Jewish organizations. We have Catholic organizations and Protestant organizations equally as vigilant as the Jewish organizations for the passage of this bill.

Mr. Fellows. Mr. Gossett has not finished.

Mr. Gossett. At this point in the record, because it is so apropos, and just to keep the record straight, since you have brought in the Palestine question, I went over and got from the Jewish Yearbook of 1946-47, published by the American Jewish Committee, the figures on Jewish immigration, and in 1907 we had in this country 1,776,888 persons of Jewish faith.

In 1927—

Mr. Celler. It is more than that. Do you mean immigrants or Jews?

Mr. Gossett. No, no; persons of Jewish faith.

Mr. Celler. There are more than that.

Mr. Robsion. This is in 1917.

Mr. Gossett. No. It is in 1907.

Mr. Chelf. That is 40 years ago.

Mr. Celler. Oh, I thought you said 1947.

Mr. Gossett. In 1927, the number was 4,228,029.

In 1946, according to this yearbook, it was something over 5,000,000. And according to the testimony of Rabbi Bernstein the other day, he said that we now have in this country approximately half of all the Jewish people in the world.

So the Jewish people have got no room to complain about Jewish immigration.

This book also shows that between 1937 and 1943, 60 percent of all immigration, natural immigration, under our quota law, was Jewish for those 5 years.

So we are doing our part to take care of the Jewish people, it seems to me.

Mr. Celler. Senator, wouldn't you say that when—

Mr. Chelf. It would certainly indicate there is no discrimination.

Mr. Robsion. Will the gentleman yield there, just a moment, on the figure point?

I think Dr. Bernstein testified that there were 5,250,000 of Hebrew faith in this country, and that the only country that approaches us at all is Russia, with about 2,250,000.

I believe Great Britain and France, really, have less than 100,000 each. That is what he stated, as I recall.

Mr. GOSSETT. I believe that is correct.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, you will agree, I believe, that this is not an attempt to offer a bill primarily for the Jews. Is that right?

Senator GILLETTE. Of course.

Mr. CELLER. This is a bill that embraces all faiths and all creeds, and as has been indicated, only 20 percent of those who are affected by this bill are of the Jewish faith.

And is it not your opinion also that if Great Britain would do its duty, a portion of this problem would be solved and many of those of Jewish faith would go to Palestine?

Senator GILLETTE. My own personal opinion, Mr. Celler, is that that is true. Of course, this is not designed to meet the question of admission of people of one faith or another, as you eminent gentlemen know far better than I do. Legislation that proposes to admit Jews as Jews or exclude Jews as Jews to America would be unconstitutional. It could not exist.

Mr. GOSSETT. And in 1943, I believe it was, an Executive order was issued under the then supervision of Immigration Commissioner Mr. Earl Harrison deleting from immigration papers the words "Hebrew" or "Jew." It is not a race, but a religion, and the question is not even asked on our immigration papers.

Mr. CELLER. That applies to everybody.

Senator GILLETTE. It applies to everybody.

Mr. GOSSETT. No. You ask a person whether he is a Pole or whether he is a German, or where he was born. But you no longer ask him whether he is Jewish or non-Jewish.

Senator GILLETTE. That is to conform to the quota system.

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes. The quota system does not discriminate in any particular against the Jewish people.

Senator GILLETTE. Not at all.

Mr. CELLER. It would be a discrimination to ask a Pole whether he is a Jew. In other words, under the quota system, based on national origins, it is essential to find out where a person was born. It would be rather folly not to say, "Where were you born?" But I think that Earl Harrison did the right thing to eliminate that question which asked for the religion of the person.

Mr. GOSSETT. I just wanted to make the record clear on that question, because the intimation has been made that we are not being fair.

Mr. CELLER. I do not think anybody made that intimation. Let me get the record straight on that. No intimation has been made that the United States has been unfair to Jews. I would say with you, our distinguished friend from Texas, that the United States has been fair to everybody with reference to immigration, and there has been no discrimination on the ground of race or religion.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, the Senator has told us that 95 percent of the 200,000 Jewish people do not want to come to America, and in his opinion they should not be brought here against their wishes.

Mr. CELLER. No. I would say that 95 percent have expressed the desire by way of preference to go to Palestine. But if England persists in her course of action and keeps the doors of Palestine closed in violation of international covenant, then those Jews would like to come to the United States.

Mr. CHELF. Senator, it would seem to me that the presidents of the various countries—I think you mentioned Lebanon, and possibly some of the leaders in England——

Senator GILLETTE. And Egypt.

Mr. CHELF. When they asked, "Why can't America do her share toward bringing in the Jewish people," certainly I did not know, and it is quite a revelation to me, these figures that Mr. Gossett just introduced here.

I do not think if they knew the facts—and certainly I did not know them—that we have admitted in the past 40 years better than 4,000,000 people of the Jewish faith, that anybody could deny that the United States of America has not been far more than fair. Merciful heavens.

Senator GILLETTE. I think you are wholly correct, Congressman. And the fact that they suggested the matter, or asked the question, shows a misconception.

The United States has not excluded one prospective immigrant on the basis of his religion, as far as I know.

Mr. CHELF. I never heard of it.

Mr. CELLER. Nobody is saying that.

Senator GILLETTE. But with respect to the policy that is being administered relative to these people who desire to go to Palestine, in contravention, in my opinion, of international legal responsibility, they are being excluded from Palestine, the country of their choice, simply and solely on the ground of their method of worshipping their God.

Mr. GOSSETT. Senator, are you suggesting as an alternative to that, if we do not bring about the free immigration of Jews into Palestine, then as an alternative we ought to open up the doors here?

Senator GILLETTE. No; I am not suggesting that. I am suggesting, and stated in my original statement, that had we adhered to the international convention and agreement, then a large proportion of the pressure that had been brought to bear for legislation such as this would have been taken care of.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then you admit that this is tied in as an integral part of the Palestine question?

Senator GILLETTE. I not only admit it, but I insist that it is.

Mr. GOSSETT. Sir?

Senator GILLETTE. I not only admit it, but I insist that it is.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is the point I want to make clear.

Mr. CELLER. We have a situation where the United States, despite its declared policy as embraced in declarations of Presidents from Wilson on down to Truman, who have demanded that the doors of Palestine be opened to Jews——

Senator GILLETTE. It has been the declared policy.

Mr. CELLER. Excuse me.

But the declared policy is not apparently being implemented by action on the part of the present administration. So you have a situation where, despite that declared policy, the United States takes no action to force—I use the word "force" advisedly—or even demand that England open its doors.

On the other hand, there are efforts made not to pass this bill that the Jews who cannot go to Palestine might come here, so that the Jews find themselves between two schools.

Arguments were made by Britain, "You open the door."

We make the argument to Britain, "You open Palestine."

And the result is a stalemate.

So those Jews who are in those camps, only 20 percent of the entire number being Jews, languish and despair of getting any sort of dignified way of life.

Mr. CHELF. I do not think there is any argument to it. We have certainly opened our doors, as is indicated here. We have opened them wide. I do not think Britain has any argument, or a leg to stand on.

Mr. CELLER. I agree with that, that England should open the doors of Palestine. But if England will not, then what?

Mr. CHELF. We have gone along and done as much as we could do. Then what? That is the question. That is why we are here, holding these hearings.

Mr. CELLER. Take the figures on non-Jews. You will find that they are far more than the number of Jews.

We dare not, under the principles enunciated under our Constitution, judge immigration on the basis of religion. That has never been the practice of our country. We look upon people as humans.

Do not segregate them, as far as immigration is concerned, into Lutherans or Greek Catholics or Roman Catholics or Jews.

Mr. CHELF. We never have done that, to my knowledge.

Mr. CELLER. We never have done that; we never should do that.

Mr. CHELF. I agree with you heartily.

Mr. GOSSETT. Senator, what would happen if England would put her hat on, so to speak, and walk out of Palestine entirely?

Senator GILLETTE. In what way? Economically, militarily, or what?

Mr. GOSSETT. In any way. Would we have war there? Would the Arabs jump on the Jews?

Senator GILLETTE. One of the responsibilities that England assumed under her mandate agency was to be the advisory power to assist them in setting up the machinery of government, and their official government.

I think one of the greatest indictments that can be pronounced against her administration is that in the 25 years, she has taken no step to set up a constitutional form of government, or the instrumentalities of a constitution.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, Senator, would you suggest—and I have heard through the grapevine that this suggestion will be made eventually—that we take over the mandate, the Palestine mandate?

Senator GILLETTE. No, indeed, Congressman. We have set up the trusteeship system under the United Nations Charter for the very purpose of meeting exigencies such as this, providing that territories formerly under mandate that were not ready to receive complete independence should be brought under the trusteeship system.

There is a very faulty situation obtaining there, because there is a provision that they must be brought under by individual agreement in each case, including the case of those formerly under mandate, and with the consent of the former mandator. So in order to bring the question of Palestine under the control of the United Nations system, or the trusteeship system of the United Nations, it would be necessary to secure the approval of Great Britain.

If she refused to do it, you would reach an impasse.

Mr. GOSSETT. I imagine Great Britain would be very happy just to pass that whole responsibility over to us.

But you would not favor our taking it, would you?

Senator GILLETTE. Oh, no, indeed.

Mr. CELLER. I do not believe Mr. Gossett would take it, either.

Mr. GOSSETT. No; I would not favor it. But I may not represent the majority of this country.

Senator GILLETTE. No, indeed. It is a responsibility that pertains to the association of nations of the world, in my opinion.

Mr. FELLOWS. Senator, may I ask this?

I gather from your statement that you do not feel that the passage of this bill would solve the real problem, that it is a much larger one, of which this is a part, and that larger one is a matter for the United Nations; that the passage by Congress of the IRO, that passed the House yesterday, would be a step in the right direction; that this is a part of the larger problem, and it should be settled as one big question?

Senator GILLETTE. That was my sole purpose, Mr. Chairman, for appearing here, so that your record might show that the passage or failure to pass this legislation in this form or an amended form would not, while it would be an alleviation, perhaps—and as I say, I would probably vote for it were I still a Member of Congress—

Mr. CELLER. Are you in favor of this bill?

Senator GILLETTE. It would not solve—

Mr. CELLER. Are you in favor of this bill?

Senator GILLETTE. I would want some amendments, Mr. Celler. The purpose of the bill is benign. There is no question about that. All of you agree with that.

And, as I say, if I were a Member of Congress still, I think I would vote for the legislation, or similar legislation, but feeling, as the chairman has said, that it did not solve the fundamental problem, the insistence on meeting which I think was one of the moving factors in bringing about the introduction of this legislation.

Mr. CELLER. Senator, I take it you mean this.

This bill, you take it, would bring in 20 percent of the displaced persons who are of the race of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and there still would remain 80 percent, whose problem would also have to be solved by some international arrangement, probably through the International Refugee Organization. Is that correct?

Senator GILLETTE. That, Mr. Celler, in addition to this: As has been testified to since I have been sitting here in this room, 95 percent of these Hebrews wanted to go to Palestine, as their choice.

Mr. GOSSETT. Let me ask another question, Senator.

Mr. FELLOWS. Let the Senator finish, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. Very well.

Senator GILLETTE. They wanted to go to Palestine. They are denied that privilege. They might come here as second choice.

But the fact that you legislate them in here as a second choice would not change a situation where you deny a fundamental right of self-determination and the status that we have accorded every man in the world.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you think that every person of Jewish faith in Europe ought to be permitted to leave Europe if he wants to?

Senator GILLETTE. I would see no objection, whether he was a Jew or a non-Jew.

Mr. GOSSETT. Suppose everybody in Europe wanted to leave, then what would you do?

Senator GILLETTE. It is all right with me, if they want to leave Europe.

Mr. GOSSETT. Where would they go?

Senator GILLETTE. Now, that is a question. If every person in the United States wanted to leave the United States, I would see no basic objection to it.

Mr. GOSSETT. A person has some responsibility to the land where he was born, does he not?

Senator GILLETTE. He certainly does.

Mr. GOSSETT. People are more or less attached to territories, are they not?

Senator GILLETTE. Definitely.

Mr. GOSSETT. And there is some limitation on the right of an individual to pull up stakes from his native land and move into some other land.

Senator GILLETTE. The only legal limitation would be the laws of the nation where he lived and the immigration laws of the nation to which he desired to go.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then, I have this other question.

Do you think the Jewish people of Europe should have preference as to their choices of lands into which to migrate?

Senator GILLETTE. Do I think that?

Mr. GOSSETT. Should they be given preferred treatment over the Protestants and Catholics?

Senator GILLETTE. No, indeed, Congressman. Neither should they be discriminated against.

Mr. GOSSETT. You answered that question. They are not being discriminated against.

Senator GILLETTE. Oh, yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. You still say, in Palestine, but not in this country.

Senator GILLETTE. No, not in this country. It would be unconstitutional.

Mr. FELLOWS. And you also say that the 95 percent who do not wish to come to America as a first choice should exercise the right of free-men to go where they chose, and they choose Palestine. If that 95 percent is brought over here, they would still want to go to Palestine.

Senator GILLETTE. That is right.

Mr. FELLOWS. And the question would not be solved, would it?

Senator GILLETTE. That is the clear statement.

Mr. CELLER. Have you information to that effect, that if they came over here, they would still want to go to Palestine?

Senator GILLETTE. No.

Mr. CELLER. You have no such information?

Senator GILLETTE. No, I have no such information, except the fact that Mr. Earl Harrison's report was that 95 percent of those interviewed desired to go to Palestine as their first choice.

Mr. CELLER. Then you did not hear the question that the chairman asked of you. He asked whether or not if those 95 percent would come to the United States they would still want to go to Palestine.

You do not know that, do you?

Senator GILLETTE. If they still wanted to go to Palestine, this could be a second choice.

Mr. CELLER. Would you say that the Jews who are in the displaced persons' camps voluntarily came to the displaced persons' camps, and that they voluntarily pulled up stakes?

Would you say that the Polish Jews, for example, left Poland voluntarily? Would you say it was voluntary, where they would have to live under a pogrom atmosphere in Poland? Would you say that is a voluntary departure?

Senator GILLETTE. I would be unable to express an opinion on that, Mr. Celler. I have not talked to those people personally.

I talked to the refugees on the ships in Haifa Harbor. But I do not know of the individual situations to which you refer.

Mr. CELLER. Wouldn't you say that if these people could live in decency and without fear in their native lands, they would do so?

Senator GILLETTE. I think definitely they would return.

Mr. CELLER. The answer is that they are in the displaced persons' camps because there is no freedom from fear, fear for their own lives and those of their dear ones; isn't that correct?

Senator GILLETTE. That is definitely true, I am sure.

Mr. CELLER. And you do not ask for any preference whatsoever for Jews as far as the Stratton bill is concerned?

Senator GILLETTE. No, indeed.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. CHELF. I want to thank you, Senator, for your statement.

Senator GILLETTE. I thank you, gentlemen. I know my statement is somewhat extraneous.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I did not hear the statements of the distinguished representatives of the American Legion.

At this point, I should like to put into the record a resolution adopted by the American Legion, Franklin D. Roosevelt Post, the Department of Kentucky, April 1947, in favor of the Stratton bill.

I should like to put into the record a statement of the Seventeenth District Legionnaire of Michigan supporting the Stratton bill. And I wish to state that during this week the Disabled Veterans of Kings County, about 1,500 disabled veterans, assembled in a public place in Kings County, Brooklyn, and passed resolutions in favor of the passage of the Stratton bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

(The resolution and article referred to are as follows:)

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN LEGION, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT POST,
DEPARTMENT OF KENTUCKY, APRIL 1947**

Whereas the stand of the American Legion taken in its various National Conventions against letting down the immigration bars is well known to each of the members of this post; and

Whereas the majority of the members of this post are in complete agreement with the American-Legion program for the protection of the citizens of this country from unrestricted immigration and find no fault with this program, nevertheless, we as citizens of the United States of America, did just complete a war against those who tried to bring religious persecution and other tyrannies upon the world; and

Whereas many of the members of this post served in the European theater of operations as well as in the Mediterranean theater of operations and are

consequently familiar with the sad plight of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy and many of the members were among those to whom the stars and stripes had reference when it caused to be printed and published an article reading in part: "GI Joe is in himself the greatest relief agency of them all;" and

Whereas the cessation of hostilities and subsequent return to civilian life of these members has not in any way changed their charitable inclinations toward these distressed persons; and

Whereas the individual members of this post feel that H. R. 2910—

- (a) Does not propose any alteration whatever in our regular immigration quotas, but only sets up a special emergency quota for a limited number of refugees.
- (b) Proposes the use of less than half of the 900,000 quota places our laws made available during the years of war, but which were left unfilled.
- (c) Provided for screening of all applicants under the strict terms of our present immigration laws, so that no criminals subversives, or other undesirables can enter.
- (d) Permits the entry of 400,000 displaced persons, every one of whom is sponsored in advance by a Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish religious or welfare organization so that he cannot become a charge of the community: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we the members of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Post No. 266, Department of Kentucky, do hereby go on record as favoring H. R. 2910, a copy of which is attached hereto and made a part thereof as if written at length herein, as we feel that it in no wise conflicts with the existing immigration program of our national organization and is strictly emergency legislation which will not only affect individuals now in concentration camps but will in addition strengthen the hand of our Government in its relations with other nations and will relieve our comrades still in uniform in the Army of occupation, of one of their biggest problems; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the 1947 State convention of the American Legion, Department of Kentucky, for its consideration with the request same be passed and further, that it be transmitted to the 1947 national convention for similar action, and that we as an organization and as individuals, write our Representatives and Senators and urge them to work for and vote favorably for the passage of such legislation.

[From the Legionnaire, Royal Oak, Mich., April-May 1947]

OUR CHANCE TO WIN THE PEACE—LEGION AND THE DISPLACED PERSON—OUR HELP NEEDED

(By Albert Starr)

HAVE WE WON THE WAR?

Save the World for Democracy was the battle cry in the last world war. And before that, it was "Remember the Maine," and before that it was the war between the French and English, and the Revolutionary War, and then the Indian War, and the Civil War, and the Boer War, and Abyssinia, and Spain. Perhaps some of the wars happened in different categorical order than listed in this editorial, but nevertheless they happened, and for what? I don't know—do you?

I say, I don't know, because we have just gone through the titanic throes of another war, bigger, vaster, than anything before in our history, or any country's history. This time we were fighting a man, and what he stood for, a guy named Adolf Hitler, who rose from the semiskilled ranks of the paper-hanging trade in Munich, Germany, rose on the complacency and self-satisfaction of all nations, to become a gigantic beast, preying on the minds and bodies, hearts and souls of all men. We had to destroy him.

Why? Well, he was taking land that didn't belong to him. He was destroying human liberties, throwing people in concentration camps, torturing them, killing, maiming, raping, because they had the guts to say no, when Der Fuehrer cracked the whip.

Well, what the h—l did we care. Sure, we felt sorry for the suffering peoples of Europe; the Jews and Catholics, the Poles and Presbyterians, the French and Episcopalians. But we were in America and Hitler would never dare attack us.

The end of the story you all know now. Hitler didn't have to attack. Aroused out of senile complacency, we dug in and Hitler's end came. But with the war's end, peace did not come.

850,000 DISPLACED PERSONS

People of all races, creeds, and colors didn't want to go home. The Poles didn't want to go to Poland, the Germans to Germany, and the Jews, who took undoubtedly, the worst beating of all, couldn't go anywhere, because they had nowhere to go. The President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, took the initiative and demanded entrance into the Jews' ancient homeland, Palestine, for 100,000—a very small part of DP Jews, scattered throughout Europe. The British refused. Arab rebellion and loss of colonial power and prestige were England fears. England has never kept her word, and never will.

But, these are small factors. Now, 2 years after the war there are still some 850,000 people in Europe who live in detention camps. These men and women and children are the displaced persons, the survivors of Nazi concentration camps. They are victims of all forms of religious and political persecution, of barbarism and Nazi terror.

They represent almost all religions. Some 80 percent are Christians of various denominations; 20 percent are Jews. Most of the displaced persons are natives of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Others come from Finland, Yugoslavia, Greece, France, and various other European countries. More than 50 percent of the displaced persons are women and children. There are 150,000 children below the age of 17. Of these, 70,000 are estimated to be under 6 years of age. The displaced persons' most cherished desire is to start a new life in a country where there is freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of movement.

Since VE-day, 11,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated. But the remaining 850,000 cannot be returned to their original places of residence. These people do not wish to and cannot return to their homes of origin, because they fear oppression for religious, racial, or political reasons.

The Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France officially declared that no people would be forced to return to their homelands against their will. The United Nations has endorsed the same principle. Unless reasonably quick action is taken for the permanent resettlement of displaced persons, these people may form the nucleus of an international relief problem of long duration.

By remaining in central Europe, they may become a source of international discord. All thinking men and women are aware that the plight of displaced persons constitutes one of the greatest cancers gnawing at the peace so dearly won.

REFUGEES AND IMMIGRATION

The United Nations established the International Refugee Organization to deal with the displaced-person problem. Its charter is signed by the United States. But the IRO cannot solve the problem unless immigrant-receiving countries make special provisions to receive a fair share of displaced persons. The United States as a leader in international affairs, must take the first step in this direction. The rest of the world would follow suit.

In the 1920's, the United States Congress passed immigration laws which permit 154,000 quota immigrants to enter this country annually.

During the 1940-46 war period only 15 percent of the total world quota was used. In other words, the United States lost 914,762 people who could have entered this country legally and whom we were ready and prepared to receive.

The United States is one of the few countries that has not been ravaged by war. It has been estimated that a fair share of displaced persons to enter the United States would be about 400,000. This number would equal less than half of the number of quotas that were not used during the war years.

Having lived under the brutal tyranny of dictatorship and totalitarianism, the displaced persons can truly value the ideals of democracy and the principles on which this country was founded.

The displaced persons, like any other group of immigrants, would be screened by Federal authorities before permission to enter this country is granted. No person advocating the overthrow of the Government by violence, no anarchist,

nor criminal could enter the United States. No displaced person entering the United States could become a public charge. Every individual, corporation, or agency sponsoring a displaced person must furnish an affidavit to that effect. The bulk of the displaced persons are workers. There are some 177,000 farm hands among them; some 20,000 are housemaids. Many are skilled workers, some are professionals; others still are business people.

There is a great shortage of farm labor and domestic service in the United States. New immigrants who are not workers tend to open noncompetitive business shops. A recent study in a metropolitan city showed that each refugee entrepreneur (owner or operator of individual business) in business created a job for seven Americans. The displaced persons will not take homes away from veterans and other Americans. They would be housed by relatives or friends who would not sublet rooms to strangers.

Some of the organizations which have gone on record as favoring the admittance of a fair share of displaced persons to this country are: The National Catholic Welfare Conference; the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; the American Jewish Committee; the American Jewish Conference; the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the American Federation of Labor; the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires; the United Council of American Veteran Organizations; and many other civic, educational, and religious groups.

THE LEGION'S RESPONSIBILITY

There in brief outline is the history of a problem which must be considered by every member of the Legion. We've saved the Maine and the Alamo and the democracy of the world and we've tried to help less fortunate people than ourselves from being destroyed by men of Hitler's and Mussolini's ilk, and Tojo's and Hirohito's. Our comrades have seen Red Beach, and Dunquerque, and Iwo Jima and Bataan. But their fighting will have been in vain if, when we find the peace, which we've been stumbling and groping for in the past 2 years, we don't consider the potential lost when displaced persons are shrugged off the list of requirements of completing that peace.

THE IMMIGRANT'S CONTRIBUTION

Much of the hard labor required to convert our country from a vast area of undeveloped resources into a top-ranking industrial nation has been borne by immigrants and their descendants.

Realization of the great agricultural potentialities of the country has been due in no small measure to their efforts. Following in the wake of the first pioneers, many immigrant families of German, Scandinavian, Slavic, and other national strains have helped to extend the area of cultivation ever westward. Large portions of the Middle West and West are now being tilled by descendants of these immigrant stocks. Many farms in the East, left idle by former native tenants, have, moreover, been taken over by Italian, Polish, and other immigrant families, and the development of the Pacific coast agriculture has depended in part on crops from the Mediterranean area raised by immigrants skilled in their cultivation. In all sections of the country except the South the work of immigrants has helped to push the agricultural production of the country to its present high levels. The importance of the immigrant farmer is recognized in the present immigration laws, which grant the skilled agriculturist preference within the quota.

Much of the heavy and arduous work of building our continent-wide transportation system has likewise been performed by the different new immigrant groups of various periods of our history. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Irish constituted a most important element in the laboring class. They took over a large part of the heavy work in the building of the Erie Canal and the other waterways which formed essential links in our transportation system of that era. In the construction of our vast system of railroads, which had spanned the continent by the turn of the century, new laboring groups such as the Slavs and Italians were used along with the Irish. Had not all such labor been available the development of large stretches of our country rendered accessible by the railroads might have been long delayed.

Similarly, immigrants aided in opening our mines, our mills, and our factories. In addition to providing the labor which made such industrial expansion possible, immigration served as a stimulus in many other ways. Immigrants brought to this country organizing ability, enterprise, scientific knowledge, and inventiveness, which speeded the tempo of our development and added immeasurably to

the diversity of American life. The new industries and industrial processes introduced by immigrants have, for instance, played an important part in our whole economic advance. Thus, for example, let us name a few personalities, familiar to all of us, whose names and positions in contemporary society still cannot erase the historic fact that, like ourselves, they were immigrants or descendants or same.

Andrew Carnegie was Scotch, his role was a leader in the steel industry. Samuel Slater, an Englishman, made his mark in cotton spinning; John Jacob Astor, a German, made his mark in the fur industry, but nobody today would dare walk up to an Astor, and say "You, damn German immigrant." Many more can be named: Michael Cudahy, an Irishman, meat packing; Frank Assman, Swedish, can processing; Henry Lomb and John J. Bausch, and Charles Lembke, all Germans, have fostered Bausch & Lomb, the most famous precision-optical house in the country; Joseph Bulova, a Czech, made his name in timepieces; Leo Baekeland, a Belgian, invented bakelite; Giuseppe Tagliabue invented the thermometer; Conrad Worra, a German, aluminum products; Charles J. Fleischmann, a Hungarian Jew, Fleischmann's yeast; David Sarnoff, a Russian Jew, made his mark in radio, and today heads Radio Corporation of America, better known as RCA; William S. Knudsen, a Dane, rose to the top and became president of General Motors, and served as a general in the current war with distinction.

So much for immigrants in industry. John Ericsson, a Swede, invented the ironclad ship; Ole Evinrude, a Norwegian, invented the outboard motor; David Lindquist, Swedish, the modern elevator; John August Udden, a Swedish geologist, was responsible for opening the Texas oil fields; Herman Frasch, a German, developed the oil-refining process and the extraction of sulfur; David Thomas, a Welshman, invented the hot-blast furnace; Louis Bonard, a Frenchman, invented the circular loom for weaving hats and a machine for casting iron; Cornelis Bol, a Dutchman, invented the mercury vapor lamp; John Garand, a Frenchman, invented the Garand rifle; and so on down the line.

These people are known nationally and internationally for their contributions to the culture, better living standards, and improvements on living they have fostered. And we cannot take their descendants, and say bum! . . . immigrant! . . . job stealer! . . . foreigner! . . . spic! . . . wop! . . . polack! . . . dirty dago! . . . kike! . . . heeb! . . . limey! . . . to them. They are human beings with bodies and blood and feelings just as you and I, and the solution to the peace many of us fought for and many others died for is not bigotry, hatred, and shoddy treatment of the many peoples of Europe who cannot fend for themselves as yet and need a helping hand which we can give.

THE ZONE AND QUOTA SYSTEMS

In concluding our editorial, which basically is a fervent plea for expansion of immigration laws and procedures, which would permit alleviation of the DP situation in Europe, the following facts are offered:

The world is divided into three immigration zones by the United States Immigration Service:

Zone 1 is unrestricted area, including all independent nations of the Western Hemisphere (North, South, and Central America, and the West Indies). Eligible native-born persons from these countries may enter without limitation on their number.

Zone 2 is the barred zone, including Asia and the Pacific islands not owned by the United States. No immigrants (with some exceptions) may enter from this area. Others are held ineligible to citizenship and therefore excluded from immigration.

Zone 3 comprises the rest of the world, and to each a set annual quota has been allotted, indicating the number that may enter the United States from that country each year.

Development of quota laws: Before 1921 there was no limit on the number of immigrants who might enter the United States. In that year the first restrictions were introduced, limiting the number of any nationality (determined by country of birth) to 3 percent of the number of foreign-born of that nationality resident in the United States in 1910. The total yearly quota for all nations was 357,803.

In 1924 further restrictions were imposed, cutting the quota to 164,667 annually by limiting the quotas for each country to 2 percent of the number of foreign-born of that nationality residing in the United States in 1890.

In 1929 the so-called "national origins" plan was put in force, which limited the total annual quota to about 150,000 by restricting the number of immigrants from any country to the percentage that persons of that nationality or descended

from that nationality contributed to our population as a whole in 1920. (If 40 percent of our population in 1920 was English by birth or descent, England would then be allotted 40 percent of the annual quota, or about 60,000.)

Some clearer samples of this restrictive immigration program can be seen by quota listings in 1946. Denmark, 1,181; France, 3,086; Germany, 25,957; Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 65,721. As you will notice, there is considerable difference in the quota ratio between England and the several other countries listed.

In addition to quota immigrants admitted to the United States there are certain classes of persons admitted for permanent residence outside of quota restrictions. These nonquota immigrants include certain wives, husbands, and minor children of American citizens, natives of Western Hemisphere (unrestricted area) countries, ministers, professors, students, and others.

The only other class of person admitted to the United States is the nonimmigrant. He does not come for permanent residence, but is a temporary sojourner only, such as a governmental official, visitor for business or pleasure, merchant seaman, and certain other persons. Since this nonimmigrant does not settle here permanently, he is not a factor in the immigration picture.

IMMIGRATION BRINGS PROSPERITY

In assessing the effect of immigration on the American economy, certain gains stand out very clearly. Immigration has played as integral a part in the economic growth of our country as in its total history. The innovations introduced by immigrants have increased both the speed and the diversity of our industrial advance, and their labor has made possible our phenomenal development in all fields. Eras of heavy immigration in our history have been eras of prosperity as well as of rapid expansion, and have not been marked by any significant amount of unemployment. Immigration has never exceeded the capacity of industry to absorb new workers, or led to an excess labor supply. On the other hand, it has brought to industry many important scientific and technical processes which have aided its progress.

Fears among Americans that immigration tends to displace native-born workers from their jobs and to create unemployment are not supported by scientific analysis. Immigrants have not only as workers increased the total number of workers needed. Industries and other enterprises established by immigrants have, moreover, employed native-born as well as foreign-born workers. Fears that immigration may undermine the American wage scale are likewise unfounded, especially under present conditions. Collective bargaining through the union and through protective legislation passed by the Government have set up effective controls over the wage scale. In recent years, the volume of immigration has been so drastically reduced by quota restrictions that its effect on the total employment situation is negligible.

Analysis of our past experience with immigration shows that no important economic problems have ever been traced to immigration. At the present time no problems are outstanding in the country which are caused by immigration. Immigration on the scale permitted by our quota laws can still be used, and has a stimulating rather than an adverse effect upon our general economy.

WHAT WE CAN DO NOW

With these basic facts in mind, we feel that a determined effort should be made on the part of public-minded, serious-thinking individuals—and Legionnaires are just that—to correct the terrible conditions of displaced persons in Europe.

We cannot eliminate and must not eliminate them from the peace provisions, nor can we shrug off their plight, because we are fortunate enough not to have shared it with them.

Rally into committees and help these people start anew. Remember when our forefathers came to this country on the *Mayflower* because they couldn't stand intolerance and oppression. Help them as you would help your own son, or mother, or sister, or brother, or wife, or kinsman of any kind, who might suffer a similar predicament. Write to your Congressman, form committees, wake up, and see what kind of peace is being written. You fought for it. Don't let a bunch of stuffed shirts take it away from you.

Mr. FELLOWS. We will adjourn until Wednesday next.

(Thereupon at 12:10 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10 a. m., Wednesday, July 2, 1947.)

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m.

Mr. GRAHAM. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Fellows has not yet come in. But we expect him at any moment. And, realizing how valuable your time, as is ours too, since we shall be called to the floor, we will go ahead with the hearing.

I would like to offer into the record two resolutions that have been sent to me. One is from the Jewish Community Council of Washington Heights and Inwood, from Mr. Sol Masch, president, urging the enactment of the Stratton bill into law, and its speedy enactment.

(The communication referred to is as follows:)

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF WASHINGTON HEIGHTS AND INWOOD,
New York, N. Y., June 30, 1947.

HON. LOUIS E. GRAHAM,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GRAHAM: I enclose a copy of a resolution adopted by the Jewish Community Council of Washington Heights and Inwood favoring passing of the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910.

We believe that the passage of this bill is important not only from a humanitarian standpoint but also as an indication to the world that this country stands ready to lead the world in the direction enunciated in the principles of the Atlantic Charter and within the framework of the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,

SOL MASCH, *President.*

RESOLUTION

Whereas Representative William G. Stratton, of Illinois, has introduced into Congress H. R. 2910, described as the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act; and

Whereas said bill provides for the cumulative admission during a 4-year period of 400,000 displaced persons from Germany, Austria, and Italy as nonquota immigrants, priority being given to relatives of American citizens and war veterans residing in the United States; and

Whereas it is fitting that the United States, as the leading exponent of democracy in the world, lead the way in providing new home for the victims of the enemies of democracy in Europe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Jewish Community Council of Washington Heights and Inwood at a mass meeting held on Wednesday evening, May 7, 1947, at the Paramount Mansion, New York City, That the said council endorse H. R. 2910 and urge its speedy passage; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and all Members of Congress.

Mr. GRAHAM. The other resolution is from the Knights of Columbus, Woodlawn Council, No. 2161, of Aliquippa, Pa., my own home district, stating that at a meeting held on May 28, 1947, at Beaver Falls, they went on record favoring this bill and the enactment of it into law, and urging me to support the bill.

(The communication referred to is as follows:)

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS,
WOODLAWN COUNCIL, No. 2161,
Aliquippa, Pa., June 9, 1947.

HON. LOUIS GRAHAM,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a recent meeting of the Twenty-seventh Pennsylvania District of the Knights of Columbus held at Beaver Falls, May 28, 1947, and composed of councils located in Midland, Rochester, Ambridge, Aliquippa, and Beaver Falls, the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

"Resolved, That we urge our Congressman to give his fullest support for the adoption of bill H. R. 2910, introduced by Representative William G. Stratton, Jr., Representative at Large from Illinois, asking for temporary emergency legislation to permit 400,000 despairing, homeless, persecuted individuals to enter the United States in the next 4 years."

We urge your support of this bill.

Very truly yours,

WM. J. RHEIN, *President of Chapter.*

Attested:

J. M. BURNS, *Recorder.*

Mr. GRAHAM. The first witness listed on the agenda is Colonel Sage.

Colonel Sage, will you give your full description and title, please?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Lt. Col. Jerry M. Sage.

Mr. GRAHAM. Will you be seated, please?

STATEMENT OF LT. COL. JERRY M. SAGE, UNITED STATES ARMY, HEADQUARTERS OF EUROPEAN COMMAND, FRANKFURT, GER- MANY

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I am a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army and have been called here from my station, the headquarters of European Command in Frankfurt, Germany, where I work with displaced persons as Chief of the Field Contact Section. In that capacity, I have been in most of the 300 DP assembly center groups which contain nearly 500 installations in the United States zone of Germany. During the past 15 months I have worked and talked with every variety of DP there. I was selected for my job on the basis of qualifications obtained through wartime experiences as an operational officer for the OSS, as a prisoner of war, and as a worker with various underground resistance groups, both before and after several escapes from the Nazis and their prisons.

Prior to our entry in this war I had had very little contact with Europeans. I lived in Spokane, Wash., and married a girl from Tacoma, Wash. After graduation from the State College of Washington in 1938, I worked as a salesman and sales supervisor for Procter & Gamble on the Pacific coast. I held a reserve commission in the Infantry and was accepted for active duty in the Army at the Presidio of San Francisco a few weeks before Pearl Harbor.

To my surprise, in April 1942, I was called to Washington by telegram to work with General Donovan of the OSS. At that time

a handful of officers had been picked on the basis of both scholastic and physical qualifications to aid by sabotage and intelligence in undermining the activities of the Axis Powers, particularly in occupied countries. We were trained to infiltrate by parachute or submarine, to demolish objectives with high explosives, and to bring back needed information. The first eastern Europeans with whom I came in contact were OSS students who were destined to become part of the resistance movements. In 1942 I worked very closely with a group of Yugoslavs who were especially trained in sabotage and in strategic and tactical intelligence. I also met my first Czechs and Poles at this time.

I operated from England in this type of work in the summer of 1942 and later in the year was in command of a unit which went to north Africa. Activities there behind the German lines resulted in my being shot up and captured early in 1943. Then as a prisoner of the Germans I had my first actual contacts with what we now call displaced persons. Although British and American officers were kept carefully segregated from other groups, we often saw labor being driven like cattle outside the barbed wire of our camps. I remember very vividly the feeling of frustration and impotence engendered by standing behind double rows of barbed wire and machine guns and helplessly watching SS guards whipping Polish women who were being forced to work in the fields for the Nazis. In order to get out of German hands on various escape attempts, I tried to learn as much as possible of the eastern languages, including Polish, Russian, Czech, Hungarian, and Yugoslav.

I made my first actual contacts with the forced labor in Germany on escape attempts in 1943. I well recall the assistance that a little Ukrainian laborer gave me when I was trying to walk from near Berlin to the Czech border, 2 days before the Gestapo caught me, on one of three abortive attempts. When my final escape was actually successful, I was greatly assisted by Poles and developed considerable admiration for the country's underground resistance.

In October 1945 I was sent to Columbia University for 3 or 4 months for a refresher course on the over-all European situation. I returned to Germany in March, 1946, and was assigned to my present job with displaced persons.

My job in Frankfurt includes not only a certain amount of staff work at the policy level in the headquarters of General McNarney and General Clay, but also a great deal of personal investigations and inspections of displaced persons and displaced persons' installations. In the latter capacity, I found it extremely helpful to be able to speak a few words with the people in their own languages or in the rather basic German which nearly all prisoners or forced laborers acquired during the war.

On my return to Europe in 1946, I learned that of the about 8,000,000 displaced persons that the German armies had forced into Germany from other countries of Europe which they had occupied, approximately 7,000,000 had returned, with the aid of the western Allied armies, to the areas in which they formerly lived. In the zones of the western Allies in Germany, Austria, and Italy, there were at the first of this year slightly over a million displaced persons in the hands of the western Allied armies. Between 80 and 90 percent of these had been forced into German territory by the Nazi armies before the end

of hostilities. The balance were persecutees, for the most part the Jewish people who fled into our zones in Austria and Germany, almost entirely from Poland, in 1946. This movement was greatly accelerated by the murder of 40 Jews at Kielce on July 4, 1946.

I had been within 25 miles of Kielce at that time.

At this point I should like to clarify a misapprehension which has arisen in previous discussions of this bill.

It has been erroneously stated that 80 percent of the DP's entered the occupied zones after the end of hostilities. As I have indicated above, the true situation is exactly the reverse. Since the end of the summer of 1945, a central register of displaced persons had been maintained. This record proves conclusively that approximately 85 percent of the present DP population was in Germany at the time the register was begun. In fact, in the United States zone, one of the requirements for admission to, or retention in DP camps, is that the person must have been eligible for DP care on August 1, 1945.

The only exception which has been made to this rule is the persecuted people, the Jewish people who fled into our zones at the end of hostilities. We know that the authorities in the British and French zones are even more strict than we are on this subject.

Mr. CELLER. Colonel, where are you reading from, in your statement?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I am reading from an insert that I have here.

Mr. CELLER. I see.

Mr. GRAHAM. Colonel, may I ask you at this point, please, would you prefer to go on with your statement without interruption?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes; I would like to, if you do not mind, and I will be ready to answer any and all questions at the end.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Fellows is now taking over.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I do not know how this misapprehension came about. It may possibly stem from the fact that millions of Germans and persons of German ethnic origin—Volksdeutsch—have fled or been transferred into the western zones of Germany from eastern Germany or from eastern European countries where they formerly resided. It is not with these people that we are concerned as they are Germans and have become a part of the German economy.

Of the million displaced persons remaining, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Jews, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, and stateless persons, of whom we are talking here now, the United States has control of about 600,000 in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Of this number, I have been vitally concerned with those residing in the United States zone of Germany, a total of over 500,000. When I left Germany a month ago, there were 354,000 of these displaced persons in assembly centers in our zone and about 150,000 living outside centers, either in labor units working for the United States Army or working in the Germany economy.

The United States Army has been charged with the responsibility for this group of half a million people. We have endeavored, with the assistance of UNRRA workers, to feed, clothe, and rehabilitate these people to the best of our ability and resources.

But we are continually asked one question and it is one we continually ask ourselves: What is to become of these people, the ones our Army took under its control and still has under its control?

The four alternative solutions presented by General Hildring the other day are not new. They have been discussed, considered, and elaborated on, around our conference tables in Germany, for many months. But the United States Army in Germany, although charged with the responsibility for displaced persons within American zones, cannot make the decision as to what we are to do with these people in the future. That decision, we of the Army are fully aware, must be made by the United States Government—by the Congress—the ultimate governmental authority over them.

There are four possible alternatives:

1. Forcible repatriation.
2. Closing the camps and telling the displaced persons to become Germans and fend for themselves as best they can in Germany.
3. Continuing to maintain them separate from the political and economic organization in Europe, indefinitely, in the little communities which they form in the assembly centers.
4. Endeavoring to secure their resettlement in countries where they can rebuild their lives and strike new roots.

All I am here for is to give you briefly such of my observations of these people as you might feel to be useful to you in reaching your decision as to which of these alternative courses is to be pursued.

I shall endeavor to answer any questions which occur to you and to develop more fully any aspect that you may desire.

Repatriation: The alternative of repatriation must, at this point, be definitely termed "forcible repatriation." As has just been pointed out, a tremendous job has been done in returning 7,000,000 persons to their homelands. Over the past 2 years every opportunity has been afforded to those now remaining in our zones to return. From my observation, those whom we still have on our hands are essentially a hard core of nonrepatriables who will not return to their place of origin because the map of the area where they formerly lived has been redrawn and a government alien to them is in power. They fear a lack of political freedom, and have a real dread of persecution. I can certainly testify as to the presence of those fears.

I happen to be the trouble-shooter for General Clay on displaced persons' matters, so I run into the good and the bad.

It is not unusual in the United States zone of Germany, when a movement of displaced persons is contemplated from one installation to another for better accommodations or to meet a military exigency, that rumors immediately begin to circulate about the camp and the fear is developed that transportation is coming to repatriate these persons against their wishes. On several occasions it has been part of my job to visit such installations to quiet the panic among the people by giving them the true facts about the movement and reiterating that it has not been and is not the policy of the United States Government to force displaced persons to return to the area from which they came. There are still a few people who are accepting our continuing offer to aid those who are willing to go. They receive, when they reach their destination, a 2 months' ration to insure their subsistence until they get their feet on the ground and become reestablished. Those who have gone during the last year and those who may still be willing to go are mainly Poles who came from that part of Poland which is still Poland. But the vast majority of displaced persons now in our hands have convinced me that

they will not go back. I cannot number the occasions on which I have asked every variety of DP, in an effort to get them to go home, in an effort to relieve ourselves of the problem, in our general reconstruction of Germany, to eliminate this big group of 500,000 people, "Why don't you go home to the piece of ground you know, the members of your family and old friends, to the place where you can use your native tongue?"

These are the answers I receive, and I receive them every day from people of nearly every walk of life. The Baltic peoples—the Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians—have said to me, "I would rather die than return to my home; it is no longer mine. It is in the hands of the same people who took away every right I had in 1940 and 1941, and who took away friends and relatives of mine whom I never saw again, who in 1940 and 1941 invaded my country."

Many of the Poles and Ukrainians who formerly lived in Poland east of the Curzon line, now Poland no longer, say, "I will not return to land now held by the U. S. S. R."

The Jews in our camps tell me: "The Nazi teachings were far-reaching. I am still attacked in eastern Europe—that is, at Kielce—as well as in Germany. Let me go to Palestine."

I recall a remark by a Yugoslav DP who by coincidence was in the same prison camp with me in 1943. I have seen him later, in the fall of 1946.

Should I go home to a political regime I hate and fear, to be tried by Tito, who accuses me of being a collaborator during the time I was spending 2 years and 50 pounds of flesh in German prison camps? The only one with whom I could have collaborated was God!"

Such observations, multiplied hundreds of times, are heard not only by me, but by every person who works with displaced persons in our zone. It does not do any good to say to these people that 7,000,000 displaced persons have gone back to where they came from, why don't you? The answer is too simple and too clear. Naturally, the millions of French and other western Europeans went back home. Naturally, the millions of Russians who believed in the Russian economic and governmental system went back home. Naturally, also, anyone who believed in, or was indifferent about the new systems of government in other eastern areas, went back home. The ones who have gone were the ones who were willing to go. Their experience is no guide for those who are now unwilling to go. Is it reasonable to expect the DP Balts, for example, who are bitterly hostile to the political and economic system which they experienced in 1940 and 1941 and which now rigidly controls their countries, to feel that it is safe for them to go back, carrying their hostility with them, to work against communism? The very fact that they go back unwillingly might be enough to endanger them. Or are we to expect and demand of them that because of their native countries having changed hands, they must therefore change their beliefs and accept communism as their way of life?

I have been in prison camps myself, and fortunately I escaped and got home in other ways but I know my friends who were in camp when the armies went through, the Patton army, for instance, who burst out of camps like a balloon breaking, just trying to flood home, because they were trying to get out of Germany rapidly. We rounded

them up in C-54's and just ran in huge trains to gather people together and put them on trains.

We are not even sure now that maybe we did not send a few home who did not want to go home, looking back in retrospect.

Naturally, also, anyone who believed in or was indifferent about these things went back home.

We believe in the Army that these persons unwilling to go back would have to be rounded up by the United States constabulary or German police and forced into repatriation trains with gun and bayonet.

Shall we close the camps? The second alternative is to close the camps and tell the displaced persons that they should become Germans and get such work or relief as the Germans might provide. From my contacts with these people I have observed several aspects of this alternative which you gentlemen may wish to consider in determining what course to choose. The first is that the great body of these people would regard it as a return to imprisonment to be turned back to the Germans whose armies brought them into Germany for forced labor or into prisoner-of-war or concentration camps. It has been equally apparent from my contacts that the Germans do not want the displaced persons in their midst. The Germans have not forgotten the Nazi indoctrination which looked on the non-German as an inferior person to be exploited by the "master race." This feeling appears as one of our difficulties in finding employment for displaced persons. Too often the German administrator of a labor office discriminates against the displaced-person applicant, at least by passive, if not active, means. These ingrained antagonisms would be a perpetual source of conflict. They would prolong and make more burdensome our task in the occupation of Germany.

In addition to these deep-rooted antagonisms, there are factors in the economy of the western zone of Germany, as we observe it over there, which also have a definite bearing on the practicability of this second alternative. There are slightly over 500,000 displaced persons in the United States zone of Germany alone. Can we expect the economy of the zone or this area to absorb this half-million? Before the war, this area contained about 14,000,000 people. In addition to that population we have had to accept 1½ million expellees, ethnic Germans, from eastern countries such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. Another million people have been added to the German economy in our zone under the classification of German refugees—Germans displaced from their homes in either the Russian zone or in the area presently under Polish administration. Thus, excluding the displaced persons, the total population of our zone has now been brought to about 16,500,000. That is about a 20 percent increase.

When one considers that at least 30 percent of the housing the United States zone has been destroyed and its industries for the most part destroyed or collapsed; that even before the war, under the extreme food production efforts of the Nazis, this area had to import 20 percent of its food requirements for a normal population of 14,000,000; that 2,500,000 Germans have been added to the area, and that it is also supposed to feed a million persons in the United States sector of Berlin, the reason why American taxpayers have the alternative of contributing heavily to the support of this surplus German population or

letting it starve is apparent. Merely to close the camps and add these half-million non-Germans to the already surplus Germans in our area would give us only an apparent but no real relief from the situation we created when we conquered Germany and took these victims of Germany into our hands.

The third alternative is to continue to keep these displaced persons alive by maintaining them indefinitely in assembly centers, in the hostile environment of Germany. This obviously is no solution. It merely perpetuates a heavy charge on the American taxpayer. It keeps these victims of the Germans in a situation where they cannot help themselves, without plan or hope of building new lives for themselves or their children. These people, as I have lived among them, are fundamentally not so different from you or me. You can picture without any aid from me what the situation would mean to us if we were in it and determine whether this is the alternative you propose to adopt.

To aid in your consideration of the fourth alternative to the solution of the DP problem, I shall endeavor to answer for you, from my personal experiences, the following questions, plus any additional questions that you may wish to ask.

How are we sheltering and feeding the displaced persons under our care in Germany this summer of 1947?

What kind of people are they?

What are their basic political and religious beliefs, their attitudes toward employment, the state of law and order in their communities, their occupational skills, their health and morals?

And in addition, what are other countries doing about these displaced persons?

The shelter is the best we can provide in view of the destruction during the war of 30 percent—40 percent, actually—of the housing in our zone, and the great increase over the prewar population. It varies, however, with each locality of the nearly 500 different installations. We try to do the best we can with what we have and perhaps get accustomed to it, but I do not believe that you would like the looks of some of our necessarily overcrowded conditions.

Our largest assembly center at Wildflecken, Germany, houses about 15,000 Poles and Polish Ukrainians in a cluster of huge barracks and apartment buildings. Some larger rooms have to accommodate a number of families—from 20 to 30 persons. Other installations are composed of groups of long, low, wooden barracks built for the German armed forces. Still others are former prisoner-of-war and concentration camps.

A funny twist is that I have inspected for General Clay two DP camps which were former POW homes of mine in 1943 and 1944. In fact, one Lithuanian family was living in a room where I was able to walk in, move a little wooden stove away, and show them a trap door that we had made down into a tunnel that was dug in 1943 that made an escape for some British and American soldiers.

The barbed wire and machine guns in these camps have been removed, and great improvements have been made, but the environment you would not regard as conducive to normal family life. At times, at one installation that we had, it has been necessary to shelter as many as 250 men, women, and children in one very large room.

Fortunately we have passed that stage. We try to get down to one family to a room or partitioned part of a large room, and sometimes can do better.

A typical DP room has a row of double-decker wooden bunks around the sides of the walls, a makeshift table, a few wooden chairs, a small wood-burning stove, and what other articles of furniture the DP's can make from scraps of material they dig up. Rarely is any quantity of material found available which can be furnished for floor and window coverings or to provide some of the innumerable comforts of home which we take for granted in this country. But the DP's make a little go a long way. It is surprising how with a few odds and ends of personal belongings the atmosphere of a separate family center can be given to that particular corner of a large room which a father, mother, and several children have curtained off as their own.

We are able to furnish to displaced persons sufficient food to maintain health, with a normal consumer ration of 2,000 calories per day. Supplements are granted for various categories; such as growing teenage children, pregnant and nursing mothers, hospital inmates, and certain workers. These supplements bring the average caloric intake to 2,400 in our zone. I would estimate that the average American adult consumes between 3,000 and 4,000 calories a day. The daily bill of fare is in the main starchy foods—grains and potatoes. It is sustaining and puts on weight. Except for vegetables grown in the small gardens which are tilled in every patch of ground the DP's can find, there is naturally very little opportunity for variation in this diet.

What kind of people are living in these camps?

The primary fact to be borne in mind is that they are above all else working people. That is because the Nazi Labor Office which accompanied the German armies was interested in bringing into Germany only those people who were capable of working in the factories and on the farms. Therefore, they selected for deportation to Germany primarily persons in the younger age groups and those physically qualified to do manual labor. It is noteworthy that in the average DP camp one will find relatively few old people or physically handicapped people. Further, it was hard for one without great moral and physical stamina to survive the experiences they went through. They had to have it. As working people in their own countries, they were had to have. As working people in their own countries, they were accustomed to long hours of toil. In German labor camps they worked long hours on short rations. Today, in the DP camps, as employment can be found for them, they are still working willingly and industriously in the maintenance of the camp, improving the physical appearance, and in outside employment in Army units and in the local economy.

In the administration of the employment program in DP camps, the problem has not been so much that of inducing people to work but of finding work for them to do, for reasons which I will presently point out.

Secondly, in the general picture, I must say that I have been continually surprised by the resiliency of the vast majority of these displaced persons. I have seen, in my present tour of duty, the same prisoners and forced laborers of the Nazis who had been with me in

Germany in 1943 and 1944, a year and a half before the invasion, still residing in the depressing atmosphere of the abnormal camp-type life described above, and have been amazed at their ability to make the best of their situations by studying, working, and striving to improve themselves.

In order to further the rehabilitation of the DP's, to respond to their urgent desire for something constructive to do, and to save the expense of our own personnel, we have turned most of the administration of the assembly centers over to the DP's themselves.

In order to give you a clear picture of the DP, I shall describe as accurately as possible a typical assembly center and what goes on there.

This cluster of buildings was probably built for the German Army and has a wall or fence around it. At the main gate, you will find a man wearing an arm band, or an old GI helmet liner hat, with the inscription "DP Police" on it. These police are trained by military personnel operating directly under my office. Their functions are much the same as those of policemen in a rural town. They preserve internal order in the camps, keep out personnel who try to enter for illegitimate business, and assist our military law-enforcement agencies in apprehending wrongdoers.

And here, I would like to give some observations on the state of law and order among DP's. DP's have always been a good source of news. An incident involving DP's which is handled by our military agencies attracts much more attention than a similar incident involving Germans, which is handled by German police. Consequently, I have run into some exaggerated reports of DP misbehavior. My office happens to have a direct responsibility for supervising law and order among DP's and maintaining records of incidents involving them.

Of course, there are law violators among DP's. I have personally assisted in arrests of them and in prosecutions resulting in court sentences from several months to several years.

Of course, also, there is a certain number of black marketers among the DP's, as there is also among German and American personnel. Most of the black market activities are on a very small scale, such as trading cigarettes and chocolate for some fresh eggs. However, some dealers go into large-scale activities. We call them operators. If they are DP's, or from any other group in Germany, we make every effort to locate, apprehend, and prosecute them. We have had several large-scale raids on DP centers to locate law violators and contraband goods. I have participated in some of these. The violators are arrested and prosecuted. But in each check and search operation, the percentage of lawbreakers of the total DP population is found to be extremely low. The great bulk of displaced persons in assembly centers are made up of normal, law-abiding people. However, the number of those jailed or cited for offenses in the United States zone, taken from statistics of the German Bureau of Criminal Identification and Statistics, indicate that non-Germans have not committed more than a proportionate share of the total crimes in the first few months of this year. In fact, the last figures I have available on offenses against German criminal law show that non-Germans have committed proportionately less than the Germans. From the standpoint of immigration into the United States, the records we have, covering a period of 2 years, would give an unusually good opportunity to screen out the lawbreakers.

I might say that after the liberation, early in our DP business, there were considerable crimes of violence. There were a lot of assaults. The DP's came out and they got some things off their chest with the German people. But that has died out and there is very good control, in general, in displaced persons camps, and we do not have an inordinate amount of crimes or incidents.

Continuing with the DP policemen on your way to the administrative office in our sample camp, you will notice that there is considerable evidence of repairs and reconstruction of the buildings. The majority of our assembly centers are in areas in which countless bombs of the Allied Air Forces dropped. After liberation, the DP's who were gathered together in a partially demolished installation went to work on it. Some of the buildings in a camp you visit will have been almost entirely rebuilt from salvaged bricks and odd pieces of steel, glass, and lumber. In an effort to brighten the surroundings, the inhabitants usually make a neat and ornamental design of whitewashed stones and a few flowers near the entrance to the camp.

In a nearby building labeled "Administration" you get a good general picture of the political and social views of the people. Since soon after liberation, it has been our policy to allow the inhabitants of each assembly center to elect their own leaders and camp committees. The precise form of the elections has not been prescribed, but a survey of a few months ago showed that the typical camp elections followed a pattern of nomination of candidates by petition and voting by secret ballot. Some camps have direct election of the leader, and others elect the camp council, the members of which choose the camp leaders from among their number. These people have in the past served as advisers and executive intermediaries for the official camp administrator, and generally have proved so responsible that they have been constantly given additional authority.

While we are thinking about this community, which elects its leaders in much the same way as a small town in this country, you may be interested in my observations on DP isms. If I were asked to point out the community which I considered the least susceptible to, and the most thoroughly indoctrinated against, nazism, fascism, and communism, I would not take you to the isolated 100 percent American small town in the Middle West. I would take you to a DP center in our zone of Germany. The vast majority of the people of the United States definitely dislike those isms but have not had a great deal of intimate contact with them. The DP who describes his being rounded up at night, torn from his family, and brought to Germany to labor; the DP who shows you the tattooed concentration camp number on his arm, is certainly actively indoctrinated against any form of nazism or fascism.

As for communism, the very fact that they are ready to accept any fate rather than be sent back to Communist-dominated countries shows their attitude toward that ism. Further, if I may say so, I have had a wide opportunity to be among them and I know their attitude. These DP's do not take democracy for granted. They are willing to work for it. They have seen these isms.

They can recognize them, and violently oppose them.

To return to our visit to the administration building, we find that the keeping of records, all stenographic work, maintenance work, in

fact all phases of the operations of the camp, are actually conducted by the displaced persons themselves.

In some camps one of the DP committeemen is the labor representative for his community. The strides that have been made by the DP's themselves in finding employment have been considerable, although they have been faced with two or three serious handicaps.

We have been forced to place DP's in whatever housing is available. We do not have the material to build special laborers' housing near works projects, and in Germany, transportation is almost nonexistent, with the result that many DP's cannot get to the jobs they would otherwise jump at. A prime example is our largest camp in Germany, Wildflecken, which I mentioned previously. Wildflecken is a large unit providing much needed space for 15,000 people, but it is distant from any projects which could furnish employment. The agricultural fields nearby are already producing full time for the local economy. Wood cutting is about the only opportunity for out-of-camp work, and many are kept busy at this work.

Representatives of DP's themselves, and welfare agencies, and the Army, who have exhaustively studied the possibilities of numerous manufacturing projects that would utilize the vast quantity of skills available in the DP population, have run into the terrific handicap of having no raw material with which to work. There has also been a reluctance on the part of many DP's to work for a German, or the German economy, after having been forced to do so under oppressive conditions for several years. They are eager to work for the Allied occupying authorities, however. Despite these handicaps, the majority of employables residing in DP centers from 16 to 65 years of age are at work.

Of those residing outside the camps, the United States Army has 40,000 DP employees organized in labor-service companies. These companies can be broken down into the following categories: Watchmen, engineer construction, engineer maintenance, engineer dump truck, ordnance depot, quartermaster depot, quartermaster truck. Of this group, all of the engineer and quartermaster construction and trucking companies contain 90 percent skilled labor.

Those displaced persons not under direct care in assembly centers or in labor-service companies are working and eking out an existence in the German economy. But it must be pointed out that these people are also displaced persons and should not be lost sight of in the determination of the solution of the problem.

As our armies advanced into Germany, General Eisenhower appealed to the displaced persons to remain where they were, if they had a roof over their heads and a place to work, rather than to further congest the badly overcrowded DP centers. I have handled countless petitions from these displaced persons residing outside of centers who say that they will remain where they are, where they have shelter near a job rather than to come into a center, where we would have to take care of them, but who make urgent appeals for documents showing them to be displaced persons and not Germans. With the return of the German prisoners of war and with the influx of the German expellees, many thousands of these out-of-camp displaced persons lost their outside jobs and shelter to the Germans in 1946 and had to enter our assembly centers. This movement was stopped, however, in the United

States zone of Germany by the closing of assembly centers to new entrants on the 1st of June 1947.

In our average camp, you can learn from the displaced persons representative the various skills available there. These are listed on a card in a card index so that a prospective employer can readily find a person with the skill he requires. An over-all survey of the occupational skills of 366,553 employable displaced persons in assembly centers in Germany, Austria, and Italy was made in the summer of 1946. Another survey covering 237,727 employable DP's in the United States zone of Germany only, was completed just prior to my departure from Frankfurt a month ago.

The following figures show the percentage of the employables surveyed last year, 366,553, in each general classification of occupational skill. The more recent survey in our zone of Germany indicates approximately the same percentages.

A list of the approximately 140 specific skills represented under the 17 occupational categories presented below is attached to this statement.

This is general classification.

Construction and maintenance, including bricklayers, masons, riveters, who work with their hands in construction work, 6.7 percent. Administrative, clerical, and commercial, 11.3 percent. Agriculture, forestry, dairy, food processing—over 90,000 people of those surveyed, 24.5 percent. Health and sanitation, including doctors, X-ray technicians, and so forth, 3.2 percent. Miscellaneous services, and that is blacksmiths, linotypists, barbers, watch repairmen, and so forth, 9.1 percent. Tailors and seamstresses, 6.2 percent.

Domestic and related commercial services—that includes domestics. There are actually 20,000 servants available in our zone—10 percent. Communication, transportation, supply, 7.6 percent. Artists, 1.5 percent. Professionals, including lawyers, engineers, agronomists, 6.4 percent. Recreational workers and teachers, 0.2 percent. Metal trades, electroplating, metalsmiths, in general, metalwork, 2.1 percent. Mining, chemical and processing, 0.4 percent. Miscellaneous processing, coopers, wool and leather workers, especially, 4.5 percent. Laborers, 2.5 percent. Inexperienced persons, 2.3 percent. Students, 2.1 percent.

Excellent vocational training courses are continually supplementing these skills available among DP's. In our zone alone there are over 16,000 displaced persons receiving vocational training. There is at least 1 training course in each assembly center; however, the majority have a minimum of 5 different courses. In addition to the assembly center schools there are 7 formal vocational training installations in the United States zone of Germany, offering a total of 24 different courses, from welding to stenographic work, lasting approximately 2 months each, and attended by 1,000 displaced persons.

If you leave the administration building of the typical camp with which we are concerned, you will probably see a long, low warehouse building or former shop of some kind which has been refitted as a vocational school. There you will see DP's working at a forge and anvil pounding out the tools, the bolts, the locks, and practically all the metal equipment which is needed in the camp and perhaps for a neighboring camp which does not have a blacksmith shop. Ad-

jacent you can see the carpenter shop where various items of furniture are made and where apprentices learn to aid in the maintenance and reconstruction of parts of the camp.

The supply of fuel presents a terrific problem in Germany today. One of the prime projects in the summer and fall is to see that sufficient fuel and sufficient trees are cut from the forests and chopped and stored in the camps for the winter. The DP's do this work themselves.

The next building in our DP camp may be a hospital which is operated by displaced persons. The DP head doctor will proudly show you his health charts and the cleanliness of the institution. We have found excellent nurses among the DP women, and others have been trained to hospital service. The majority of the doctors are DP's who make regular checks on the health of each member of the center population. There are 10,500 hospital beds available for long-term illnesses, and four special tuberculosis sanitariums located at strategic points in the United States zone. Both mass radiographic surveys and hospitalization checks agree on the following figures on tuberculosis in the United States zone among the DP's:

Active tuberculosis 0.4 percent; inactive tuberculosis 2.5 percent.

The over-all health condition of DP's is considerably better than that of the Germans. No serious outbreak of any disease has occurred from the beginning of the DP operations, probably as a result of using the same immunization procedures that are used in the United States Army. Medical supplies for all purposes are drawn from the United States Army medical stocks.

There is a slow increase of weight in DP's from month to month and almost no incidence of edema despite the preponderance of starchy foods in their diet. The weight of displaced persons averages about 2 percent over the normal, based on United States Army standards.

The center doctor may point with pride to the fact that the incidence of venereal disease is negligible among his patients. A contributing factor may be found in general in the devotion of DP's to a family life. The birth and death rates of DP's are comparable to those in the United States. The young children are the healthiest that I have seen anywhere, probably because they are checked regularly once a month. They have to be.

Near the hospital, you will probably find the building which houses both the grade school and high school. In our zone nearly 70,000 children attend these schools, taught by DP instructors. In addition to the usual basic courses, one or two other languages, nearly always including English, are taught.

Another prominent place in the camp is the church. Each group worships under its indigenous religious leader. It is amazing to walk into that church in a former bombed-out building and see the beauty that has been wrought from bits of cloth woven into tapestries and altar cloths, from scraps of tin for chandeliers or candle holders, and the beautiful carvings in wood.

When you visit the rooms of DP's themselves, you will find today in addition to the minimum equipment furnished them, which I described earlier, samples of the work of their hands and imagination. Woven from worn-out stockings and other salvaged articles of clothing, are tiny rugs, tapestries or sweaters for the children.

I have some of those with me.

I recall one small Ukrainian center where 70 women were working in one large room, all knitting gloves and mufflers which were distributed not only to inhabitants of their camp but to others in the vicinity. We have several such self-aid work projects in the zone, again handicapped by the lack of raw material. There just is not raw material available in Germany, and we cannot bring it in.

In 12 assembly centers DP's have organized factories, which are using material from captured enemy stocks or surplus Army stocks, converting them into boys' suits, girls' dresses, children's overcoats, baby dresses, baby blankets, boys' overalls and babies' sleeping bags, which are distributed to other displaced persons. Equipment for these factories consists of many skilled DP hands, and sewing machines on loan from the United States Army or procured by voluntary agencies abroad and brought into Germany.

The average DP is physically fit, is a person who longs to have and to participate in political and religious freedom, is a person who abides by the rules of the community, and has skills, ingenuity, and strength which he wants to put to use in a new permanent home.

Another point which you may feel to be important is that the DP's still residing in the assembly centers of the United States zone are in many respects a picked and carefully weeded group. In the first place, as I have mentioned earlier in discussing law enforcement, we have put criminals in jail. In the second place, a tremendous screening program has been undertaken and accomplished by the United States Army through our zone. A total of 375,310 DP's have been screened to remove from the centers those persons who may have been Volksdeutsch, volunteer members of the SS or Gestapo, and collaborators with the enemy. A total of 37,207 persons, about 10 percent, have been found ineligible and removed from our care.

I hope I have given you a clear picture of those who remain.

One thing I would like to say, outside of the statement, right at this point, is that I have been in, as I say, a great number of these camps and there is considerable variety in the people themselves, in the atmosphere of the camp, and in the housing, and as it is in almost every walk of life, the morale and the activities of the people give a reflection of their leadership.

I have seen some camps which were completely demoralized, where the people were in poor condition. I do not think they would have been fit to go any place.

But with a small change of administration, that same group, being put to work, being given a little material, and given some jobs, people almost change overnight. They do have this resiliency that I mentioned earlier.

One thing that does stand out is that they respond terrifically to good leadership, to an opportunity to work, and to an opportunity to get out of Germany and go to work for themselves and dig new roots.

They are making the best of the situation, at present, although it is a grim one, quite apart from the physical overcrowding and other matters I have described.

There is not enough work to keep them all occupied, as I have pointed out. There is no opportunity for them to plan for their future, for the future of their children, or to help themselves and their families to rebuild their lives. They have kept going in the hope of getting

out of the camps and out of Germany and having a chance to fend for themselves. If the decision is that they are to stay on indefinitely in the camps, hopelessness and deterioration cannot, as I have observed the situation, much longer be averted.

Now, what do the other countries of the world think of DP's?

Officers of our headquarters have done a great deal of work in conjunction with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, with representatives of other nations on the negotiations for the resettlement of displaced persons.

Most of the western European countries and some South American countries are taking at least a few DP's. I understand that England is taking considerable numbers from the British zone of Germany. They are planning on about 15,000 a month, I believe—in addition to assuming the responsibility for 200,000 Poles of the Anders Army.

In our zone 2 or 3 months ago we watched a group leave for Norway. They were laughing and crying with pure joy to be leaving Germany. A short time later a friend of mine in the Norwegian Army gave me an informal report that the Norwegians were happy to have them.

The Belgian Government has contracted to take 20,000 workers with their families, a probable total of from 60,000 to 70,000 DP's, in the next few months. I worked very closely with the Belgian representative in charge of this operation and visited him in Belgium, just before I came here, a month ago. He reported that the first 3,000 workers were already producing in the economy and that the Belgian employers are completely satisfied with the arrangement.

In DP camps, I have picked up letters from these DP's to their families in Germany who will soon join them in Belgium. The letters, of which I have copies with me, indicate the great happiness of the DP immigrants to be at work again, to be producing, to be able to take the money that they had earned from their pockets and put it on a shop counter for food and clothing, rather than have it doled out to them.

Holland is very much interested in taking some of the skilled nurses we have in the zone. Small groups have already entered the Dutch city hospitals as nurses' aides, paid by the city. Holland may also take 8,500 single men and women, artisans and industrial workers.

The French apparently like the caliber of our DP's since members of the French Army have proselyted 300 woodworkers plus 180 family members from Augsburg in our zone and persuaded them to enter the adjoining French zone of occupation for work under the French Army. This is done on an informal basis but indicates the acceptability of DP's to those who know them.

I just happened to dig up that fact, and ran into it, but it does definitely indicate the acceptability of DP's to those who know them.

I have just heard by cable from my headquarters in Frankfurt that an agreement between the French Government and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees has been concluded this month for the employment and permanent resettlement in France of displaced persons from the United States zones of Germany and Austria. This agreement offers opportunities for DP's to obtain industrial, agricultural, mining, and domestic employment, without restriction as to categories and the numbers involved.

French authorities have indicated that up to 50,000 worker immigrants are desired over the next several months.

Mr. CELLER. How many was that?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Up to 50,000. They have not given a definite figure, as I understand it. It will take a little while to clear them and process them and do all the work on them, but we do not expect an immediate exodus. They are to be joined by family members after a period of 60 days for miners and 90 days for other workers.

Sweden and several South American countries are negotiating for DP's to augment their labor pool. Shiploads of DP's have gone to Brazil and Paraguay. One is on the way to Venezuela.

But this is important. All the efforts and agreements now in sight will not solve the problem. They are hopeful indications of what might be accomplished if we joined in. Representatives of other governments definitely indicate that they are waiting to see if we are going to do so.

In attending international conferences, we are constantly met with this question: "What is the United States going to do about these people?"

The Belgian representative said to me, "My country has a population density 8 or 10 times as great as your country's, yet we can handle some DP's, why don't you?"

To this question we had no answer.

It does seem clear, however, that the fourth alternative, to finally liquidate the DP problem by a wide resettlement program, can succeed only in the event that the United States aids in it by admitting a substantial number.

I have tried to give you my observations which bear on your choice of the various alternatives as outlined by General Hilldring. I fully appreciate that this is a matter for the Congress to do and not the soldiers. The American occupation forces have 600,000 DP's under their control. It is for the Congress to determine by its action whether or not the Army is to be directed to turn back these people who were the victims of the Germans, to the Germans. It is for the Congress to determine whether or not the Army should be directed to round them up and send them back against their will to the areas of eastern Europe. It for the Congress to determine, by action or inaction, whether or not they shall continue indefinitely to be maintained in the present camps with such support as the United States taxpayers and those of other countries may contribute. It is for the Congress to determine whether or not resettlement in friendly countries, where they can strike new roots, is a desirable solution, and whether or not it will take steps to participate in that resettlement in a way to make this solution possible.

Mr. FELLOWS. Colonel, you made a very fine statement. We thank you.

I have a few questions.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Sir, if I may, I would like to leave you some pictures. I could not bring with me any displaced persons.

Mr. GRAHAM. Colonel, I think you also have some exhibits. Do you care to leave those for examination?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes, sir. I don't know whether you want them brought out.

Mr. GRAHAM. We are trying to accommodate Governor Lehman so he can get away, but we shall be glad to see them.

Colonel, may I make this suggestion, that you take up each one and just mark on the back of it in lead pencil, 1, 2, 3, and then we can refer to it along with the exhibits. That will accommodate Governor Lehman.

The reason we are suggesting that is that we will be in the floor on a big bill in which we are all vitally interested, the war deficiency bill.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes, sir.

This first picture that I have is just one I mentioned, that these were the healthiest-looking children I had ever seen.

This is just a shot that I happened to take as I walked into the room one day.

I will make that No. 1 and pass that over.

Mr. CELLER. Will you hand them to Mr. Besterman, so he can pass them to us?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. The next picture is in the shop, some of our DP's working in the shop, taking old milk cans and breaking them down into toys.

By the way, some of these ferris wheels and merry-go-rounds they have made, they are giving to my children over there. They are making one for me that they are going to give to one of my boys.

They have nurses in the schools with the doctors.

This is some hand work that has been made from old Wehrmacht material, brief cases, of the German Army. We now make them into boots for DP's, or they make those themselves.

I have a picture of a woodcutting project showing the DP's in the fields.

We have one of a carpenter shop showing the DP's at work there.

We have a cobbler shop.

This picture is an interesting one. They are old rifle butts of the Germany Army that they are making into toys and other items for the DP children.

We have some workers in the fields and our farms, and a machine shop.

Very well. I am ready for questions.

Mr. FELLOWS. Colonel, what effect in your judgment will it have if these people have to stay where they are for a matter of 2, 3, or 4 years? What effect will it have on them?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I do believe that any people who are maintained indefinitely without a purpose in life, without some place where they can dig in, they are going to deteriorate and their morale will deteriorate.

Now the big thing is, there is a rumor around that the United States is considering a bill called the Stratton bill. They may not be able to pronounce it, but they know it has to do with people moving.

When the Belgian people come over to ask for people, when things look favorable on the Palestine matter, the entire situation, the entire morale of the camp, is changed. If just a definite decision were made, the people could work and could work for themselves to rehabilitate themselves over the next few years, even if they had to wait, if our machinery were so slow that we could not move them in fast enough, just the fact that there was a definite program being made, that it

was not this indefinite maintenance, and no action, I believe that they would do better.

Mr. FELLOWS. Why I asked that particular question, it has been suggested that if it is right that we do this thing, we should do it now and not keep them there 2, 3, or 4 years, at 100,000 a year.

Mr. CELLER. One hundred and thirty thousand.

Mr. FELLOWS. All right.

But it is going to be something like 3 years wait, anyway.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I believe that the biggest action is to get a definite commitment.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, let me ask you, how many displaced persons, according to your figures, are in the American zone.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. In the American zone of Germany, about 500,000 or a little over.

In the part of Austria and Italy that were under our control, a little over 600,000, as I stated.

Mr. FELLOWS. Where do we get the figure of 850,000?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Eight hundred and fifty thousand is the camp population for all zones, the French, British.

Mr. FELLOWS. We have had a figure of a million-and-some-odd for all of those.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. And a million includes people who are outside of centers, as I understand it.

Mr. CELLER. Some of these displaced persons are not in camps, but outside camps?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. We will say there are 600,000 or 800,000, taking into consideration those who are outside the camps, but they are still DP's, are they not?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes, sir; that is including the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, and so forth.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes, sir.

I am coming to that in a moment, because the State of Maine passed a bill with reference to the so-called Balts.

Now, many of the men who have appeared before us have spoken about "our fair share."

Has Canada indicated what it will do, as far as you know?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Who is that, sir?

Mr. FELLOWS. Canada.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. No. Its work is gradually increasing in momentum, in Parliament also. They have just these small groups, such as Mr. Dionne and his 100 Polish girls.

Mr. FELLOWS. How many?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Mr. Dionne and his 100 Polish girls. They have a definite commitment; I understand 5,000.

Mr. CELLER. We do not want a repetition of the Dionne incident, do we, where they put them in a slave camp and pay them a pittance for wages?

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Graham.

Mr. GRAHAM. Colonel, I am holding in my hand a clipping taken from the Columbus, Ohio, paper yesterday. I clipped it out over in the library. I do not want to read the whole thing.

For the purpose of directing your attention to my point of inquiry I want to read you a paragraph in this section. It is headed "Immigration paradox":

Reports from England say that the British now are receiving a steady flow of displaced persons from the continent at the rate of about 4,000 a week. The immigrants are carefully screened for their adaptability to jobs in industry and agriculture. They are paid prevailing wages at the demand of the labor unions, so that the pay scales may not break down, and the intent is to absorb them as permanent residents. It is, therefore, a little surprising to read that Ontario Province has slashed through immigration and transportation red tape and will fly 7,000 selected Britons to Canada during the remainder of 1947 for resettlement to fill specific jobs in logging, farming, and mining, for which they are qualified. If the experiment proves successful, more immigrants are expected next year and the following year.

Now, the point of my inquiry is this:

If England is taking these displaced persons and is sending 7,000 of their own to British Ontario, why does not British Ontario accept in the first instance the 4,000 displaced persons a week? What is their reason, do you know? They are unwilling to accept.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I do not know the answer, sir. I believe they are working to take some directly to Canada.

Mr. GRAHAM. I have one other question. This is the last.

Now, frankly, this editorial is not favorable to this proposition but I am not going into the merits of that. This says:

Moreover, with the British already busily culling out the cream of the crop at the 4,000-a-week rate, it is always that America would become in large degree a dumping ground for the undesirables.

Is that correct or not?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. No, sir; I do not believe that.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I ask you, Colonel, what is your understanding of the way this priority provision will operate in this bill, where it says in section 2:

Priority under this Act shall be given to widow, parents, children, and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States or of persons who served honorably in the armed services of the United States during World War II or World War I.

Do you understand that those people who have relatives in this country will have first chance out of the 800,000 to make up the 400,000 which this bill proposes to bring into this country?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I believe so, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is to say, the persons with friends, and the persons with organizations with money, will have first opportunity to come and those without friends and organizations will have to stay; is not that true?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes, sir.

There is an interesting point in that regard. I just heard the day before yesterday from the head of all the affiliated relief and welfare agencies, Dr. Chamberlain, of Columbia, that if they were really geared or could get swinging under way so that they would have an over-all organization that could give guaranties for all groups of people who are in our zone, for each racial group, each religious group, each different type, that can be handled by this amalgamated group.

Why I speak of that is that one of the main arguments that has been advanced to us is the humanity, and I sometimes wonder why

we talk of humanity if those best able to take care of themselves are going to have priority and those who are not able to take care of themselves are going to be left over there?

Mr. CELLER. Is that true?

Mr. FELLOWS. Let him answer it. That is the way the priority will operate, is it not, that those that have friends and influence will be the first to come, and that means that we are taking only 400,000 out of 800,000, and those are the people who will come to America and the 400,000 who are compelled to stay there will be those without friends and without money; do you think that is humanity?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. No; in fact, I am not in the State Department or working on this immigration end. Of course, I am here to tell you the truth about the DP's.

Mr. FELLOWS. I think you have made a splendid statement, and you know who these are and all about them, and I was wondering.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I do believe it can work without any of this, bringing friends, and so on.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have priority in here for a reason, and this 400,000 is a number superimposed over our quota. These people are just brought in without regard to quota, and we have heard this humanity argument here so much, and I am wondering whether you can say it is humane to take these who are best able to take care of themselves and leave those who are not so well able to take care of themselves?

I do not think that is humane. I have had the feeling that if 400,000 would not upset our economy, why not take the 900,000, if the rest of the countries of the world are not going to do it, and I cannot find that Canada or New Zealand or Australia or South Africa have shown any great willingness to do it.

Have you?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. They are taking some, sir, but they are sort of slow and they are all democracies, and they take their time about it.

Mr. GRAHAM. Colonel, what you are saying is that they are waiting for us to take the lead?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Actually, this is the way we feel about it, in the Army.

All I am doing is giving you facts. I am not guessing about what happens in the Government, or State Department.

Mr. FELLOWS. We are not asking you to go outside of your line.

You go ahead; excuse me.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. We have those people on our hands. We actually were very grateful when France and Belgium, and so forth, particularly Belgium, stepped in there and gave some impetus to this whole program, because they are aiding us.

At the same time, of course, they are aiding themselves. They think they are fine people. We think they are, in general, too, the great mass of them.

In fact, if you want my personal opinion, I think they are very good people and I am going to try to take three to the State of Washington to work up there because they are very good forestry men; they are good farmers; and they are, in general, good people.

Mr. FELLOWS. Why I speak of that is this: The State of Maine has passed a law in its legislature inviting the Balts, that is, the Estonians,

Latvians, and Lithuanians, of whom I think it has been said there are about 82,000.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. More than that, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Those are the figures that I have. And I have been informed by the people who have been there and worked among them that only about 800 of the 82,000 would qualify for the priority. That is, they would not have relatives and friends and influential talk.

So I am wondering whether or not this argument we have heard about the humane part of this bill is really well founded.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. As I say, I will be in the work as far as the DP's are concerned, but I will not be in the State Department or the Immigration Service.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. But there is no reason that I can see why that cannot be done, particularly with the assurances that we have now, from, for instance, the organizations of Baltic peoples, the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, and all the churches that have gathered together, who are sponsoring them.

Those are certainly responsible people, and there would be no reason why those "Joe Doaks Splavoskys," or something, cannot be moved over here by an organization. And they will be moved by that organization. I believe it is humanitarian and that we can do it.

Mr. FELLOWS. But you see, Colonel, 400,000 people are going to be left in Europe after this bill is passed and we have taken our 400,000. And in this bill specifically there is a paragraph granting priority for certain ones.

Mr. CELLER. I might say, Colonel, that the chairman has not asked a question. He has made a statement which is perfectly sound.

Mr. FELLOWS. My precedent is Emanuel Celler for the past 6 weeks.

Mr. CELLER. Right; and I might say, Colonel, that that precedent follows the spirit of our immigration statutes, which seek to unite families. And if there are those parts of a family in the United States, we usually give preference and most earnest consideration to the rest of the family who may be abroad, to the end that the families might be united.

Furthermore, the priority that is spoken of is priority to war veterans, and many of our statutes, new and old, provide preference to veterans.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is not a question, Mr. Celler.

Mr. CELLER. That is a statement. I simply do it to counter your statement. Your statement, of course, was very proper from your point of view. I disagree with it.

So when Mr. Stratton offered his bill, he was simply following the lead that he gets from our permanent statutes.

Do you not think it would be proper to give preference to those who are closely connected with veterans who have gone through harrowing experiences in the war and who want to have their relatives brought over to this side? Do you not think that is proper?

Mr. FELLOWS I would not object to that's being done. My point is the rest of the paragraph.

Mr. CELLER. Don't you think it would proper likewise, for purposes of assimilation, which is a word we hear very repeatedly, that it would be best to get those who are closely connected to the citizens

on this side of the Atlantic over here? Don't you think that is proper?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. That would sound like a practical thing to do.

If I may say so again, I do not know a terrific amount about the bill, or exactly how it is drawn up. As I say, I was just brought over here to answer all your questions.

Mr. GRAHAM. You are not familiar with the technical details of the bill?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I have not gone into the technical details of the bill, and I am not qualified to answer on that. I think I am the best qualified man to talk on the DP's.

Mr. CELLER. Now, it has been stated that influential groups will seek to get preference.

The influential groups whose representatives appeared before us were groups like the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, individuals representing the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and similar organizations.

Don't you think that we can place some faith and reliance upon these organizations and that they would do the just and proper thing in the selection of these immigrants?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes, sir; I do. I am very optimistic about it.

Mr. FELLOWS. The trouble with that, Colonel, is that they are not going to select relatives, I hope.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Not necessarily.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am talking about the provisions in there that mention that.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I am speaking of your point, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am talking about the provision that says that priority shall be given to the widow, parents, children, and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States.

Mr. CELLER. I do not think that there is anything in the testimony giving the exact amount of those relatives or those closely connected in certain degrees of consanguinity of citizens and war veterans.

Mr. FELLOWS. There will be this morning if we have time, because there is a man here who worked with them. And I am talking about the Balts, because my own State has specifically passed a law asking for, or inviting, the Balts to the State of Maine, even up to the 82,000.

Now, I have it on very good authority from one who worked with them for a period of time and talked with them that 800, only, out of the 82,000 would qualify under the priority provision.

Somebody has to be left over there, namely 400,000, because our fair share is 400,000, and that is going to leave somebody. I do not think that those who are the least able to take care of themselves should necessarily be the ones that are left there.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Sir, I actually do not think we are going to have that much trouble. As I say, I think that I have been in every Baltic camp in the zone and know their leaders very well. In fact, I have dinner with them, and have them over at the house now. Some of them are very excellent people, and we discuss everything under the sun.

There are only a few who do have relatives here. But of this 400,000, that leaves plenty of spaces open for a lot of people to come over here, and who will come under the auspices of these welfare groups and these religious groups.

As I say, they have never been called into play before because we have always had a quota system which holds down the number of Latvians, for instance, to around 100 and some a year, out of our 200,000 Balts in general.

Of the total Balts, about 800 a year can come into the United States under the old quota system. And we have 200,000. They would be there forever if you are going to bring them here under the quota. But under this bill, there is no reason why, in addition to the ones that have come over under priority, because they have relatives, there is still plenty of room to come in the same year and the same shiploads with people who do not have relatives, to take them into my State or put them out on farms in Kansas, Nebraska, and so forth.

I have talked with some members of the Australian Government. I worked with these people at the conference table in Frankfurt. And their remarks are just the same as those that I have made in my statement, that everyone seems to take a little impetus from everybody else. Everybody stands around waiting for somebody else to take the lead.

They do not believe we have to take the works. But if we make a definite commitment, I believe it will encourage Australia, Brazil, and France to take more. And we will be able to say, "Look, we are doing this now. How about you? You are a member of the United Nations. You have some humanitarianism in your hearts and souls, and let us get this problem liquidated."

I think we can move the other 400,000.

Mr. FELLOWS. Why should we not take the 800,000? Wouldn't it be fairer to say we are opening our doors not to those who have relatives and money, necessarily, but to those who need help?

Mr. CELLER. Would the chairman admit all 800,000?

Mr. FELLOWS. I am asking the Colonel.

Mr. GRAHAM. That is the question.

Mr. FELLOWS. I will tell you this. I think it would be fairer than to pick out 400,000 and leave behind those who are, as I repeat, of the two groups, less able to take care of themselves.

Mr. CELLER. I do not think that those left behind would be less able to take care of themselves. I do not think that is a fair statement, although it is made with utmost sincerity.

But don't you think, Colonel, that if we take the lead and say that we will admit, over a 4-year period at the rate of 100,000 a year, 400,000, that would set a wondrous example for other nations to follow? And don't you think that they would follow, to the end that this entire problem will become dissipated?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I believe so. It would certainly help us a lot.

Mr. CELLER. I beg your pardon?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. It would certainly help us a lot in our agreements.

Mr. CELLER. I presume that you worked with General Hilldring. Is that not true?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. No, sir.

Mr. CELLER. You did not?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I worked in Europe——

Mr. CELLER. You stated that already Belgium, Holland, Great Britain, and Sweden, and I understand Norway and Canada, also, have taken some of these DP's, and that the South American countries have already indicated that they would take some; is that correct?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. Now, just because up to this point we have received no news or information that New Zealand and Australia and South Africa, which have large land masses and insufficient populations for their economy, have not as yet indicated they would take any of the DP's, does that mean that they will not take some, if we take them?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. No, sir. In fact, in Berlin—this is just an informal thing—I talked with some old friends of mine, Aussies, who fought with me in north Africa. They are back on staff work, and they say, "We can use them, and we would like to have them." It just takes a little while there to get their Congressmen, who are parliamentarians, to get the thing organized and get it rolling.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, to decide on some number, no matter what that number might be, to agree to something and get the ball rolling and get it started?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I do not name it. I say that we should take DP's into this country. As to whether we can handle them——

Mr. FELLOWS. That means the total number; is that right, Colonel?

Mr. CELLER. That is right; the total of 400,000.

Mr. FELLOWS. No. I say the total number, 800,000.

Is that what you are referring to?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. No. I want to make pretty sure of this.

In fact, I think we are in a good position, and we can sort of set up and take whatever we want out of that group, and it would be a beautiful thing.

Mr. CELLER. Colonel, you must know, of course, every bit of legislation is a result of compromise. If we attempted to put 800,000 in this bill in common parlance it would not get to first base. And I am sure the members of the committee realize that.

One of the reasons why the bill was drafted so as to provide for the entrance of these DP's over a 4-year period was to wear some of the opposition down. There would be absolute opposition to the bill if we took 800,000. There would be absolute opposition to the bill if we took 400,000 in a month.

To cushion the blow, to use again words of common parlance, the bill was drafted so that we would take only 100,000 a year.

I personally would prefer 400,000 immediately, because I think it would be the humane thing to do that. But there are many Members of Congress who would not swallow this as being palatable. That is why it was put in there as 100,000 a year over a 4-year period. That is a compromise.

Mr. CHELF. Do you have anything in your card-index system that you spoke about here a while ago which would indicate those that are in the camps that have relatives or friends here in the United States. Do you have any information along that line? That is along the lines of the question that the chairman asked there a while ago that there seemed to be a little disturbance about.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes, sir. It varies. Some districts of our zone have done a better job, the local administrators, in doing that thing. On some, we may not have the complete, over-all thing. But in general we have a list of the relatives in countries such as those in North America, South America, and Australia.

It would be very simple to fill those blank jobs. We may be able to get them very rapidly.

Mr. CHELF. What percentage would you say that you have now already available?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Those who have relatives?

Mr. CHELF. Yes, or who have so declared them.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. In the United States?

Mr. CHELF. In the United States; primarily here.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I cannot answer that; I am sorry. I can find out for you, possibly.

Mr. CHELF. Now, Colonel, there is one thing that I would like to ask you.

You said they had vocational centers and were teaching these folks the various arts and jobs and trades and that sort of thing.

What is being done about teaching them the English language?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. I mentioned that.

Mr. CHELF. I noticed you mentioned that. But is any concerted effort being made along that line?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. That is left up to the people themselves. We do not force any type of education on them.

Mr. CHELF. Are they receptive to the study of the English language?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes; definitely. In fact, people all over the world realize that. Of course, our armies have spread all over, and in Congress we have taken such a terrific leading role that almost everybody is trying to speak English. Of the second- and third-choice languages, English is usually one.

In the schools you do have instruction in English in most instances.

Mr. CHELF. What percentage would you say of the DP's select English as a study?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. If they select a second language, I would say that at least 75 or 80 percent would select English.

Mr. CHELF. Now, there was a statement there, Colonel, on page 13 that you made, in which you said, I think, that there were about 10 percent of those who were found out to be collaborators or those who had worked with the SS or the Gestapo.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. That is not quite clear, Mr. Chelf, to the people in the camps. We had to set a date, as I mentioned before, August 1, 1945. We said to the people if they were not in the United States zone of Germany by August 1, 1945, we could not admit them into the camps.

We were forestalling a possible terrific expense of taking care of people who might be coming back into camps for reasons other than persecution or for religious persecution. We just had to close our camps. We would still hold them in the zone and try to help them. But we could not put them in our camps.

Mr. CHELF. Now, there is a statement here that a total of 375,310 DP's have been screened to remove from the centers those persons

who have been voluntary members of the SS and Gestapo and collaborators with the enemy.

What disposition was made of that 37,207?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. In the first place, approximately 450 people were found to be people that we call automatic arrestees, people who had gotten into the DP camps, and it took a few months in the camp for the DP's to locate these people for us and to bring them to our attention.

You see, they are a good screening agency themselves. They will chuck out Communists and Fascists among their number better than we can. They are very good screeners, because they hate both of those systems. And they have pointed out to us, as I say, about 450 who were actually in what we call the automatic arrestee category, people from other nations who had volunteered for service with the SS or had worked in the Gestapo or with major collaborators, and that type of stuff.

They go to jail. We take care of them fast.

Mr. CHELF. I see.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Then the next ones were ones who were lesser people. Some of them were good people. They were non-collaborators, but they were in another zone and traveled down into our zone, perhaps just looking around and maybe looking for relatives whom they did not find.

If they found relatives, we did not separate them, and would allow a man who had come from the French zone to enter a DP camp to join his wife, if she was there. But if he was alone and had come down into our zone, we just had to draw the line some place as to the number of people we could handle in our camps and pay about a dollar a day to take care of.

Mr. CHELF. Now, that 10 percent that were found ineligible and were removed from your care, what disposition was made of those? Were they handled en masse, or just over a period of time as the screening process developed? How did it work?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Exactly in this way: The screening team of American Army personnel, with the assistance of the camp administrators, civilians, would screen the people. Lists would be compiled of those declared ineligible for our care.

That list was turned over to what is called the Fliegelingskommissar; that is, the German Refugee Commissioner, or Minister, whose responsibility it is to make arrangements to find them housing.

We take up their DP identification cards and food-ration cards from them, and they are turned over to the Germans. The Germans then issue them a Lebensmittel card, or food card, and a German identification card, and apply to the Arbeitsamt, or the Labor Office.

Then they are treated as Germans. They are treated in a similar manner, then, as the people who come in from the east, such as the expellees from the Sudetenland and the Schwebians from Hungary.

Mr. CHELF. Do you have any camp at all that has these orphaned children who have lost their fathers and mothers and every other member of their families? Is any special care or consideration given to these children, or are they just given free reign, I mean, to be in any of the camps? Just what is done with them?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. In general, if there is someone who does not have someone to vouch for him, an aunt or an uncle, if they are unaccompanied children, to put it this way, or if they have not been adopted by a family who has taken them as a responsibility, to cook their food for them and see to their good health, and all that, then they go to children's centers.

I cannot say exactly how many there are. I have been in two or three of them, and have inspected them.

Mr. CHELF. Where there are mostly children, all together?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. Yes. In fact, they were all children, except for certain displaced persons who would administer them. They are teachers and administrators in the camps.

Mr. CHELF. Colonel, you do not have to answer this question unless you want to. I do not want to put you on the spot, because I know your situation. After all, you are in the service, and as you say, you have been kind enough to come over and give us these facts which we very, very much want.

What, in your opinion, would be a substantial number? You have mentioned a substantial number of these DP's. What in your opinion would be a substantial number?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. That is a very difficult question. I would say roughly this 400,000, for my money, is all right. I am just speaking as Jerry Sage, and not for the Army. But it actually would not be a bad idea to take the ones that we would screen out and find will fit under our immigration laws.

You know, we are going to screen people more before we bring them over here. Of course, they have to have affidavits that they will be taken care of over here. And of the, say, 600,000 that we actually have under the United States Army, I would personally like to see the ones come out of our own zone first.

Of course, we do not want to adopt any basis entirely, because we do not want the other countries to say, such as France, that she will take just from her own zone, and England from hers.

Actually, I think we could take 400,000 out of our zone.

Mr. CHELF. Then that would leave approximately 400,000?

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. In the United States zone in Germany, it would leave over 100,000. We have 354,000 now in camps, most of whom we could get in shape to move out, that is, that we could screen just to make sure that we were getting the type of people that we wanted, and so forth.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you very much. Colonel.

Lieutenant Colonel SAGE. On these matters of the handcraft, I have these knitted things and the carved boxes that the DP's make to keep themselves busy. They do not like to be idle.

I have them available, and you gentlemen might see them later on.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Lehman, we are glad to have you with us.

Mr. CELLER. I want to welcome Governor Lehman, who has been a distinguished Governor of our State and a true humanitarian, and will continue to be a true humanitarian.

Mr. LEHMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, may I have the privilege of reading a statement that is not very long?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes, sir.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, REPRESENTING NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL AND CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. LEHMAN. I am here today on behalf of the National Community Relations Advisory Council and its constituent organizations. These organizations include 6 national Jewish agencies, and 24 regional, State, and local Jewish community councils throughout the United States. The national agencies are: the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

A regional council for the Southwest embraces virtually all Jewish communities in a tri-State area. State-wide member councils are those in Indiana and Minnesota. The city-wide councils are in the following cities:

Akron, Ohio
Baltimore, Md.
Boston, Mass.
Bridgeport, Conn.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Cincinnati, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
Detroit, Mich.
Indianapolis, Ind.
Kansas City, Mo.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Milwaukee, Wis.
Newark, N. J.
New Haven Conn.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rochester, N. Y.
St. Louis, Mo.
San Francisco, Calif.
Springfield, Mass.
Oakland, Calif.

I am submitting herewith resolutions and letters indicating the stand of these and other Jewish organizations. I also am able to say that H. R. 2910 is supported by the American Jewish Conference, comprising 62 affiliated national membership organizations, which include all the major Zionist organizations; and by the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, the National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, with its more than 260 local Jewish communal organizations, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the American Council for Judaism, and the National Council of Jewish Women. Thus, I speak for virtually all Jewish agencies in the United States engaged in philanthropic and communal activities.

More than 2 years after the conclusion of a victorious war by the Allied Nations against the forces of barbarism and inhumanity, in which we spent hundreds of billions of dollars to free human beings from nazism, the first victims of nazism and the most heavily penalized of those victims, who looked forward with joy and hope to liberation, are still in concentration camps.

Those camp inmates, known by the stereotyped name of displaced persons, stand on the doorstep of our compassion, of our conscience, and of our honor even though they are not yet on the threshold of this or any other land of permanent refuge. They are an undeniable fact which cannot be shrugged off or explained away. There are 850,000 homeless victims of man's inhumanity to man waiting in the camps of Europe—old and young, men and women, innocent victims even as you or I might have been made, homeless wanderers, bereft of our loved ones and dependent on the mercy of civilization.

Among these people are representatives of many nations, numerous ethnic groups, and varieties of religious faiths. Among them are

Balts, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, Poles, Hungarians, Germans, and Austrians.

During the past 2 years, emergency assistance has been extended by the Allied armies and other agencies, but these emergency gestures are no solution of the urgent problem which still confronts us. For this problem there are only three possible solutions to remove the burden which is now met on an emergency basis at the cost of the American taxpayers. A fourth solution no one seriously considers; namely, keeping open the refugee camps permanently.

The three solutions of the displaced persons problem are:

First, their immediate emigration to permanent homes.

Second, their forced repatriation to the homes from which they were driven or have fled.

Third, their integration into the Austrian and German communities. Of the three solutions outlined, the third—that is, integration of the displaced persons into the German and Austrian communities—is obviously impossible. A Germany diminished in area is already overcrowded with 10,000,000 Germans sent back to Germany from other countries. The displaced persons themselves, who either fought against Germany or were carried there as slave laborers, could never become a part of the German social organism. Moreover, the economic condition of Germany is such that there is no place for them.

As for the second suggested solution—forced repatriation—the American Government has consistently maintained that displaced persons should not be forced to return to the countries of origin from which they were driven or fled because of political persecution. It has been the Russian thesis and that of her satellites that the displaced persons should be returned even against their will to those countries of origin. This thesis our Government and our Army have resisted.

The world now looks to us to prove that another solution of this problem can be effectuated. A failure on our part in vision, leadership, and demonstration of responsibility will add force to the arguments of those in Europe who charge that the American people and Government are quicker to talk than to act and that they do not practice the principles they preach.

It has now become our responsibility to act, to lead, and to show the world the way in meeting a problem which is international and in which we have our inescapable portion. Freedom-loving people throughout the world look to the United States as the focal point of democratic and moral leadership. If we turn our backs on the displaced persons, our leadership will be viewed with shattered faith. If we show the way, the problem will be solved.

For such action on our part, quite aside from its vindication of our honor and our leadership before the world, there are the best of practical reasons. Permanent relocation of displaced persons would relieve a great burden now borne by our occupation forces in Europe, for which the American taxpayer is paying the bills. Such action on our part would be the most forceful proof to the democratic groups in Europe, who still look to us, that the democracies can act decisively and effectively to back up their basic political beliefs.

As a matter of fact, the American Government and the United States Army, to their honor, were responsible for the decision not to force people to return to their countries of origin when they were

averse to doing so on religious or political grounds. Shall we now go back on that decision? Shall these people who, 2 years ago, with the victory of the Allied armies, looked forward to liberation, be kept indefinitely in the international vacuum of concentration camps?

To ask this question is to answer it. These displaced persons have a claim on all nations and on all humanity. Far from being, as the name "displaced persons" implies, people who are passive, without skill, ability, initiative, or hope, they have much to give. The testimony of those who have visited the camps where they are housed is unanimous to the effect that many of the camp inmates are doing miracles of social organization and training with a minimum of resources.

Despite the horrors they have had to endure, they have, as one skilled observer puts it, "an almost obsessive will to live normally again." They have created workshops, clubrooms, and classrooms out of old garages and stables. They have made playing fields for their young people. They have taught one another and learned new trades and occupations. Their social organizations have provided for street cleaning, repair of buildings and equipment, distribution of supplies, setting up of clinics, even the publication of camp newspapers and the performance of orchestral music.

When one remembers that these are people indiscriminately herded together, after passing anywhere from months to long years in the Nazi dungeon of Europe, their activities become a wonderful tribute to the undying spirit of hope and determination in humanity. I have seen these displaced persons and I have had first-hand reports of their character and their activities. They know what freedom means, having been deprived of it. Their talents and loyalties would be as valuable to us today and in the future as those of the immigrants in the past. I know that they are first-rate material for citizens of a democracy and for American citizenship. The victims of totalitarianism make good defenders of democracy.

Our responsibility before the world to these people is a special one. We are the inheritors and custodians of a continent dedicated to the service of human freedom. Those who subdued this continent and built America were all immigrants. Indeed, we are a nation of immigrants. It is immigrants who brought to this land the skills of their hands and brains to make of it a beacon of opportunity and of hope for all men. In our national past, immigrants have represented not a liability, but riches. Immigration helped to make America industrially great. It is the sons and daughters of immigrants who built up the land and defended it in its wars. It is immigrants from all parts of the world who have contributed not merely the labor of building the Nation, but the thought and spirit which is at the center of its national evolution.

It is 15 years since the annual immigration quota of our country was filled. During the war years, only 7 percent—1 in 14 of the immigrants authorized under the law—were able to come to this country. Those countries which have the largest quotas—England and the Scandinavian lands—never filled their quotas during the 22 years the present immigration law has been in effect. Inasmuch as immigration quotas under our law may not be transferred from one country to another, or carried over from 1 year to the next, thousands of human beings with

their hopes, their capacities, their gifts, and perhaps their genius, have been denied entrance to our country while unused quota numbers have been allowed to lapse in waste. Moreover, the requirement that no country can use more than 10 percent of its annual quota in any one month has also operated to defer and make sick the hopes of thousands of human beings, anxiously and all but despairingly awaiting liberation.

Here is a situation that claims not merely our deep sympathy and understanding; it demands prompt action. We cannot expect of prisoners in camps, wronged by men and forgotten by society, that they shall continue year after year to nurture their hope and their faith. Faith, too, must have sustenance to sustain it. There must be hope in the future or the present becomes unbearable. It is possible to kill people's spirits, and we have had many warnings already that help to the European camp inmates has been long overdue.

It is in our power to save these human beings and the riches of their hands and spirits. The time is long overdue for us to become mindful with renewed intensity of America's proud tradition of asylum and hope and opportunity for the oppressed. We cannot make amends to those who have lost their nearest and their dearest in the merciless fires of persecution and war. We cannot restore to them the homes that are destroyed, the intimate possessions they loved, and the scenes among which they lived that guided their memory of years gone by. These, unfortunately, we cannot restore. But we can hold out the hand of human fellowship and of welcome. We can acknowledge our responsibility as part of the universal human and international responsibility to these sufferers from war. We can offer hope and opportunity.

Those to whom we can offer a haven in the United States are not merely recipients awaiting charity. They are a resource upon which, for practical reasons, we have every reason to call. Of late years, our birth rate has been steadily falling. Within 25 years, statisticians warn us, there might be more deaths than births each year in the United States. Other democracies, such as Great Britain, France, and the Scandinavian countries, are facing similar trends while populations elsewhere in the world are rising rapidly. Moreover, it is a matter of record that even recent wartime immigrants have introduced new products and new processes which have provided jobs for thousands of American workers. In 1946, a survey of operational skills to be found among the people in the displaced persons camps revealed that among 228,000 men whose occupations were reported, some 60,000 were agricultural workers, 18,000 were construction workers, and another 18,000 were skilled in such industries as textiles, leather, copper, and steel.

With the present shortage of trained nurses in this country, it is significant that the survey found among the displaced persons more than 4,000 nurses and 2,000 other health workers. The professional workers' survey included 7,000 teachers, 3,000 physicians and dentists, and 4,000 engineers—civil, mechanical, industrial, and mining. Surely these are people and skills which, far from being a liability to our country, could be of utmost service in the difficult years that lie before us. This is not to place the argument in favor of admitting displaced persons on a purely expedient and practical basis. Our moral and humanitarian responsibility remains.

As Life magazine put it in an editorial:

If we are to remain the leading nation of one world, we also have a deep moral obligation not to be too exclusive. No other nation represents so many blood strains or has amalgamated so many viewpoints; that is an asset in our foreign relations which, if we really believe in it, gives us a special claim to leadership and a special duty to "set an example." The constitution of the United Nations proclaims the universality of human rights and freedoms, a clause the United States has often invoked and argued for. How can we then be so complacent about our immigration policy? Above all, in God's name can we go on doing nothing about those DP's.

There are special provisions in the bill now before the Congress which enable members of our armed forces, our veterans who have relatives in overseas camps, who saw them there and want to bring them to this country, to enable them to do so. Surely, this in itself is a claim upon us which we cannot repudiate.

Let us be mindful that our years of greatest immigration have been our years of greatest national prosperity. Let us remember that immigration has brought to America needed skills to relieve the shortages which were slowing down our economy. Let us be mindful of those immigrants like Andrew Carnegie, David Sarnoff, William Knudsen, Alexander Graham Bell, Joseph Pulitzer, and Albert Einstein, who have brought to this country the genius which has made us preeminent in the arts of peace and hitherto invincible in war. In the realm of atomic energy, immigration, in addition to Dr. Einstein, gave us Enrico Fermi and Lise Meitner. In the realm of music, there are Arturo Toscanini and Bruno Walter; and in literature, Thomas Mann.

The fear that admission of displaced persons will result in taking jobs away from Americans is not well-founded. More than 50 percent of the displaced people are women and children. In any case the number proposed to be admitted is so small in proportion to our total population that it cannot create any serious employment problem. This fact has been recognized by the leading labor organizations of the country, which are endorsing the present bill.

A considerable number of the prospective immigrants are not even within the competitive field of employment since more than 50 percent of the displaced persons are women and children. Certainly the labor organizations of the United States would oppose this legislation if it threatened the employment of their members. Yet both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have publicly supported the Stratton bill.

Moreover, there is no possibility that any of these prospective immigrants may become a public charge. Friends, relatives, organized groups of diverse religious faiths have seen to it that none of those admitted thus far has become a public charge on any American community. The same measures will be taken to insure that no immigrant in this classification becomes a public charge in the future.

The same readiness to take care of the prospective immigrants applies in the field of housing. A study made of 2,976 displaced persons who arrived here during 1946, published by Mr. Earle G. Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, and dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, shows that they settled in 156 communities, large and small, throughout 35 States from coast to coast. The study showed a willingness on the part

of relatives and friends to house the new arrivals, assuring that they would not take homes away from veterans and other Americans.

Statistics compiled by the United Service for New Americans, one of the active immigration organizations in this country, have revealed that since 1934 immigrants have settled throughout the 48 States of the Union. Their rapid absorption in this country as participating citizens is attested by the findings of the Committee for the study of Recent Immigration from Europe (cited in *Refugees in America* by Prof. Maurice R. Davie of Yale University, published by Harper & Bros., p. 192). This study shows that of refugees over 21 years of age, who had been here 5 years or more, 82.7 percent had attained citizenship, 11.1 percent had applied for their second papers, 5.5 percent had applied for or received their first papers and less than 1 percent had failed to take any step toward the attainment of United States citizenship.

The ability and eagerness of refugees to serve this country was strikingly demonstrated in their war service. Thirty-four percent of male refugees between the ages of 18 and 44 were in the armed service of this country as of December 23, 1943, according to records of the Jewish Welfare Board (cited on p. 197 of Davie) and this percentage is almost exactly the same as for the total number of men in the armed forces from the entire United States. Some of the refugees did outstanding work in the intelligence services, many were decorated for valor. On the home front, of some 11,233 cases investigated more than 96 percent contributed to the war effort in various ways including the purchase of war bonds and donations of blood to the Red Cross.

This, gentlemen, is the situation. You will permit me a special word about the Jewish displaced persons. For, as I said at the outset, I represent particularly Jews, who form less than 20 percent of the displaced persons.

For these people, many of the countries of Europe are the graveyards of their loved ones. The 6,000,000 Jewish dead who fell victims of Hitler's merciless savagery have left scattered survivors only. If they wanted to go home, for the most part there are no homes left for them to return to. They are of a people which made the costliest, percentagewise the greatest, sacrifices in the war of civilization against the Nazi barbarism. They have, I think, a special and unique claim on the sympathy and the charity of mankind.

As it happens, the Jewish displaced persons are of a very young age group. More than 70 percent of the Jewish displaced persons fall in the adaptable ages between 18 and 44 and can, therefore, easily adjust themselves to conditions in a new country. That they are a vigorous element is proved by the fact that they have been able to survive the worst massacre and the most savage persecution in all history. Many of them are accomplished artisans, mechanics, and professional workers.

These victims of persecution and bigotry and war look to the nations of the world, but chiefly to the United States of America. Where we lead, the other nations will follow. If we do not act, if we shirk our solemn responsibility, if the displaced persons are not speedily removed from the camps of Europe, grave human deterioration must necessarily follow. That deterioration will bring great trouble for all concerned.

The only elements in Europe which can benefit by the continuation of the displaced persons camps will be the forces of disorder and chaos already working to turn the European Continent against the American ideals we maintain and live by. Let us now, then, adopt the proposed measure for the admission of displaced persons of Europe to our shores. Let us do this in the knowledge that every single American is a child or descendant of immigrants or an immigrant himself. Let us take this action in solemn reaffirmation of American leadership for defense of those values for which generations of Americans have died on the battlefields of the world.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, Governor.

I notice that you made the statement, "Let us now, then, adopt the proposed measure for the admission of displaced persons."

You heard my question to the other witness.

You are speaking of bringing in the displaced persons. In my question to a former witness, in reference to the argument of humanity, which is an excellent one, I wonder if it would not be more humane to take them all than to select one-half of them?

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Chairman, of course, so far as I am concerned, I would be very glad if we took a larger number and if we took them more speedily than this bill provides, but I am sufficiently realistic to appreciate the difficulties of getting a bill through and therefore I assume that you gentlemen in your wisdom will take that into consideration.

Mr. FELLOWS. Ex-Senator Gillette testified here a few days ago, and he said that there was an over-all question and that this was only a part of it and this question would solve nothing, so far as the larger question is concerned and that the Palestine question was inextricably interwoven in this proposition in Europe, and that it should be solved through the United Nations and that when we passed the IRO bill permitting us to join the International Refugee Organization, that was the step in the right direction.

What do you say to that?

Mr. LEHMAN. May I say, Mr. Chairman, that I am interested, although I am here representing Jewish organizations, I am deeply interested in the plight of displaced persons, gentile, as well as Jew. I think they are the most pitiable group of people in the world.

Mr. FELLOWS. I understand that.

Mr. LEHMAN. I do not agree with former Senator Gillette in any way. So far as the Jewish question is concerned, the admission of the 400,000 displaced persons of all nationalities, of all religious faiths, will not completely solve the problems under any circumstances. The admission of Jews into Palestine is a most important facet of that problem. The admission, however, of that part of the displaced persons which happen to be Jews and which will bear the same relationship, as I understand it, as Jews bear to the entire camp population, will be of very great help, and certainly so far as displaced persons are concerned while it will not take care of the entire number in the camps, it will go a long, long ways to alleviate the situation.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any questions?

Mr. CELLER. Governor, of course you know that the bill that was recently passed by Congress relative to the International Refugee Organization specifically provided that it did not involve any immigration to the United States without congressional enactment.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is quite true.

Mr. FELLOWS. You do agree with the Senator to this extent, that this does not solve the problem.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think the Senator gave the impression that he was against this bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. No, no; he did not.

Mr. LEHMAN. He did not?

Mr. FELLOWS. He said that he would favor it with amendments, without indicating what amendments.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Chairman, I again want to say this, that there are left in Europe a pitifully small remnant of 1,500,000 Jews of a community of 7,500,000 that lived there before the war, outside of Russia. Many of that 1,500,000 are unhappy. They look on Palestine as a means of obtaining refuge, peace, and security, and also to satisfy certain spiritual aspirations. Many will go there.

Obviously, the entire Jewish problem will not be disposed of or settled, because of the passage of this bill, but this bill, I am convinced, will go a long way in alleviating the situation which to my way of thinking is by far the most urgent today, and that is to bring these poor people who have been living in these camps now for more than 2 years, who have no homes, to bring to them an opportunity of securing the benefits of peace and security in a democratic land.

Mr. FELLOWS. One of my criticisms of the bill is that it will take 3 years, or 4 years, to bring these people in. If it is right should it not be done now?

Mr. LEHMAN. Obviously, as far as I personally am concerned, I would be very glad to see the speed with which they would be admitted increased, but I again repeat that I am sufficiently realistic to know that we cannot get everything we would like to get, and I am perfectly willing to leave it to you gentlemen in your wisdom to decide what we can get.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any questions?

Mr. CELLER. In other words, you are realistic enough to know that to bring in 100,000 a year over 4 years might have a better chance of passage than to try to get a bill passed which seeks to bring them in at once?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is quite true. I again repeat that I would be glad to see the speed of the authority, or the speed of the immigration increased, if it were possible.

Mr. CELLER. Governor, you will agree that this Stratton bill does not involve a Jewish problem in its entirety, because only 20 percent of the DP's are Jews; is that not correct?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is quite correct. I do not think it is exclusively or even primarily a Jewish problem.

Mr. CELLER. And this is, as far as the Jews are concerned, a problem that is far reaching, for want of a better term, over-all, and that the passage of the Stratton bill will not solve that problem in its entirety, but will go a great way toward its solution.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. CELLER. Thank you, Governor.

Mr. LEHMAN. I want to emphasize one thing, too. It is not what these people need, but it gives some hope and assurance that they have a chance. Today they are sitting in these camps. They are doing their utmost to keep their spirits up, and to work, and they have had

no assurance that the situation is going to be any better in a year or 2 years from now that it was 2 years ago or a year ago, and at the present moment.

This bill will at least not only give a certain number a chance to find peace and security but will hold out hope to a very much larger group.

Mr. CELLER. Governor, you ask for passage of this bill not only on grounds of humanity but on grounds of our own selfish interest; is not that correct?

Mr. LEHMAN. That is quite true.

I cannot help but be deeply impressed with what I have found in a reasonably thorough study of industrial conditions in this country for many years past. I cannot help but feel deeply impressed by the fact that the periods of greatest prosperity in this country were during the periods of the greatest immigration, from 1900, let us say, to 1920, and that the greatest depression in our history, a depression which brought us unemployment to an extent of 12,000,000 people at one time, came during a period, or immediately after a period, in which there had been substantially no immigration at all for some years, from 1931 to 1940, and 1938.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, Governor.

There is one man here who has been waiting for a long time, and perhaps he would be willing to give us a short statement.

Mr. Klemme, would you come forward and perhaps put in your statement into the record?

What is your full name, with whom have you been employed, and whom are you representing?

STATEMENT OF MARVIN KLEMME, FORMER OFFICIAL, UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. KLEMME. My full name is Marvin Klemme. I spent almost 2½ years with UNRRA. About 2 years have been spent in the British zone as forestry and agricultural adviser most of the time and later as zone employment officer for the British zone. During that time I was able to cover most of the British zone.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, you are a Yale graduate in forestry?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes, sir. And I was during that time in practically every camp inside the British zone.

I made brief trips in the American zone and the French zone, and I had more or less supervision of employment of several thousand of those people.

Should I read the brief statement which I have prepared?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes; if you care to. You may start it. I do want to ask you one or two questions.

Mr. KLEMME. I have just returned from Europe after spending over 2 years with UNRRA looking after the displaced persons. Most of the time was spent in the British zone of Germany, but I also spent some time in the United States and French zones as well. I served for over a year as the forestry and agricultural adviser to the zone director and the remainder of the time was spent as zone employment officer.

In these positions I was permitted to cover a great deal of territory and in the employment program I was more or less in charge of thousands of these people of all nationalities. I therefore had the

opportunity to make a thorough appraisal of these people as potential citizens of the United States. I may say offhand that there are some very fine people among them and also a few scoundrels.

I believe that, without question, the cream of the DP's the the Balts; that is, the Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians. They are the people that I had the most dealings with, because almost all of them are foresters; that is, the Baltic people. They are people that live in forest country, and are very skilled in that type of work.

These people are from the three little Baltic ex-Republics that are now taken over by Soviet Russia. These people are nearly all skilled foresters and agriculturalists. Even the business and professional people among them are skilled in this type of work, for most city people in these countries also own a farm. They were on record as being opposed to communism, and when the Russians moved in, they moved out just ahead of the Russians. Except for the few that managed to get over to Sweden, there was no other place for them to go but on into Germany.

If our Government is serious in wanting to settle and develop Alaska, here is an opportunity that should not be passed up. These people would make the finest kind of settlers up there. Most of them are in family units, so that the men would have their wives with them. The men are all skilled craftsmen and could build their houses from logs and make all of their furniture. The women are excellent homemakers and know how to make all kinds of clothing, preserve food, cook, and so forth. They are all clean and highly intelligent.

I would say also that in my work I helped set up a good many agricultural and forestry training schools, and navigation and fishery schools, and the educational standards of these people would compare very favorably with what you would find in Sweden or in any other Scandinavian countries, or in this country of ours.

Alaska is not the only place, though, where these Balts would fit in. Actually, they would do very well in the northern New England States, around the Great Lakes, and in our Pacific Northwest. Pro-Communist elements in this country may maintain that there are collaborators among them. Actually there are a few, but they are very few. I would say that the Fascist element among them is almost zero.

The number of Balts in the three zones of Germany as of June 1, 1947, are as follows: In the British zone there are 77,000; in the United States zone there are 82,000; in the French zone there are about 6,000.

The total number of Balts in Germany is about 165,000.

Scattered throughout Austria and Italy there are an additional 2,500 Balts.

Here is something that is important. Britain has already made plans for sending between 60,000 and 100,000 able-bodied DP's to England, Scotland, and Wales for labor. Although most of the Balts in the British zone would prefer to go to Canada, they are so anxious to get out of the DP camps that they are volunteering wholesale for labor in Britain. Therefore, this will just about eliminate those now in the British zone.

Quite a few of the older people in all three of the zones prefer to remain in Germany. Many of them sincerely believe that within the next 5 years there will be a war with Russia, after which they will be

able to return home. Anyway, probably not more than 40,000 Balts from the United States zone would voluntarily come to the United States if given the opportunity, and these would be largely the younger to middle-aged groups, that we could use best.

Western Canada, principally Alberta and British Columbia, could take large numbers of these people. Unofficially, they have already said that they would do so. I believe that this could be merged into a joint United States-Canadian operation through our joint National Defense Board that is still in operation. This is the Board that Mr. LaGuardia used to be Chairman of.

These people would have to be financed from some source and part of it should be charged off to National Defense. The State Department and IRO should pay the cost of getting the people to the vicinity of their new homes and the Interior Department should bear some of the responsibility in the resettlement.

I believe that after the initial cost of getting them settled, the project would be practically self-supporting, or self-liquidating. The men could work in the pulp mills and lumber camps during the time when they are not actually developing their farms. And I understand that there is a large number of pulp mills starting to go up there soon, if they can get some of the Indian claims settled.

Within the three zones of Germany there are approximately 140,000 Jews and 190,000 Poles. A large percentage of the Poles will return home. Others are going to France, Belgium, Brazil, and other countries. Except for those who have families in the United States, not many openly state that they want to come here. Not many of the Poles seem to be interested in coming over here.

I might say that in the last month before I left, 5,000 of them from the United States zone went back to Poland voluntarily, and there would have more than that in the British zone, but the British and Polish Governments had some friction over transport.

But we estimated that close to half the Poles in the British zone were raring to go back.

When the Operation Westward Ho started shipping them over to England, it changed the minds of some of them, because they thought if they were going to get to go to England, perhaps that would be better.

Of the Jews, the overwhelmingly large majority want to go to Palestine. The United States is second or third choice for most of them. When I first went over there, I was deputy chief of the operation that sent approximately 10,000 Jews from Belsen over into Sweden. And at that time, it was around 82 percent. Later on that number, I have been told, increased to about 95 percent, by the checks that have been made. And any of them you talk to, that is what they will tell you, that their first choice is Palestine, and the United States is the second or third choice for most of them.

In my opinion, except for those who have blood relatives here, Jewish people should not be admitted until the Palestine question has been settled. Palestine should be opened up to 250,000 Jews, and there it a good chance that it will be. However, if the pending legislation is passed, the Palestine opportunity will be closed. Then after the Jews get here, the question will be opened up again. It is better to have it settled first.

The way I feel about that is that it would give the British a chance to knock in the head completely, so to speak, the Zionist movement, or the Palestine movement.

Mr. CELLER. What is that again, sir? Will you repeat that?

Mr. KLEMME. I say, in my opinion, if the United States decides to take all of the Jewish people who are now in those zones, that is just exactly what England wants us to do, as this gentleman testified to the other day. They could then say, "There is no use to open up Palestine, because the question is already settled. They can all go to the United States."

For that reason, it is my opinion that the Palestine question should be settled first.

Mr. CELLER. Do you want me to interrupt you here, or would you rather complete your statement?

Mr. KLEMME. I am just about finished.

It may be difficult to frame an immigration law so as to admit one race or nationality of people and keep out another. However, if the War Department approves the program, the three interested departments, State, War, and Interior, could define the type of people they want in regard to skill, physical condition, age, and so forth, and the immigrants could then be selected on that basis.

Mr. FELLOWS. I want to ask a question about the Balts.

You worked among them?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. And I think you stated there are about 82,000 in our zone.

Mr. KLEMME. In the American zone, to be exact, there are 82,291.

Mr. FELLOWS. And those figures are in this statement?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes, sir. Of those Balts, 41,000 are Latvians, 27,000 Lithuanians, and 13,000 Estonians.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, in working among them, you are familiar with this bill, are you not, that is under consideration?

Mr. KLEMME. Possibly, yes. In some of the details I might not be.

Mr. FELLOWS. What proportion of that 82,000 would you say would come in under the priority, which would indicate that relatives of soldiers of World War I or World War II have preference?

Mr. KLEMME. It is my opinion that the number would be very small. I doubt that more than a thousand or so could come in, for the simple reason that the present quotas, I think, for the whole three Baltics, about 750 a year, 300-and-some-odd Lithuanians, 240 Latvians, and 116 Estonians. During the period in which people were coming into this country, there were very few Baltics that came over here.

The Minister of Latvia, Dr. Bilmanis, tells me that there were quite a large number of Latvians that came over here in the 1870's or 1880's, somewhere, and they mostly settled in Wisconsin and Michigan. They have old Baltic settlements up there. But they are third and fourth generation Americans now, and they have no Latvians that could be classified as relatives that they could bring over here.

Among the Latvians and Estonians there are almost none that could come over here. Among the Lithuanians I think there would be some, because there has been some immigration of Lithuanians, and they have some organization here.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, were you in Berlin?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. There has been some talk about the number of displaced persons who have come into our zone since the fighting stopped.

What was your observation about that while you were there?

Mr. KLEMME. I was in Berlin just almost a year ago today. I guess it was the 8th of July. And I spent a week there. The director of the UNRRA camp there was Mr. Fishbein, from Chicago. He told us that there were more than 1,000 a day coming in, and from there most of them passed on into the American zone, because the British were very careful about letting them in. They had guards. And there were not many of the displaced persons that really wanted to get into the British zone, anyhow.

Mr. CELLER. You make that statement as a result of conversations you had with somebody; is that correct?

Mr. FELLOWS. With the director?

Mr. KLEMME. The director of the UNRRA team.

Mr. CELLER. That was one UNRRA camp?

Mr. KLEMME. There were three UNRRA camps there. But this was the one that was taking care of the recent entrants.

Mr. CELLER. And he said 1,000 were coming in a day?

Mr. KLEMME. He said there were more than 1,000.

Mr. CELLER. When was that statement?

Mr. KLEMME. That was in July 1946.

Mr. CELLER. 1946?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Did you hear the testimony this morning of Lt. Col. Jerry M. Sage?

Mr. KLEMME. I heard it.

Mr. CELLER. Could you understand it?

Mr. KLEMME. I could not understand all of it. I heard his testimony; yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Did you hear him say that between 80 and 90 percent of the DP's; that is, the displaced persons, were in these camps when the shooting stopped?

Mr. KLEMME. You could still have 1,000 a day, when you have 80 percent of the total in the camps, of 800,000.

Mr. CELLER. So that you could also have 90 percent of the DP's in the camps when the shooting stopped and 1,000 a day coming in; is that correct?

Mr. KLEMME. That depends on how many days there were.

Mr. CELLER. But that is possible, over a certain period? I do not know how many days it would be.

Mr. KLEMME. I might say that large numbers of these people were coming all the way from Russia. Most of them were coming from Poland. But he told us that a lot of those people were coming from the Jewish autonomous republic. We asked him why, and he said, "The grapevine is out that they all think they are going to Palestine."

Mr. CELLER. You heard Colonel Sage say also that there was a program in 1946 in the city of Kielce, Poland. You heard him say that?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes; and I believe he is correct.

Mr. CELLER. Do you think the Jews could with safety remain in Poland where you have pogroms of the type that occurred in Kielce?

Mr. KLEMME. Sir; I am not criticizing them for getting out of there. I think they used good judgment.

Mr. CELLER. I am not criticizing anybody. But would you stay?

Mr. KLEMME. Absolutely not.

Mr. CELLER. You would go out, would you not?

Mr. KLEMME. Absolutely.

Mr. CELLER. You would leave because you feared for your own life and the lives of your dear ones; is that correct?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Now, the Estonian and Latvian quotas have been pitifully small; is that correct?

Mr. KLEMME. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. And as a result there are not too many in proportion to all the others, of those nationalities here; is that not correct?

Mr. KLEMME. That is correct, sir.

Mr. CELLER. And therefore there would not be too many of their relatives that could come under the preference in this bill? That is what you said?

Mr. KLEMME. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. That would not be the case, though, with other nationalities whose quotas are larger?

Mr. KLEMME. About the only other nationality you could consider would be the Poles.

Mr. CELLER. The Poles and the Rumanians and the Hungarians and the Russians?

Mr. KLEMME. No. They are enemy aliens.

Mr. CELLER. I beg your pardon.

Mr. KLEMME. I say, they were enemy aliens.

Mr. CELLER. There are some of the Russians in these camps, are there not? They were not enemy aliens.

Mr. KLEMME. Soviet Russians?

Mr. CELLER. Yes; those who were born in Russia.

Mr. KLEMME. We had an agreement that the Russians went back, except, I think, the Russian Jews, and they have been classed as persecutees, and they have been coming in.

Mr. CELLER. They have been classed as persecutees because they loathe communism and do not want to go back to communistically dictated Russia?

Mr. KLEMME. That is right.

Mr. CELLER. Now, you stated that in your opinion the Jews should not be permitted to come in under this bill.

Mr. KLEMME. No. Here is what I said: That blood relatives of that class should be permitted to come in, but for the remainder I would wait until the Palestine question was settled, which I think should be settled soon, because we have our committee over there now, and find out first what Palestine is going to do, because I believe that if those people come here, they tell you definitely that they will still want to go to Palestine.

And you are just using shipping space twice, because the minute they get here, they would still want to go back to Palestine.

Mr. CELLER. You mean, after they came here they would go back to Palestine?

Mr. FELLOWS. They would want to.

Mr. KLEMME. I have talked to a good many of them, and they said that if they got here they would still want to go back to Palestine.

Mr. CELLER. My observation of Jews in this country is that they do not want to go to Palestine after they come to our shores.

Mr. FELLOWS. Is the gentleman making a statement or asking a question?

Mr. CELLER. I give you that statement as a result of experience with Jewish people over a lifetime.

Mr. FELLOWS. He is only telling you what they told him.

Mr. KLEMME. Of course, my principal interest is in getting the Baltic people over here and not trying to keep the Jews out. I feel that those people would make excellent citizens.

I am interested in getting Alaska settled; because I think from a national defense standpoint, that is very important. And I feel that this bill is keeping the very people out that we want to get into the country, because there is nobody to sponsor them.

Now, there is nothing under this bill to prevent somebody from sponsoring them. But they have no organization. That is especially true of the Latvians and Estonians.

Mr. CELLER. Let me just pursue that question of Palestine a bit further. You know, of course, or you should know, as long as you expressed yourself on Palestine, that the present inquiry of the United Nations Palestine Committee is the nineteenth inquiry, and there have been all kinds of recommendations made by committees of inquiry over two decades, and still the doors of Palestine are closed.

Those inquiry committees made recommendations to the effect that the doors of Palestine should be opened.

President Roosevelt and President Truman inveighed against the British white paper of 1929 which slammed with a bang the gates of Palestine against the driven Jew.

Mr. FELLOWS. What have they done about it?

Mr. CELLER. Just a minute.

And yet the British authorities have remained adamant, and they keep those doors closed.

Now, have you any reason to believe that Great Britain will change its attitude?

Mr. KLEMME. I cannot say yes or no for sure. But I certainly feel that our Government should bring all the pressure possible against Great Britain to open up Palestine, because I personally am very much in favor of developing Palestine.

I believe that Palestine can take care of 6,000,000 people—if you have read Dr. Lowdermilk's book.

Mr. CELLER. You mean, 6,000,000.

Mr. KLEMME. 6,000,000.

Mr. CELLER. Dr. Lowdermilk—I correct you—said if there was a proper development by virtue of the setting up of the Jordan Valley Authorities, then and only then would the absorptive capacity of Palestine be sufficient to take 4,000,000 more Jews, and not 6,000,000 more.

Mr. KLEMME. I mean, you would increase your population to 6,000,000, which would take all the Jews and still solve the Arab problem, because for every Jew that went in there you could still take an Arab; so the Arabs would not have a squawk.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, we are at the pass now where the Jews who are in these camps are told, "You must go to Palestine," and when they try to go to Palestine, the doors are barred against them. And they want to go to the United States, and if we do not pass this bill, the doors are barred against them.

So, in a certain sense, they fall within two schools. Something must be done either by Britain or by the United States.

Mr. FELLOWS. As Mr. Celler said, both Mr. Roosevelt and President Truman inveighed against them, but have done nothing about it, either of them. That is a matter of record.

Mr. CELLER. I accept that. Unfortunately, our administration has not implemented its pious declarations with sufficient action, action in the nature of sanctions against Great Britain because of its intransigence and because of its violation of international pledges which guaranteed that there would be unlimited immigration of Jews into Palestine and close settlement of the Jews on the land there for purposes of eventual development there of a Jewish country.

Mr. CHELF. But it has not stopped Members of Congress from signing petitions. I can tell you that. I have been one of them.

Mr. CELLER. No. Members of Congress have been most cooperative. But unfortunately, I must admit, be it to the shame of the administration, that nothing has been done.

Mr. KLEMME. I do not want you Congressmen to get the idea that I am anti-Semitic. I have been very favorable toward the program. I have worked with the Jews in Germany over there a lot.

We started setting up agricultural schools when I went over there. And there was great enthusiasm among the Jewish people to learn agriculture up until the time the British started blockading the Palestine movement, and then the morale was shot.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, sir. You can include your full statement in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY MARVIN KLEMME, FORMER UNRRA OFFICIAL, IN REFERENCE TO
H. R. 2910

I have just returned from Europe after serving more than 2 years with UNRRA in looking after "displaced persons." Most of this time was spent in the British zone of Germany, but I made a number of trips into the United States, French, and Russian zones as well. For almost a year and a half of this time I served as forestry and agricultural adviser to the zone director, and the last 6 months I served as the zone employment officer.

While serving in these positions I was able to cover a great deal of territory. I visited hundreds of camps or assembly centers occupied by the displaced persons. Serving in these positions, I was more or less in charge of thousands of them during working hours. I therefore had the opportunity to make a thorough appraisal of them as potential citizens of this country.

In the course of my duties, I became especially attracted toward the "Balts," Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. These people came from the three little Baltic ex-republics that have now been taken over by Russia. Their only crime was that they had actively opposed communism in their home countries. Therefore, when the Russians moved in, they moved out just ahead of them. Nearly every "Balt" that you talk with will tell you that certain of his relatives were killed by the Russians and that others were loaded onto railway cars and sent east. Very few of them have ever been heard from. Except for the few that managed to get into Sweden, there was no other place for them to go but into Germany. In Germany they have been ever since. The Germans promptly

conscripted them for hard labor and forced some of the younger ones into the armed forces or labor corps.

If our Government is serious in wanting to settle and develop Alaska, here is an opportunity that shouldn't be passed up. These people would make the finest kind of settlers up there. Generally speaking, they left their countries in family units so that the men would have their wives right with them. The men are skilled craftsmen and could build their homes from logs or whip-sawn lumber. Not only that, but they could make all of their furniture as well as practically everything else needed to equip a pioneer home. The women are excellent homemakers. They know how to make all kinds of clothing from raw materials as well as to preserve and prepare foods under pioneer conditions. Both the men and the women are clean in their living habits, intelligent, and have an educational standard comparable with any in Europe. Even during their DP days they are managing somehow to keep this up pretty well.

The climate of the Baltic States is quite similar to that of Alaska so that here again they would fit in well. It would be my idea that where areas were selected in Alaska to settle as many as a dozen or more families in one place that the odd-numbered homesteads be allotted to the "Balts" and that the even numbers be allotted to Americans—preferably ex-servicemen. This would prevent the developing of "little Estonias" and "little Latvias" and at the same time it would enable the adjacent American settlers to take advantage of the pioneering skills of these people. As an "ex-GI" of not only one war but of two, I would rather have, as an Alaskan homesteader a few of these Baltic farmers as instructors than any number of county agricultural agents or technical literature. On the other hand, these people could learn a lot from their American neighbors.

The great majority of these Baltic people are skilled agricultural and forestry workers. Even the business and professional workers among them are skilled in this type of work, for most city people in those countries also own a farm. Using an ax or a cross-cut saw comes natural for them. Therefore, during the period when they were not needed on their farms they could be working in the lumber camps or pulp mills. There are also a considerable number of fishermen and merchant seamen among them.

I have felt for several years that Alaska should be developed from a national defense standpoint, as well as for other reasons. If we don't settle and make proper use of this valuable Territory some other country may decide to do it for us. We should remember that this is the only part of the old Czarist Empire that has not been recovered by the Soviets.

The same goes for western Canada, although perhaps not to so great an extent. While this is Canada's business, I know that many Canadians feel that all this territory paralleling the Alaskan Highway and on the Coast should be settled without unnecessary delay. I believe that this whole Northwest Territory—Western Canada and Alaska—could be settled as a joint operation and a good share of the cost of the operation charged up to national defense. I understand that the Alaskan Highway was constructed under the supervision of the United States-Canadian Joint National Defense Board and that this Board is still functioning more or less actively. It occurs to me that this matter of settlement should be brought to their attention. Of course, for this proposed program to succeed, it would have to have the blessings as well as active support of the State, War, and Interior Departments as well as the Territorial governments of Alaska.

Alaska is not the only place though in the United States where these Baltic people would fit in. They would do very well in certain northern sections of the continental United States such as in northern New England, around the upper Great Lakes and in the Pacific Northwest. Many of our young Americans in these areas, as well as others, are leaving the farms and going to the cities. It is partly because the land is marginal, partly because farm life seems isolated to them after 3 or 4 years in the Army or Navy, and partly because their young wives don't like farm life. A lot of our marginal farm land is becoming unproductive or is being abandoned for this reason. As times goes on the matter promises to get worse and not better. On the other hand these Baltic people have agriculture in their blood. They are not the kind that like life in a big city. They are the kind of immigrants that this country needs to take in if our rural economy is not to suffer in certain States. By admitting these people, no housing problem is created for they promptly build new houses—pioneer style or else repair old farm houses which they are to occupy.

The number of "Balts" in the three zones of Germany, as of June 1, 1947, are as follows:

Nationality	British zone	United States zone	French zone	Total
Latvians.....	43, 711	41, 782	2, 416	87, 909
Lithuanians.....	21, 518	27, 056	2, 602	51, 176
Estonians.....	11, 909	13, 453	801	26, 163
Total.....	77, 138	82, 291	5, 819	165, 248

Also scattered throughout Austria and Italy are an additional 2,500 "Balts." Britain has already started to solve the DP problem as far as her zone is concerned. Her program calls for the sending of from 60,000 to 100,000 able-bodied workers from the British occupied zones of Germany and Austria over to Britain to augment her labor shortage. She now has about 350,000 German prisoners of war but they are to be returned to their homes by the end of September. To a certain extent the DP's are to replace these German workers. Britain has specified that these DP workers coming to Britain be one of the three Baltic nationalities or Ukranian. For the present time at least they have specifically stated that they do not want Poles. One of the reasons that they will not take Poles is that it would interfere with repatriation, which is still going on, and another is that they have several thousand Polish soldiers which they have not yet been able to digest. Later on, after repatriation is over, they may take a few selected Poles and they may also take a few selected Yugoslavs. No plans have been made for taking Jews but I understand that eventually some of those who have blood relatives in Britain may be permitted to go over.

Within the three zones of western Germany there are also in addition to the "Balts" approximately 190,000 Poles, 140,000 Jews, 15,000 Yugoslavs and a few thousand miscellaneous. The Yugoslavs, generally known as "King Peter Yugoslavs," are afraid to go home as long as Tito is in control of their government. Large numbers of the Poles are going home every day. The Polish Government, even though it is reported to be pro-Communist, is so anxious to have every Pole return home that it has promised a general amnesty to all but "war criminals." Quite a few of the officer-class type are afraid to take the chance but there seems to be no reason why the average workingman shouldn't return home. Few of the Poles have expressed a desire to go to the United States. The Polish miners are being welcomed to France and Belgium but there are also being strongly urged to return to their home country.

Of the 140,000 Jews in Germany, over 90 percent have expressed a preference for Palestine. The United States is generally second or third choice. Of these people I understand that about 30,000 were in Germany at the time war ended and that the remainder came in after it was over. The majority, I believe, came from Poland but all of the countries to the east of Germany are represented—including Soviet Russia. At the time that I was in Berlin last July I was told by the Director of the UNRRA Transient Camp there that they were coming in from the east at the rate of over 1,000 a day and that almost without exception they were headed for Palestine.

It is my opinion that, except for blood relatives, we should go slow in admitting Jewish people from Europe into this country until the Palestine question has been settled. If the immigration laws permitted it and finances were arranged, no doubt large numbers of them would come to this country just to get out of Europe but they would still want to go to Palestine. And they will continue to want to go to Palestine as long as there is the faintest hope of their getting there. Last year the joint United States-British Commission recommended that Palestine be opened up to the extent of taking 100,000 of these people. At this time a committee composed of members of the smaller countries of the United Nations is making a study of the problem. Certainly there is reason to expect some favorable action within the near future. After it is know what number can be accommodated in Palestine then, in my opinion, the United States should agree to take its proportionate share of the remainder.

To sort of sum up my statement, it seems to me that the United States should, as far as possible, select its immigrants on the basis of what it needs and not on what wants to come into the country. Before the First World War we took in great numbers of agricultural workers. These people, almost without excep-

tion, were molded into good American citizens within the following generation or two. Following the First World War we took mostly urban workers and very few farmers. While there were many fine people among them, there were also more troublemakers. Considerable numbers of them "went on relief" during the thirties while less of those on farms drew relief than did their American neighbors. Some of the so-called "intelligensia" that we took in have not been much of an asset either. Most of this type have very definite ideas of their own and even though they may be neither pro-Fascist nor pro-Communist, they are still alien to our way of thought.

The peasant type of immigrant is, in my opinion, the best settler that can be brought into this country. And even these should be selected very carefully. In addition to the forestry and agricultural workers which this country definitely needs, there may be a few other trades or crafts that have shortages. One of these may be our merchant marine because the average American likes to keep his feet on the ground. Another exception I would make is war orphans or "unaccompanied children." However, there are not nearly as many of those as we have been led to believe. Nearly all of those countries over there want their children returned home and are actually fighting to prove nationality.

Many of the countries of the world are now taking, or are planning to take, a limited number of these displaced people. If the United States does not do anything, even though we have made large contributions for their care in the form of food and money, it may appear to the world that we are not interested in solving the world's problems—and this is definitely a problem.

The committee will adjourn until Wednesday next.

(Thereupon the subcommittee adjourned until 10 a. m., Wednesday, July 9, 1947.

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Frank Fellows (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order.

We have with us this morning Mr. Philip Hannah, the Assistant Secretary of Labor. We are ready to hear Mr. Hannah when he is ready.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Hannah, will you pardon me for a moment while I place some communications in the record?

Mr. HANNAH. Of course.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, I wish to offer first a telegram from Walter Boak, chairman of the Jagielly Society, 1307 Moravia Street, New Castle, Pa., favoring the enactment of the Stratton bill into law and urging my personal support of it, particularly with relation to the Polish displaced persons; a telegram from Walter Maslyk, president of the Polish Falcons, 105 West Miller Street, New Castle, Pa., urging the enactment of the bill into law, with particular reference to Italians and Poles, and asking me personally to support it.

I have a letter from the New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, signed by Ruth E. Craig of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., urging the enactment of the Stratton bill, and a letter from Mr. D. A. Lehman, commander of Post No. 147, in Beaver County, Pa., of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, urging my support of the bill at this time.

(The communications referred to are as follows:)

NEWCASTLE, PA., *July 8, 1947.*

Hon. LOUIS E. GRAHAM,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

We appeal to you, our Congressman, and ask your kind support to Congressman Stratton's bill H. R. 2910 regarding admission to the United States of 400,000 displaced persons from Europe. Our country owes a haven particularly to the Polish fighters for freedom and Polish displaced persons who fear to return to Poland.

Respectfully yours,

WALTER BOAK,
Chairman of Jagielly Society.

NEWCASTLE, PA., July 8, 1947.

Hon. LOUIS E. GRAHAM,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We urge you to give Congressman Stratton your wholehearted support regarding admission to the United States of 400,000 displaced persons now in the American and British zones of occupation in Germany and in Italy. America should offer a haven to the Poles who refuse to return to a Communist ruled Poland.

Respectively yours,

WALTER MASLYK, *President Polish Falcons.*

NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING
OF RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,
Minnewaska, N. Y., June 28, 1947.

The Honorable LOUIS E. GRAHAM,

The House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR LOUIS E. GRAHAM: We, the representatives of more than 7,000 Friends of New York Yearly Meetings, assembled at Minnewaska, N. Y., have been made keenly aware of the desperate needs of the displaced peoples of Europe. Our hearts go out to them in understanding and love.

The United States, a land of plenty and freedom, historically a haven for the oppressed, should live up to its heritage, and admit a substantial percentage of the 800,000 people still in concentration camps nearly 2 years after VJ-day.

We urge you to support legislation which will admit to the United States, without regard to race, creed, or nationality, at least 400,000 of these people.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD E. KERSHNER,
RUTH E. CRAIG,*Clerks.*

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Beaver County, Pa., July 5, 1947.

Hon. LOUIS E. GRAHAM,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GRAHAM: At a recent meeting of this post, a county-wide organization of all Beaver County Jewish war veterans, a resolution was passed in favor of the Stratton bill for displaced persons.

The Allen H. Chamovitz Post, No. 147, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, goes on record favoring H. R. 2910, emergency legislation, which would permit the United States to admit 100,000 displaced persons, regardless of race or creed, annually during a 4-year temporary period.

As voting residents of Beaver County we implore you to act on this vital legislation.

Respectfully submitted,

D. A. LEHMAN, *Commander.*

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, at this time I also wish to offer for the record the speech of our colleague the Honorable Ed Gossett, found in the Record at page 8262.

(The speech referred to is as follows:)

A NEW FIFTH COLUMN OR THE REFUGEE RACKET

Speech of Hon. Ed Gossett, of Texas, in the House of Representatives, July 2, 1947

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Speaker, every issue decided by this Congress, should be decided solely on the ground of what is best for America. On this basis of what is best for America, I am bitterly opposed to the Stratton bill. This bill proposes to bring to this country over and above present immigration, 400,000 refugees from the DP camps of Europe. On this issue, I wish to speak for millions of Americans who are unable to speak for themselves, and for many thousands of others who are afraid to speak.

The statements to be made in this discussion are based upon careful study and research and upon information furnished me by reliable persons, many of whom would suffer reprisals should their names be used. What happens to me personally or politically is of no consequence if what I have to say here helps to awaken this country to the danger that lurks in such legislation as the so-called refugee bill.

One of the largest, best paid lobbies in the city of Washington at this time is the so-called displaced persons lobby. They are backed up by a Nation-wide organization that has spent and is spending millions of dollars on propaganda. These organizations have filed the press and the radio of the Nation, a large part of which they control, with canned editorials, syndicated columns, sentimental appeals, feature stories, and a vast array of misleading information. They have lined up many politicians in both parties who seek to acquire or retain the foreign bloc votes in the pivotal States.

EXISTING IMMIGRATION LAWS

Before taking up the Stratton bill specifically, let us consider briefly existing immigration laws and policy. Those of us opposed to this refugee bill are not unfriendly to immigrants. Most of us are proud of the strong immigrant blood that went into the building of this country. When there were frontiers to conquer and jobs to fill, immigrant blood meant strength. The blood now offered means weakness and pollution. The Germans, the Irish, the Norwegians, the immigrants from northern and western Europe who came here in the last century are among our best citizens. They settled in and helped develop all sections of this great Nation. Today there are no jobs to fill. We do not need workers or nonworkers. Not only have times and conditions changed, but so have the immigrants. Of the immigrants coming here last year, not over 1 percent went to the farms. At least 95 percent poured into our big and overcrowded cities. Unemployment, housing, slum clearance, crime, education, health, and all of our many social, political, and economic problems are further complicated and aggravated by today's immigration. Following the First World War we passed our basic immigration laws setting up certain quotas and restrictions through which we sought to protect the American way of life, American institutions, and American standards of living. These laws are exceedingly liberal. They should be strengthened, not weakened. From Europe generally, we permit the entry of 154,000 a year under quotas. We impose no quotas whatsoever on countries of the Western Hemisphere. Even from quota countries we permit many to come over and above the 154,000. Wives and minor children of American citizens, ministers, and professors, and certain classes of merchant seamen, may come in outside of the quotas. We place no limit upon visitors, or students, or treaty merchants. Furthermore during the World War we naturalized 110,000 aliens serving in the American Army, under legislation which I helped to pass. We brought in around 100,000 war brides; we removed certain other discriminations and inequities, all under legislation sponsored or supported by me. Under existing laws, we will probably receive into this country through various channels not less than two or three hundred thousand immigrants per year—more than we can adequately assimilate.

FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

According to official figures, around 35,000,000 of our 140,000,000 inhabitants are of recent immigrant origin. The 1940 census listed 11,500,000 people in this country of foreign birth, and over 23,000,000 who had at least one foreign-born parent. The 1940 census listed six cities of more than 500,000 population in this country where less than 40 percent of the white population is of native parentage. There were 11 cities between 100,000 and 500,000 where less than 40 percent of the white people were of native parentage. In 1940, 1,047 newspapers in this country were published in 38 foreign languages and were read by more than 10,000,000 people. In 1920, one out of every five persons of voting age in this country were foreigners. In many of our northeastern cities the ratio of foreign-born to native-born voters is approximately 1 to 3. No other nation in the world has so large a percentage of foreign-born folks.

NATIONAL POLICY

Mr. Speaker, our very survival in a mad world depends upon internal strength and unity. Furthermore, we cannot teach democracy abroad unless we pre-

serve it at home. The President's Expert Commission recently reporting on national defense, specified as the first requirement for our security that we must have a strong, educated, united population. It takes time for roots to grow deeply. To say that 400,000 refugees from the displaced persons camps of Europe would add to our strength, our health, our unity, or our influence abroad, or would promote our welfare in any way is absurdly false. Unquestionably, the exact reverse is true.

Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology in New York University, in a 1943 discussion of the Implication of Population Trends for Postwar Policies, concludes that immigration should be restricted. He expresses the danger of new immigration in these words: "We are fighting this war for the sake of democracy, the rights of the common man, the eradication of race prejudice, and the general recognition of human equality. If the findings of science were in accordance with unenlightened, liberal sentiment, there might be no particular danger. Since this is not the case, it is essential that the peace negotiators be prepared to recognize, and to make clear to the world, that what may seem like a narrow or illiberal policy is really a liberal policy because it promises the greatest welfare for the greatest number of people over the longest stretch of time."

Many statesmen, including Woodrow Wilson, expressed the same convictions and fears. No other intelligent conclusion is possible. Out of such philosophy our present inadequate laws have grown. Common ideals, common heritage, real Americanism, is more essential today than ever before. We should now patch the holes in the fence through which illegal immigrants pour. We should now raise, not lower, immigration barriers. Now, of all times, we should promote internal strength and unity or we shall lose democracy at home, forfeit the sacrifices of two great wars, and end up by being, ourselves, destroyed.

Two years ago many of those now wanting to dump the refugees of Europe into America were before Congress pleading for a guaranteed full-employment bill. They predicted inevitable mass unemployment and depression. We set up at that time an Economic Planning Board, seeking to forestall inevitable recession. We are still working at that job. Although our prosperity has confounded the pessimists, we even now have 2,500,000 people out of work. We have millions on some sort of relief. About 50 percent of our families still live on incomes of less than \$2,400 per year. Some 10 percent live on less than \$500 annually. Approximately 40 percent of our veterans are still living doubled up with relatives and friends, while nearly 25 percent of our married veterans are without homes of their own. Thousands of veterans are still trying to get into overcrowded schools, while at least 2,000,000 will soon flow from these institutions seeking useful jobs in a land that owes them first consideration.

To the problem of normal immigration, we have added an increasing influx of Puerto Ricans. When we acquired Puerto Rico it had around 800,000 inhabitants. It now has 2,500,000 people living on a tiny island that will not adequately support one-third of that number. A New York newspaper complains that 100,000 Puerto Ricans a year are pouring into the slums of that city. A million of these folks will doubtless migrate to the States within the next few years. Among other things, the next Congress will be called upon to appropriate billions for slum clearance, billions for health, and millions to combat an ever-increasing crime wave. Mr. Speaker, we will do well to absorb the poison already flowing in the bloodstream of this country without the injection of more foreign virus.

THE DISPLACED PERSONS

Mr. Speaker, this brings me to a brief discussion of our displaced-persons camps from which we are urged to take an original installment of 400,000 refugees. These camps could and should have been closed and abolished a year ago. Their administration has not been good, and their continued maintenance is disgraceful. To solve the problem by dumping any part of them into this country is the worst and most dangerous of many alternatives. Since the war Allied military authorities have repatriated—returned to their homes or places of their choice—more than 7,000,000 of these persons. Ninety percent of some 800,000 persons in some 300 DP camps still under our supervision could and should have been repatriated. Such could and would have been done but for the selfish, vicious, political, and misguided humanitarian pressures in this country. To be a displaced person in an American camp has long been a preferred status in Europe. Bear in mind probably not more than 30 percent of these so-called displaced persons were in fact displaced persons at the time the war ended. For various reasons, they have

displaced themselves and have flocked into these camps from all over Europe. Many of them have come from Russia and countries under Russian domination. While a few good people remain in these camps, they are by and large the refuse of Europe. The camps are filled with bums, criminals, black-marketeers, subversives, revolutionists, and crackpots of all colors and hues. Contrary to reports, we have maintained no confines around these camps as other countries have done. Many people have come in, acquired blankets, food, and clothes, gone out and sold them on the black market, changed their names, one to other camps, and repeated the performance. We have outfitted the whole caboodle at least twice.

Mr. George Meader, appointed special investigator by the Mead committee in the last session of Congress, in a nonpartisan report on displaced-persons camps states: "These persons are, for the most part, penniless and do not desire to work, but expect to be cared for, and complain when things are not as well done as they think they should be. Mr. Goldman, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation director of the camp, said that he had not been able to get more than 400 of the 3,000 to do any work, even fixing up their own dwelling space. When he did get any work out of them, it was because of offering special inducements, such as extra cigarettes."

Mr. Meader points out that at least 120,000 Jews have flocked into these camps since January 1946, and others continue to come. Bear in mind these are not German Jews, of whom there are less than 30,000 left, but they come from other parts of Europe.

Mr. Meader further describes an incident where 3,000 newly arrived Jews pulled a sit-down strike and refused to leave the train at the Babenhausen camp which had been opened only 2 weeks at that time. The train was turned around by American authorities and these folks taken to another camp.

Of course these reports have been given little publicity in this country.

Now self-styled humanitarians, some real, some phony, say these people will get killed if they go home. This is false. Maj. Gen. Lowell W. Rooks, Director General of UNRRA, in a statement on June 4 appearing in the Christian Science Monitor stated that of the 7,000,000 persons repatriated since the end of the war, not one substantial instance of persecution or reprisal had come to his attention. Of the many witnesses appearing before our committee in support of the Stratton bill, not one has produced a substantiated instance of persecution after repatriation.

Last year, according to General Clay as reported by AP from Berlin on April 14, we offered a 60-day supply of food as a sort of bonus to DP's in the American zone if they would go home. In response to this offer 48,000 Poles returned to their homeland. Again this year we instituted this bribe seeking to induce these people to leave. We get down on our knees and say to our guests of 2 or 3 years, "Won't you please go home?" The best of them have gone. Many have come to this country. Now we are asked to open our doors and admit the worst of them into our very homes.

These people are living in a land that is devastated. There are cities that need rebuilding, lands that need cultivation, and isms that need fighting. Still they do none of these things. If they shirk responsibility abroad they will certainly assume none here. If they are worth anything to us, they would be worth a great deal more to the countries from whence they come. Again, if they refuse to go home, there are many other places to which they could go instead of coming into the already overcrowded cities of America. Australia has a population of 2.5 persons per square mile; Africa 14.7; Canada 3.1; South America 14.1; while in the United States we have 43.7 persons per square mile. An article in last Sunday's New York Times is headed: "Australia seeks citizens." Australian immigration commissioner, Arthur Calwell, is quoted as saying:

"If we could bring 200,000 adult and junior workers here tomorrow, Australia would give them all work within a week."

Another newspaper headline declares, "South America wants 7,000,000 immigrants in 10 years." Some time ago Robert Prigent, while Minister of Population in France, stated:

"Unless we import 3,000,000 workers within the next 10 years France cannot survive."

Vast areas of the earth are in need of workers and artisans of all kinds. The fact that these people will not go home, will assume no risks or responsibilities in their homelands, will not go where workers are needed, is abundant proof of their liability to us. But there are other reasons for caution.

MANY SUBVERSIVES AMONG REFUGEES

Mr. Speaker, the majority of these folks are not the material out of which good citizens could be made, even if we had the time, money, and facilities for doing such a job. Some of these camps are little more than training schools for revolutionary activities. Doubtless many persons have been planted in these camps to infiltrate this country and to serve alien causes. Doubtless many of our foreign enemies would be happy to see the refugee camps emptied into this Nation. Trojan horses are offered us on every hand. On January 26, 1947, the New York Herald Tribune carried a wireless dispatch from Frankfurt, as follows:

"Army headquarters, meanwhile, is warily watching the actions of approximately 40,000 Polish Jews now temporarily located along the Polish-Czech frontier. While this group probably will not migrate in the severe winter months, it is known here that the Russian, Polish, and Czech Governments facilitate the movements of Polish Jews from east to west. This strategy is based on the belief that the more of the Jews who become the responsibility of the western powers, the more embarrassed the western powers will become, in view of the tense Palestine situation."

Mr. Speaker, nations are destroyed from within before they are destroyed from without. Infiltration is a deadly form of attack. Hundreds of dangerous persons have entered this country in recent years, and many are still coming. Other hundreds of potential fifth columnists sit in the DP camps and await passage to America.

WHY PREFERENCE FOR DISPLACED PERSONS?

Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that all the good things said about the displaced persons were true, there is still no reason to give them preference over even better folks. There are at least 100,000,000 who fought and sacrificed in the war on our side who are just as desperate as they; there are at least 100,000,000 of our friends who are hungrier than those in the DP camps; there are at least 100,000,000 who wish to come to America just as badly as do they; and there are hundreds of millions who dislike just as much the governments under which they live.

SCREENING IS BAD

When well-grounded objections are raised to the character of the DP's who would come under this bill, proponents always answer that we will screen them carefully. Our screening to date has been a joke—a joke for which we may pay dearly. We have no reason to suppose a better job would be done in the future. In this connection I would point out that thousands of refugees are now coming in under a Strattonized Executive order issued by the President on December 22, 1945. This order was purportedly written by Judge Samuel Rosenman. No Member of Congress was consulted, and the order was severely and properly criticized by the House Committee on Immigration in the last session. The order sets aside 90 percent of our nonpreference quotas for the DP's in Europe. This order violates both the spirit and the letter of our immigration laws and should be revoked. Upon its promulgation the State Department enlarged its consulates abroad and instructed them to waive the usual requirements of immigration laws; that is, first, a birth certificate to establish one's country of origin; second, a police record showing one not to be of bad character; and, third, evidence that one will not become a public charge. As a substitute for the usual showing that one will not become a public charge, the State Department accepts the assurance of charitable corporations, organized in this country, to facilitate refugee immigration. These organizations and affiliates have conspired in the wholesale violation of our immigration laws. Thus, the back-office boys in the State Department have, in effect, eliminated even the superficial screening that we have heretofore given prospective immigrants. Under the President's Executive order, which gives a small preview of proposed operations under the Stratton bill, many dangerous persons have entered this country. Under the Stratton bill, injury and insult to our national well-being would be multiplied manyfold.

DISCRIMINATION PRACTICED

In the President's directive which seeks to facilitate DP immigration, appears this stipulation:

Visas should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds, and nationalities. I desire that special attention be devoted to orphaned children, to whom it is hoped the majority of visas will be issued.

This provision has been totally ignored. According to officials of the State Department, about 20 percent of the persons in the DP camps were Jews. However, State Department officials before an Immigration Committee last fall admitted that 75 percent of all visas issued had been issued to persons of Jewish faith. Thus rank discrimination is practiced against Protestants, Catholics, orphaned children, and others. In fact, gentiles in our zone of Europe have been known to masquerade as Jews in search of preferred treatment.

OUR FAIR SHARE

Proponents of the Stratton bill all cry out we must do our "fair share," that we have a "moral obligation" to find acceptable homes for these DP's. We suffered a million casualties and spent more than \$350,000,000,000, including more than fifty billions in lend-lease, in liberating the peoples of Europe, including these refugees for whom we are asked to furnish perpetual care. Since the shooting stopped, we have spent or obligated ourselves to spend, in cold cash, more than \$20,000,000,000 in tax money in their rehabilitation and relief, to say nothing of many millions of dollars that we have spent and continue to spend through private charity and individual contributions in food, clothing, and materials. The chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations estimates that we will spend approximately \$6,000,000,000 in 1948 for the relief of the peoples of Europe. In blood and in treasure, has any country at any time ever done one-tenth so much for the peoples of other lands? To say that we are further morally bound to open our country to this great additional number of refugees is to insult our patriotism, our intelligence, and our Christianity.

APPEASEMENT OFFERED

Again, proponents try to appeal to our pride and self-interest by saying that we will make friends and will set an example for other nations to follow. Can we buy friendship? Do we make friends by allowing ourselves to be pushed around? Should we thus practice appeasement? We cite all of history, both sacred and profane, in refutation.

WHAT'S BACK OF THE STRATTON BILL

Mr. Speaker, after long and serious thought and deliberation, I have decided that it is my duty to make a charge and issue a warning. I charge that the Stratton bill originated with, and has been largely sustained by, a number of prominent Jewish organizations. These powerful and influential organizations have shrewdly and cleverly enlisted the support and influence of many prominent non-Jewish citizens, non-Jewish organizations, and non-Jewish religious groups. Most informed persons in this country, however, know that the sustaining force back of this movement is our Jewish friends.

Mr. Speaker, we must avoid anti-Semitism in this country as though it were the plague. When anti-Semitism becomes pronounced or rampant, it destroys both Semitic and anti-Semitic, both Christian and Jew. The blackest page in the history of our civilization is the Fascist and Nazi persecution of the Jews. It was anti-Semitism that gave a perverted madman a sordid vehicle on which to ride to power in Germany. It has cursed and brought unspeakable sorrow to an entire world.

Anti-Semitism in America could furnish fertile soil for some fanatical Hitler to repeat sadistic history in this country. It would lay us open to pillage and destruction and turn civilization back to the Dark Ages. Thus far anti-Semitism cannot be charged to the American people. We have received the Jewish people with open arms and have accorded them places of honor and responsibility. They have contributed much to American wealth and culture. There is no better judge

on the United States Supreme Court than Felix Frankfurter, himself a Jewish immigrant. Many of the finest and ablest Members of Congress are Jews. A few years ago I made a speech entitled, "Distinguished Citizens of Foreign Birth," and paid especial tribute to the dean of the House of Representatives, the Honorable Adolph Sabath, of Chicago, who was himself a Jewish immigrant. At least two of the five members of our all-important Atomic Commission are persons of Jewish faith. We have never sought to impose any restrictions of any kind upon Jewish immigration. According to the American Jewish Yearbook for 1946-47, published by the American Jewish Committee, we had in this country in 1907 only 1,776,885 Jews. In 1927 this number had grown to 4,228,029; in 1946, to 5,000,000, or approximately one-half of all the Jews left in the world. According to this same authority, from 1937 to 1943, by yearly averages, more than 60 percent of all immigration into this country was Jewish. In 1943, by Executive order, the word "Jew" or "Hebrew" was eliminated from immigration papers. In 1944 Jewish authorities claimed more than 400,000 Jewish aliens in this country. No one denies our generosity toward this persecuted race. But they should not insist upon our opening our doors to the ends of the earth.

Here, Mr. Speaker, is what I want to say to our good Jewish citizens. When they band themselves together in Jewish organizations, when they use their power and influence for obviously selfish purposes, when they seek to control the press and radio for selfish ends, when they conspire to destroy immigration barriers, they stimulate and promote anti-Semitism within this country to the serious detriment of all. Unless they desist and refrain from such activity they will bring great sorrow upon this Nation. For the sake of all the Jews, as well as the rest of us, they must not become a minority pressure group in this country.

THE CHURCH GROUP

Mr. Speaker, a good many ministers in this country, including some prominent in my own denomination, have alined themselves with those who seek to break down our immigration laws. Most of them have been deceived by these cries for help. Acting on wrong information, they have allowed their hearts to overcome their better judgment. They have either wittingly or unwittingly alined themselves with those who would do this country a great disservice. A few of our prominent ministers have so confused religion and politics that they no longer render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, nor unto God the things that are Gods. In restrictive and selective immigration we seek to protect the spiritual as well as the material values of this country. To my preacher friends I wish to say that in your support of the Stratton bill you have gone far beyond the bounds of Christian charity. The good Samaritan stopped on the road to Jericho to minister to the man who had fallen among thieves. He dressed his wounds and he carried him to an inn, and he paid for his lodging. This we have done, and more. The good Samaritan did not, however, take the stranger home with him or open up his household to the stranger's family for permanent abode. If the Federal Council of Churches and other religious groups who have been beating the drums for the Stratton bill should succeed in their campaign of dumping the refugees of Europe into this country they will simply add to the long line of crimes that have been committed in the name of the Church and of the Holy Religion.

ARGUMENTS SUMMARIZED

Mr. Speaker, the arguments of those who seek to open our doors to the refugees of Europe may be summarized as follows: They have no place to go; they will make useful citizens; they will be carefully screened; we need their talents and abilities; we have not done our fair share; we have a moral responsibility to take them. We have shown all these arguments to be without any foundation whatsoever. We hope, Mr. Speaker, this country will not be misled by any false appeals to our generosity.

ON OUR SIDE

I am happy to report that a vast majority of the great patriotic societies and organizations of this country, including the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, have not been misled by the volume of propaganda in behalf of the Stratton bill. They realize its folly and its dangers; they recognize it as a major attempt to break down our immigration laws. Like most of the members of our committee, they believe that immigration bars should be raised, not lowered; that we should select immigrants with greater, not less, care.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, those of us who speak out against the Stratton bill will be ridiculed by that certain type of intellectual who has contempt for all established institutions; by those ultra-liberals who would equalize everybody by reducing all to the lowest common denominator; by the crackpots who think anything foreign is better than anything American; and by those misguided humanitarians who would throw their doors open to any and all who knock.

Mr. Speaker, if loving one's own folks just a little better than one loves strangers is bigotry, then I am a bigot. If seeking to defend American ideals and institutions is intolerance, then I am intolerant. If thinking this country of ours is the best in the world and wanting it to remain so is chauvinism, then I am chauvinistic.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, our country has not and will not shirk her many responsibilities. She will serve humanity most through the preservation of her integrity and her institutions. Not through weakness and compromise, but through strength and justness, will she lead a fear-crazed, hate-ridden world along the paths of peace. And in these efforts, I am sure all of us will join the immortal Stephen Decatur in saying:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right; but our country, right or wrong!

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection I am offering the remarks of Senator Revercomb in the Senate of the United States, on March 25, 1947.

(The remarks referred to are as follows:)

[From the Congressional Record, March 25, 1947]

REPORT ON THE POSSIBLE ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS TO THE UNITED STATES

(Remarks of Hon. Chapman Revercomb, of West Virginia, in the Senate of the United States, March 25, 1947)

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I desire now to submit and have made a part of my remarks on this subject a report which I prepared and which was filed with the steering committee of the Republican Members of the Senate, and ask that it be printed as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

"REPORT ON THE POSSIBLE ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS TO THE UNITED STATES

"Preface

"On November 19, 1946, I was advised by Senator Taft, chairman of the Republican steering committee, that, at the committee meetings on November 12, 13, and 14, I had been chosen to prepare an advisory report to the committee on the subject, Possible Admission of Displaced Persons.

"Senator Taft's letter stated that the steering committee desired preparatory work done on the subject for the consideration of the new conference and the committees which it will create. The steering committee felt that it had no right to adopt or even recommend a program to the conference of the Eightieth Congress.

"Accordingly, I have attempted herein to report only such facts as are pertinent and obtainable without making specific recommendations. I have, however, indicated the points upon which a legislative program may focus hereafter.

"Immigration and national origins

"Any program for the admission of displaced persons must necessarily encompass considerations of America's immigration history, and the existence of, and the reasons for, present policies and laws.

"In 1924 Congress enacted the national origins provision of the Immigration Act of that year, which became effective July 1, 1929. The national origins provision was adopted primarily as a basis for determining quotas, but in its broader sense, it represented the will of Congress to preserve the traditions and political system of the United States by preferable admittance of those who would be, because of their own characteristics and history, more readily assimilated into our own national life, customs, and views of government.

"The national origins distribution of the population was arrived at through a study of records of the 1920 census. The study showed that 43.5 percent of the population in 1920 was of colonial stock, those whose ancestors were enumerated in the first census of 1790, and that 56.6 percent of the population was of postcolonial stock, immigrants and their descendants who came to the United States after 1790.

"An effort was made to trace the national origins of these two groups and the estimates, when completed, indicated that practically all colonial stock originated in northern and western Europe, 77 percent being of British origin. Of the postcolonial stock, 65 percent originated in northern and western Europe and 27 percent in southern and eastern Europe.

"Based on this distribution, the first proclamation, establishing quotas on a national origins basis, was made on March 22, 1929, and put into effect July 1, 1929.

"The national origins provisions was an item of the legislative program of the Republican Party in the 1920's. It was enacted by a Republican Congress and put into effect by the proclamation of a Republican President. It is essentially a landmark of Republican achievement and has helped to preserve some homogeneity in our population, so necessary to harmony among people dwelling together under one government and as one nation.

"Opposition to the national origins provision

"The national origins provisions was opposed in some quarters, at the time of its adoption, on the ground that it discriminated against certain nationals who desired to enter the United States. Our immigration laws have long discriminated against Orientals, not because of racial prejudice but because it was reorganized that if Orientals were not restricted they would inundate the country by sheer force of numbers. The national origins provision applied the same principle, though less severely, to southern and eastern Europe.

"We have been able, until recent times, to assimilate among us those who came to us because the majority of them were akin to us in traditions and willingly undertook to fit themselves into our life here.

"Due to distortions and dislocations caused by the recent war, the view is now being advanced that the United States should revalue its policy on immigration and national origins to the end that persons who have been dislocated or displaced in Europe may enter this country in excess of established quotas. The persons who would be affected by the plan are principally from eastern and southern Europe.

"The appeal for such a change is based upon the plight of those not enemies who have been driven from, or who have voluntarily left, their native countries. Apparently little consideration is given by these advocates to the effect upon the well-being of this country of admitting large groups here at this time.

"An outstanding statement on that basis came from Hon. Fiorello LaGuardia, Director of UNRRA, in an address made by him at New York, November 2, 1946.

"There is quoted herewith the text of Mr. LaGuardia's speech as reported by the New York Herald Tribune:

" "The most pathetic and difficult problem facing the world today is that of displaced persons. There are about 830,000 men, women, and children homeless, hopeless, and confused in UNRRA camps today.

" "The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, known as UNRRA, is the official international agency of 48 nations. It is really one of the beautiful things that has come out of this terrifying war period. It has carried on its work in the spirit of the brotherhood of man. I can, with all propriety, talk of the good work of UNRRA, for I had nothing to do with its organization and the work in the early difficult period. Credit for that is due entirely to Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, its first director general, who served up to a few months ago.

" "Displaced persons are persons who were displaced from their homes by reason of the war and who were nationals of the United Nations or persecuted by the enemy. This last group consists of all those, regardless of their nationality, who were obliged to leave their homes or were deported therefrom by action of the enemy by reason of their race, religion, or activities in favor of the United Nations.

"Living space inadequate

" "Shelter for the displaced persons is provided by the military and on an emergency basis. This has been sufficient to prevent disease and exposure, but

living space and sleeping quarters are inadequate and below a proper level for habitation over the prolonged period that the displaced persons must remain in them. The food is provided by the armies of occupation—the United States, United Kingdom, and France.

“In addition to displaced persons, there were men and women who were forcibly taken from their homes and brought to Germany for slave labor. When hostilities ceased, 6,000,000 men, women, and children from other countries were in Germany. Over 5,000,000 were repatriated to their own countries by the armies of occupation. This was a gigantic undertaking, and the armies deserve credit for the humane and expeditious way in which it was carried out.

“The residue of some 830,000 in UNRRA camps and perhaps another 100,000 scattered presents a world problem. Some of the people do not want to return to their own homes because of the horrifying memories of having seen members of their own families and friends deliberately murdered in cold blood by the Nazis—others because their homes have been destroyed and all family ties lost, and still others who do not like the new governments in their old homelands.

“Coercion forbidden

“Many were themselves politically active. In some instances where there was civil war, many of them had participated on the losing side. This is particularly true of Yugoslavs and the former residents of the Baltic states, as well as Poles. Many of them have been subjected to constant propaganda against returning to their own home. This condition is now being corrected and accurate information is made available. No one is forced to return to their country of origin. There have been a great many misstatements concerning this policy, but I can assure you that I have issued order that no one should be coerced if he has any personal objection to returning to his country, as well as that no one should be coerced under threat or otherwise not to return.

“I have had splendid cooperation from the United States, United Kingdom, and French Governments. Only recently I presented a plan which was approved by all three governments, and now 60 days' rations are given to all Polish citizens on their return home. Within the first 3 weeks of this month 32,000 Poles are reported to have returned to Poland. In the case of the Yugoslavs I have encountered some difficulty in getting new liaison officers into Austria. This, I feel, is because of some misunderstanding which I hope soon to have cleared. While repatriation has increased, the sum total population of the displaced persons is not decreasing appreciably, because of the large number of infiltrates now coming from Poland.

“The Jewish people from eastern Europe who are infiltrating into the western zones of Germany and Austria, I have ruled, are entitled to the UNRRA care as displaced persons.

“The British military authorities in Germany deny them D. P. status and refuse them shelter and food. We have protested this treatment, pointing out that the British agreed at international conferences to the inclusion of these Jews in the definition of refugees in the proposed IRO constitution and to UNRRA's assumption of care for them.

“I personally took up the matter with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Clement Attlee, and sought to prevail upon him to accept our interpretation of the agreement. The United States and French Governments did. The British Government refused to change its policy. Therefore these infiltrates coming from Poland are all crowding into the American zone, making living conditions in the camps even more congested, more uncomfortable than before.

“UNRRA carries on, with the assistance of the voluntary agencies working with it, programs to prevent the mental and physical deterioration of displaced persons and to provide knowledge and skills helpful in adjustments after repatriation.

“Ninety percent of all children between the ages of 5 and 16 in assembly centers in Germany are estimated to be attending school.

“Vocational instruction courses are adapted to accelerate repatriation by providing quickly taught skills or by refreshing technical knowledge.

“Data on skills compiled

“A compilation of data concerning the skills, previous experience, and other qualifications for employment of the displaced persons was called for by the UNRRA Council. This survey has been completed in the United States, British, and French zones in Germany. UNRRA now has a compilation by occupation

and by major nationalities of 345,281 persons. These people are classified under more than 100 different specific trades.

"Measures have been instituted to encourage repatriation by increased dissemination of information about the home countries. UNRRA has called on the governments of origin and the occupying armies for better and greater cooperation.

"UNRRA shall continue its various operations with respect to displaced persons only until June 30, 1947, unless prior to that time they are undertaken by the International Refugee Organization or by any interim commission or by any other appropriate body designated by the United Nations.

"There are now pending for approval before the General Assembly of the United Nations a constitution for the IRO and an arrangement for a Preparatory Commission. Both these instruments were approved by the Economic and Social Council and referred to the General Assembly. UNRRA has been assisting in the deliberations of that council and its various committees in a consultative capacity.

"Budget of \$160,851,000

"The Economic and Social Council has approved a provisional budget for the first financial year totaling \$100,851,000. It is not enough, but a good start.

"The largest group of displaced persons are the Poles, numbering 319,680. The second group in size are the Balts—that is, Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians—with a total of 177,200. Then the Yugoslavs, with about 30,000. There are about 110,000 displaced persons of the Jewish faith. There are 299 camps operated by UNRRA in addition to 16 centers operated by voluntary agencies.

"The plight of the little children is heart-rending. The children who were kidnaped from their homes or had their parents murdered is another example of the Nazi brutality and degradation.

"UNRRA has found in Germany approximately 10,000 unaccompanied children out of the unknown thousands of children who were kidnaped by the Germans from the neighboring countries and brought to Germany to be nazified or used for slave labor. They are called hidden children, as they were found not with other displaced persons, but as a part of the German population, in institutions in private homes. They were found by search teams who began to look for them in January 1946, as a result of rumors of the existence of these United Nations children, of requests from the national governments, and of reports by camp inmates.

"German records used

"Information leading to their discovery was largely obtained as a result of military regulations requiring German local officials to report on United Nations nationals in their localities. In addition, records from German sources, particularly from various ex-Nazi organizations, have been utilized. Countries are unable to estimate how many children have been removed but they are making every effort to secure a census of their cities and towns and obtain lists of their lost children. We will never know the accurate figure.

"There is now sufficient evidence, both from Nazi sources and from national governments, to establish the fact that organized raids were made on the countries adjacent to Germany for the purpose of removing large groups of children. The children were taken from their towns and villages and brought into Germany by truck or train load. After a period of "Germanization," during which the children were carefully screened for intelligence and physical superiority, some were placed in German families, particularly those of high Nazi standing, or in German institutions. Those best equipped were sent to special schools where potential SS men were being educated.

"Others considered inferior were designated for use as guinea pigs in Nazi eugenics laboratories. Many were deliberately and cruelly destroyed.

"The problem of the displaced persons is one that must be intelligently, constructively, and humanely met. It cannot be delayed. Human beings cannot be placed in a deep freezer of indifference awaiting debates of diplomats and decisions of politicians. This stock pile of human misery cannot be left abandoned after UNRRA ceases its activities on June 30, 1947. The work of repatriation will continue, and yet the best we can hope for is to repatriate perhaps

150,000 more. That will still leave several hundred thousands that must be placed.

"And there is only one way to do it, and that is for every country to do its share. By doing its share I do not mean contributing money to feed them and keep them in continued confinement in camps. There is a great deal of salvageable usefulness and happiness in these people. No country has done as much in expressing sympathy and understanding as our own. Yet to date we have not done much really constructive. We must set the example:

"If every country would take its proportionate share of these people it would not only save hundreds of thousands of souls but would benefit the country. Why, here in New York City alone we could employ 20,000 housemaids, and the same is true of the rest of our country. Our classification shows 77,000 farmhands. They are needed not only in this country but in many others. In a new land these people will be useful citizens. Kept in camps they will deteriorate and become useless. Turned loose in the economy of Germany they will create a political problem.

"President helpful

"President Harry Truman has been most understanding.

"I have submitted a plan that would permit the allocation of unused immigration quotas for a short period in order to provide a haven for these people. I am confidently hopeful that if the United States would take 150,000 or 175,000, the United Kingdom would then relent and would change its present restrictive policy on immigration to Palestine. Nothing will be done by Great Britain until the United States does something. Brazil has already presented a plan. Canada and Australia will surely follow our example as soon as we take our share of the unfortunate but promising people. Bolivia and Venezuela, Peru and Chile are interested. Yes; all countries will follow our lead.

"In this, like many other problems, the United States must set the example. This, as in other cases, is because of our fortunate position and the leadership which has come to us. This job should be completed in 1947. The morale and physical resistance of these unfortunate people cannot hold out much longer. They have a right to live. These are the mourners and must be comforted. These are the meek. These are the hungry. These are the thirsty. These are the strangers. These are the sick. These are the imprisoned.

"Appeal to Christianity

"We have a responsibility. Yes; we have a mandate from the Highest. Here is the opportunity of practicing that which we have preached for nearly 2,000 years. Here we have an opportunity to demonstrate that finally a wicked world has learned the lesson of the Son of God, Prince of Peace.

"When the Son of man shall come to his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory.

"And before him shall be gathered all nations.

"Then shall the King say unto them, come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

"Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we Thee and hungered, and fed Thee, or thirsty, and gave Thee drink?

"When saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? Or naked, and clothed Thee?

"Or when saw we Thee sick, or in prison, and came unto Thee?

"And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me." (Matthew xv: 31-40.)

"Displaced persons in Europe

"In an effort to provide the committee with the latest available figures on the numbers and origins of displaced persons in Europe, I asked the War Department on December 4, 1946, to furnish me with certain detailed information, which report of the War Department in its entirety is submitted herewith:

"Report of Civil Affairs Division, War Department, December 4, 1946

"1. There are no figures available on the number of displaced persons in the Russian occupied zone of Europe.

“2. The following figures show the number of displaced persons in and out of camp by nationality in the United States zone of Germany as of November 15 by Office of the Military Government:

Nationality	In camp	Out of camp	Total
I. UNITED NATIONS DISPLACED PERSONS			
Belgian and Luxemburgian.....	35	1,648	1,683
Czechoslovakian.....	342	7,124	7,466
Estonian.....	15,024	2,566	17,590
French.....	41	2,082	2,123
Latvian.....	45,242	7,586	52,828
Lithuanian.....	29,713	3,600	33,313
Norwegian.....	22	193	215
Polish.....	126,610	33,060	159,670
Russian.....	7,587	11,076	18,663
Yugoslav.....	6,540	11,403	17,943
Stateless.....	12,458	17,806	30,264
Others and unclassified.....	22,042	23,725	45,767
Jews.....	126,729	34,708	161,437
Total.....	392,385	156,577	548,962
II. AUSTRIANS AND ITALIANS			
Austrians.....	49	10,294	10,343
Italians.....	487	3,604	4,091
Total.....	536	13,898	14,434
III. EX-ENEMY DISPLACED PERSONS			
Bulgarian.....	27	763	790
Hungarian.....	78	17,726	17,804
Rumanian.....	531	4,820	5,351
Total.....	636	23,309	23,945
Grand total.....	393,557	193,784	587,341

“3. The following information from Headquarters, United States Forces in Austria, furnishes data as of October 31 on displaced persons in United States zone of Austria and United States Vienna area:

I. United Nations displaced persons (most of these are in camp)

Nationality:	Number
Albanians.....	8
South and Central Americans.....	728
Armenians.....	117
British.....	24
Czechs.....	6
Estonians.....	528
Greeks.....	5
Latvians.....	1,263
Lithuanians.....	1,010
Poles.....	6,127
Russians (Soviet).....	470
Russians (White).....	7,352
Stateless.....	2,635
Sudanesian.....	1
Turks.....	17
Ukraines.....	7,873
United States.....	150
Yugoslavs.....	7,064
Jews (permanent).....	8,461
Jews (transient refugees).....	26,571
Total, United Nations.....	70,410

II. Ex-enemy displaced persons (all of these are out of camp)

Nationality :	Number
Bulgarians-----	166
Germans-----	13, 580
Hungarians-----	7, 389
Rumanians-----	1, 263
Volksdeutsche-----	69
Baltic Volksdeutsche-----	34
Bulgarian Volksdeutsche-----	23
Czech Volksdeutsche-----	1, 060
Danish Volksdeutsche-----	3
Holland Volksdeutsche-----	1
Hungarian Volksdeutsche-----	5, 903
Latvian Volksdeutsche-----	3
Lithuanian Volksdeutsche-----	111
Polish Volksdeutsche-----	6, 482
Rumanian Volksdeutsche-----	37, 527
Russian Volksdeutsche-----	1, 974
Yugoslav Volksdeutsche-----	49, 055
Sudetendeutsche-----	29, 711
Total, ex-enemy-----	154, 354
Grand total-----	224, 764

“4. The following figures are for all displaced persons in the British and French occupied zones of Germany in assembly centers as of October 15, 1946, as shown from the UNRRA report No. 33.

Nationality	Number	
	British zone	French zone
Belgian and Luxemburger-----	218	106
Czechoslovak-----	406	266
Dutch-----	651	268
French-----	141	359
Polish-----	165, 749	20, 011
Russian-----	315	86
United States of America-----	256	82
Yugoslav-----	13, 719	987
Estonian-----	13, 481	786
Latvian-----	45, 517	2, 314
Lithuanian-----	24, 334	2, 384
Austrian-----	68	68
Hungarian-----	3, 959	688
Italian-----	100	203
Rumanian-----	1, 796	349
Jewish-----	13, 121	1, 930
Others and undetermined-----	21, 733	2, 560
Total-----	305, 564	33, 447

NOTE.—Figures on the French zone include those only in UNRRA centers—figures for DP’s in military - operated centers are not available.

“5. The following figures are furnished on displaced persons in UNRRA assembly centers in the British and French zones of Austria for the month of September. These figures are from an UNRRA report and figures for later date are not available.

Nationality	Number	
	British zone	French zone
Czechoslovak.....	15	42
Estonian.....	55	46
Greek.....	3	2
Italian.....	5	8
Latvian.....	307	61
Lithuanian.....	114	74
Polish.....	3,688	2,688
Turkish.....	43	2
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	102	13
Yugoslav.....	6,903	94
Ex-enemy.....	60	59
Jewish.....	3,578	-----
Stateless.....	67	7
Undetermined.....	213	624
Other.....	22	15
Total.....	15,175	3,735

“6. The following figures are for displaced persons in Italy in all zones, occupied and unoccupied, as of the month of September. This information is from an UNRRA report.

Nationality	Number in UNRRA centers	Number outside UNRRA centers
Albanian.....	18	36
Austrian.....	223	763
British.....	42	30
Czechoslovak.....	455	1,235
French.....	57	115
Greek.....	693	398
Lithuanian.....	149	124
Polish.....	4,108	5,124
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	59	174
Turkish.....	47	133
Yugoslav.....	465	1,654
Ex-enemy.....	1,930	3,457
Other and unclassified.....	266	603
Total.....	8,512	13,846

NOTE.—In addition to the above figures on displaced persons in Italy, there are 12,328 displaced persons as of Nov. 12, 1946, most of whom are Yugoslavs and Poles who are a combined US-UK responsibility. All of these are in Allied-controlled operated camps.

“Report of Mr. George Meader, chief counsel to the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program

“On September 12, 1946, Senator Mead, then chairman of the Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, announced through the press that the committee would investigate military government in Germany. Afterward Mr. George Meader, chief counsel to the committee, was sent to Europe to make the investigation, and Mr. Meader’s findings were made public on December 4, 1946.

“Much of Meader’s report is foreign to matters within the scope of this inquiry, but his observations on displaced persons are timely and informative. That portion of Mr. Meader’s report is submitted herewith. Particular attention is directed to the statement that this Government has agreed to accept 2,250,000 expelees in its zone in Germany.

“There are at the present time approximatley 150,000 Jewish displaced persons in United States zone of Germany, of whom less than one-quarter were in Germany during the war. Their number has increased by 120,000 since January

1, 1946, and they are continuing to come. It is estimated that there are 100,000 Jews left in Poland, of whom the United States will eventually have to care for well over half. There are 180,000 Jews in Hungary whom the Russians are at present not permitting to leave. The United States continues to accept into its zone the Jews, as well as any other eastern European people who can present a plausible claim that they are persecuted for racial or religious reasons or for political beliefs favorable to the Allies.

"At Babenhausen there were 3,000 newly arrived Jews who had come from Poland. The Babenhausen camp had been opened for only about 2 weeks prior to my visit. It was at that camp where a trainload of Jews had refused to get off the train because the camp was not good enough. When the Army authorities threatened to turn the train around and send them back where they came from they still did not get off the train. The Army authorities did turn the train around, but instead of taking them back took them to another camp.

"These persons are, for the most part, penniless and do not desire to work, but expect to be cared for, and complain when things are not as well done as they thing they should be. Mr. Goldman, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Director of the camp, said that he had not been able to get more than 400 of the 3,000 to do any work, even fixing up their own dwelling space. When he did get any work out of them, it was because of offering special inducements, such as extra cigarettes.

"It is very doubtful that any country would desire these people as immigrants. I spoke with a Jewish girl at Babenhausen, who said she was a block leader, and asked her who had paid for the transportation of these persecutees through Poland and Czechoslovakia. She said it was the Jewish organization. I spoke with representatives of the American Joint Distribution Committee, both in Vienna and Paris, and they denied that their organization defrayed transportation costs for these people, and insisted that this mass migration was a spontaneous movement generated because of pogroms and persecution in Poland. These representatives observed that the best way to solve the problem of what to do with these 150,000 Jews was to permit them to migrate to Palestine.

"The Army authorities were unable to state the source of the financial support for transporting these trainloads of Jews, who all seem to be coming into our zone. They suspect strongly, however, that the American Joint Distribution Committee is doing it in spite of their protestations to the contrary. General McNarney stated that he believed Mr. Schwartz, who is head of the Paris office, would admit they were furnishing the transportation.

"It would be important to know two things: First, whether there is, in fact, persecution in Poland, or whether it is simply alleged without any basis; second, it would be important to know whether these mass migrations are spontaneous or are encouraged by paying train fare and otherwise for the purpose of building up a pressure in the United States zone in Germany to further Zionist objectives. There is a very serious question of policy involved as to whether or not the United States taxpayers, without formally passing upon the question, should be compelled to finance a minority political program. Whatever the policy may be, and it may very well be that the Congress would desire to appropriate funds for this specific purpose, the facts should be known and the policy should be formulated with the full knowledge of those facts.

"The War Department sought to close the camps of displaced persons, other than the Jews, and treat the occupants merely as Germans. It is said that considerable pressure developed from various racial and religious groups within the United States sufficient to cause a reversal of this War Department policy on a very high level. Programs have been initiated to arrange with South American countries, particularly, to accept some of these displaced persons as immigrants. Little progress has been made because the South American countries want to accept only the cream, leaving the least desirable persons still in our care.

"This problem is a difficult one. Because it forms the basis for a large proportion of the appropriations made for military government, the Congress should be fully and accurately informed as to all the facts with regard to it.

"Upward of five and one-half million displaced persons have been repatriated or resettled. The repatriation of the "hard core" of one-half million is difficult for a variety of reasons, ranging from inertia or a preference to stay where they are and be cared for to a fear that if they return home they will be either killed or abused.

"Many of them are cared for in encampments, the German Army barracks being used for this purpose in many places.

"Of the 535,000 displaced persons in the United States zone, 410,000 are in camps and 125,000 are living with the German population.

"Displaced persons are presently requiring the attention of some 800 United States Army officers and men, of whom approximately 500 are devoting full time to this duty. An estimated 10 percent of the effort of military service troops in the American zone is also devoted to displaced persons. Approximately 1,400 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel aided by some 600 personnel of various voluntary agencies, are also caring for displaced persons. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration furnishes no food, clothing or "amenity supplies," such as soap and cigarettes. It provides supervision only.

"United Nations displaced persons are accorded a basic ration of 2,000 calories per day, and persecutees, including Jews, receive an extra 200 calories. Statistics show all age groups and both sexes of these displaced persons to be overweight. However, an explanation of this condition has been offered in that the ration contains a substantial proportion of starchy foods which tend to create fat.

"The finding of employment for displaced persons presents an additional problem which appears to have no satisfactory solution. It has already been pointed out that a number of displaced persons have thus far been able to support themselves outside centers. However, among the estimated 275,000 employables only about 40-50 percent are employed, and such employment includes a substantial number engaged in vocational training within the centers. Approximately 53,000 are employed by the United States forces, and a certain number are engaged in their own center administration. The basic difficulties of employment for displaced persons are that their centers are often located distant from centers of employment; the German reichsmarks which they earn have no foreign-exchange value; they may not buy in the rationed German economy; and finally they must compete with indigenous labor. Certain of them—notably the Balts—show a willingness and desire for work; others, including the Jews, do not want to work. The entire problem is rendered more acute in the light of the unavoidable moral and physical deterioration resulting from long periods of idleness and dependence on outside charitable support.

"The lack of employment opportunities for displaced persons may contribute in part to the general security problem which they have created for the occupying forces. Black-market activities have offered a convenient substitute for regular employment, and certain criminal elements have committed numerous crimes of violence. This is an aspect of the displaced persons problem which has received little publicity but has been a source of constant worry to those responsible for the maintenance of order. Accurate statistics can probably never be obtained; however, those furnished are worthy of note in passing.

"G-5 Division, United States Forces, European Theater, reports that incidents involving displaced persons dropped from a weekly average of 225 during the winter to a low of 163 in July. More revealing, perhaps, are the figures taken from the Weekly Intelligence Summary of G-2 Division of the same headquarters. Examination of these figures over a period of 23 weeks in the first half of the current year discloses reports of 4,116 thefts, 219 homicides, and 890 assaults, and available figures indicate that better than 50 percent of those reported may be considered verified.

"Unfortunately the shortage of clothing in the earlier stages of displaced-persons care necessitated the issuance of items of United States Army uniform to them; accordingly, a substantial number of these depredations must have been charged up by the Germans to United States soldiers. (Uniforms for displaced persons have since been dyed.)

"The security situation is not eased by the fact that United States forces are strictly limited in the extent to which German police may be used in Jewish and Soviet centers. This policy was largely the outcome of an incident which occurred last March in a Jewish center in Stuttgart, when German police, partially supported by United States troops, were used to conduct a justified raid, during which a near riot occurred and one Jewish displaced person was shot and killed. The matter was immediately taken up by Jewish groups in the United States, with the result that a new procedure for the use of German police in displaced-persons centers was established, whereby German police might only enter such centers in numbers limited to one or two essential individuals, unarmed, accompanied by adequate United States military personnel, and then only for the purpose of iden-

tifying persons or evidence connected with a crime committed outside the center—this although in the Stuttgart case the official findings were to the effect that the actions of the German police were not unwarranted.

“‘In summing up the security aspect of the displaced-persons question, it must not be overlooked that the Germans must gaze with some bewilderment upon the conditions the United States permits to exist, and the behavior of the displaced persons themselves appears to be a strange expression of gratitude for the hospitality which they are receiving from the Americans.

“‘The cost of caring for displaced persons has been estimated at \$12 per month per person for food (\$13.20 for persecutees) and \$49 for an initial outfit of clothing, with a \$5 monthly maintenance cost. The estimated cost of caring for displaced persons plus 15,000 civilian internees (the costs are computed together) for fiscal year 1947 comes to \$108,500,000 and for fiscal year 1948 to \$109,400,000. These figures come under the appropriations, actual and proposed, for government and relief in occupied areas. They do not take into account the cost of United States military and civilian personnel required to handle displaced-persons matters, the share of the cost of tactical and service troops so required, the use of military vehicles and fuel therefor for displaced persons' transportation, nor the items paid by the German economy such as telephone, housing, medical supplies, and equipment, medical services, or housekeeping personnel.

“‘No solution for the problem is presently in sight. Originally the matter was in the hands of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. However, late in 1945, headquarters, United States Forces, European theater, realized that this committee was not going to solve the problem. In December a plan was submitted to the War Department for repatriation of certain groups, the closing of centers, and the turning over to the German economy of those persons not desiring repatriation. This plan followed a distressing course of delay for policy coordination in Washington, for consultation with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and eventually on April 24, 1946, the War Department notified headquarters, United States Forces, European theater, that the Secretary of State had announced the decision to defer closing of the centers until after the United Nations Assembly should have an opportunity to consider the matter in September (later delayed to October) and that the War Department had no prior knowledge that such an announcement would be made. Plans are now being considered in Frankfurt for eventually turning over certain displaced persons to the German economy with safeguards set up through voluntary organizations; however, these plans are not yet definite.

“‘The position of the other zones with respect to displaced persons offer a sharp contrast. The British zone has some 300,000 displaced persons in centers. However, as of July 1 the British ceased to accept displaced persons into their centers and, in addition, the British classify Jews according to their nationality rather than merely as Jews. The displaced-persons problem in the French zone is negligible, and it is estimated that the French have approximately 33,000. The Soviets have chosen the other possible alternative in handling their displaced persons; namely, they ignore them. When asked for information on this matter the Soviets have merely replied, “We have no displaced-persons problem,” and at a recent meeting at Geneva the Soviets admitted the presence of 69 displaced persons.

“‘The position of the United States with respect to displaced persons is one of continuing to accept all Jews and all “persecutees” into a zone which is already beset with serious housing and food shortages and thus to place an additional burden on the United States occupation authorities in Germany.

“‘A decision must ultimately be reached as to whether the United States desires to continue indefinitely its largess at the cost of over \$110,000,000 per year and untold problems.

“‘There are over 1,000,000 German refugees in the United States zone. They are a primary responsibility of the Germans themselves, but each gets his 1,550 calories a day, at United States expense. “Expellees” are ethnic Germans expelled from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Poland pursuant to the Potsdam Agreement. The United States has agreed to accept 2,250,000 expellees in its zone. Although the British and Russians have also accepted large numbers of expellees, the French, claiming that they were not a party to the Potsdam Agreement, agreed to the acceptance of only 150,000 expellees of a special category. It turns out that there are not that many, but only a few thousand, in that category.’

"Registered aliens"

"After the opening of hostilities in Europe in 1940, our Government, in the interest of national defense, required registration of all aliens. The statistics on registered aliens are pertinent to this inquiry because they indicate what nationals acquire citizenship and the rate of assimilation. I have therefore obtained and submit herewith three statistical tables concerning registered aliens:

**Registered aliens in the United States, classified by country of birth and sex,
Dec. 26, 1940**

Country of birth	Total	Male	Female
Total.....	5,009,857	2,340,770	2,669,087
Austria.....	193,505	84,825	108,680
Austria-Hungary.....	94,893	40,116	54,777
Belgium.....	16,358	7,957	8,401
Bulgaria.....	4,596	3,476	1,120
Czechoslovakia.....	73,909	28,527	45,382
Denmark.....	30,385	18,837	11,548
Estonia.....	1,931	1,203	728
Finland.....	50,758	25,484	25,274
France.....	34,427	14,906	19,521
Germany.....	321,089	149,160	171,920
Great Britain.....	299,653	130,958	168,695
Northern Ireland.....	31,198	12,475	18,723
Irish Free State.....	160,098	50,066	109,132
Greece.....	83,102	52,283	30,819
Hungary.....	117,828	47,310	70,518
Italy.....	703,445	298,713	404,732
Latvia.....	7,177	3,026	4,151
Lithuania.....	87,369	39,995	47,374
Netherlands.....	33,335	18,751	14,584
Norway.....	68,979	38,906	30,073
Poland.....	446,462	170,140	267,322
Portugal.....	74,471	40,753	33,718
Rumania.....	32,664	13,045	19,619
Russia.....	370,308	156,237	214,071
Spain.....	40,743	27,668	13,075
Sweden.....	103,407	57,815	45,592
Switzerland.....	24,822	14,070	10,752
Turkey.....	44,741	22,197	22,544
Yugoslavia.....	56,532	31,427	25,105
Other Europe.....	13,578	7,909	5,669
Arabia (Saudi).....	609	558	51
China.....	41,024	33,066	7,958
India.....	4,108	3,381	727
Iraq (Mesopotamia).....	476	275	201
Japan.....	92,623	56,920	35,703
Korea.....	3,564	2,584	980
Palestine.....	2,887	1,759	1,128
Persia (Iran).....	1,992	1,042	950
Siam.....	176	148	28
Syria and Lebanon.....	25,209	11,129	14,080
France (Asia).....	74	47	27
Great Britain (Asia).....	2,511	2,030	481
Portugal (Asia).....	30	26	4
Other Asia.....	262	222	40
Australia.....	4,232	2,051	2,181
New Zealand.....	1,464	745	719
France (Pacific).....	126	69	57
Great Britain (Pacific).....	218	115	103
Japan (Pacific).....	41	32	9
Netherlands (East Indies).....	574	345	189
Portugal (Pacific).....	11	9	2
Philippine Islands.....	84,730	79,597	5,133
United States possessions (Pacific).....	4,238	637	3,601
Other Pacific.....	33	14	19
Egypt.....	1,278	675	603
Union of South Africa.....	1,666	846	820
Ethiopia.....	45	38	7
Liberia.....	228	205	23
Belgium (Africa).....	37	16	21
France (Africa).....	1,035	587	448
Great Britain (Africa).....	661	523	138
Italy (Africa).....	80	44	36
Portugal (Africa).....	70	39	31
Spain (Africa).....	54	27	27
Other Africa.....	110	72	38
United States.....	73,141	10,668	62,473
Canada.....	467,258	208,227	259,031
Newfoundland.....	14,823	8,509	6,314
Mexico.....	423,519	230,694	192,825

*Registered aliens in the United States, classified by country of birth and sex,
Dec. 26, 1940—Continued*

Country of birth	Total	Male	Female
Costa Rica.....	1, 209	612	597
El Salvador.....	1, 092	459	633
Guatemala.....	1, 184	598	586
Honduras.....	1, 162	617	545
Nicaragua.....	1, 471	672	799
Panama.....	2, 383	1, 144	1, 239
Cuba.....	16, 207	9, 357	6, 850
Dominican Republic.....	2, 899	1, 198	1, 701
British West Indies.....	62, 747	30, 186	32, 561
Dutch West Indies.....	1, 602	903	699
Haiti.....	697	432	265
Canal Zone.....	369	215	154
Other North and Central America.....	11, 863	5, 497	6, 366
Argentina.....	4, 016	2, 123	1, 893
Bolivia.....	198	127	71
Brazil.....	5, 088	2, 736	2, 352
Chile.....	1, 921	1, 339	582
Colombia.....	3, 174	1, 622	1, 552
Ecuador.....	882	643	239
Peru.....	1, 513	1, 046	467
Paraguay.....	93	28	65
Uruguay.....	426	243	183
Venezuela.....	3, 290	1, 427	1, 863
British Guiana.....	2, 312	1, 171	1, 141
Dutch Guiana.....	285	208	77
French Guiana.....	22	15	7
Other South America.....	32	18	14
Unknown.....	3, 126	2, 056	1, 070
Born on board ship.....	714	398	316
None or blank.....	896	528	368
Europe, not specified.....	13	6	7

*Date of entry of registered aliens in the United States, classified by sex, Dec. 26,
1940*

Date of entry	Total	Male	Female
Total.....	5, 009, 857	2, 340, 770	2, 669, 087
Prior to 1880.....	32, 739	13, 858	18, 881
1880-89.....	117, 790	61, 251	56, 539
1890-99.....	239, 605	120, 561	119, 044
1900-09.....	1, 080, 654	553, 314	527, 340
1910.....	182, 900	87, 694	95, 206
1911.....	151, 822	66, 820	85, 002
1912.....	216, 750	98, 817	117, 933
1913.....	287, 230	129, 419	157, 811
1914.....	154, 646	69, 126	85, 520
1915.....	62, 648	29, 710	32, 938
1916.....	82, 803	38, 149	44, 654
1917.....	46, 371	23, 265	23, 106
1918.....	43, 195	23, 389	19, 806
1919.....	91, 322	47, 827	43, 495
1920.....	194, 672	82, 856	111, 816
1921.....	163, 980	59, 105	104, 875
1922.....	134, 693	59, 124	75, 569
1923.....	217, 840	106, 962	110, 878
1924.....	106, 352	53, 621	52, 731
1925.....	92, 765	41, 717	51, 048
1926.....	107, 305	52, 084	55, 221
1927.....	107, 828	52, 572	55, 256
1928.....	106, 468	49, 148	57, 320
1929.....	110, 797	50, 389	60, 408
1930.....	89, 722	39, 882	49, 840
1931.....	39, 329	17, 492	21, 837
1932.....	30, 370	11, 560	18, 810
1933.....	30, 210	11, 806	18, 404
1934.....	39, 315	15, 320	23, 995
1935.....	45, 671	17, 607	28, 064
1936.....	56, 861	22, 560	34, 301
1937.....	83, 556	34, 888	48, 668
1938.....	100, 860	45, 086	55, 774
1939.....	109, 705	51, 503	58, 202
1940.....	142, 463	72, 028	70, 435
Unknown.....	108, 620	30, 260	78, 360

Registered aliens in the United States, for selected countries of birth by State of residence, Dec. 26, 1940

State of residence	Country of birth							Total
	Italy	Canada	Poland	Mexico	Russia	Germany	Others	
United States.....	703, 445	467, 258	446, 462	432, 519	370, 308	321, 080	2, 277, 785	5, 009, 857
Alabama.....	892	333	131	78	255	412	3, 031	5, 132
Arizona.....	217	518	82	26, 807	177	218	3, 935	31, 954
Arkansas.....	545	220	118	190	108	503	1, 705	3, 389
California.....	52, 749	40, 693	5, 282	146, 439	19, 970	19, 952	257, 379	542, 464
Colorado.....	3, 093	1, 122	639	6, 908	5, 004	1, 104	9, 603	27, 473
Connecticut.....	41, 818	15, 937	24, 232	51	11, 534	4, 937	59, 619	158, 128
Delaware.....	1, 726	246	1, 172	15	572	333	2, 364	6, 428
District of Columbia.....	2, 154	1, 031	553	90	2, 063	1, 057	7, 804	14, 752
Florida.....	3, 035	5, 465	699	183	1, 089	1, 779	29, 077	41, 327
Georgia.....	237	492	272	29	546	484	3, 127	5, 187
Idaho.....	289	1, 412	55	315	308	409	5, 444	8, 232
Illinois.....	35, 292	13, 728	53, 352	11, 921	26, 800	28, 981	154, 996	325, 070
Indiana.....	2, 357	2, 603	5, 680	2, 771	2, 610	3, 973	24, 991	44, 385
Iowa.....	1, 203	1, 153	433	1, 268	1, 358	4, 516	14, 717	24, 648
Kansas.....	697	706	598	5, 053	1, 664	1, 591	5, 646	15, 955
Kentucky.....	647	451	225	41	404	948	2, 842	5, 558
Louisiana.....	7, 021	461	199	1, 040	328	843	7, 418	17, 310
Maine.....	1, 105	35, 272	777	21	968	215	8, 875	47, 233
Maryland.....	6, 182	1, 347	5, 362	84	6, 548	3, 934	14, 335	37, 792
Massachusetts.....	53, 989	91, 654	30, 956	94	26, 907	4, 179	156, 642	364, 421
Michigan.....	17, 856	77, 990	48, 189	4, 751	15, 653	12, 705	125, 959	303, 103
Minnesota.....	1, 254	6, 108	2, 363	1, 210	3, 484	4, 205	42, 809	61, 433
Mississippi.....	881	105	62	183	104	217	1, 667	3, 219
Missouri.....	7, 699	1, 552	3, 229	1, 965	5, 508	5, 327	18, 270	43, 550
Montana.....	713	2, 149	179	1, 065	1, 180	465	8, 026	13, 777
Nebraska.....	1, 302	615	869	1, 977	3, 340	2, 539	8, 291	18, 933
Nevada.....	1, 042	330	25	799	56	211	3, 655	6, 118
New Hampshire.....	697	18, 236	2, 105	11	1, 066	307	8, 122	30, 538
New Jersey.....	72, 582	6, 721	36, 291	298	20, 239	24, 820	118, 248	279, 199
New Mexico.....	366	173	54	9, 909	89	242	1, 569	12, 402
New York.....	250, 253	62, 385	122, 937	3, 600	145, 202	130, 803	542, 321	1, 257, 501
North Carolina.....	179	498	103	19	191	352	2, 865	4, 207
North Dakota.....	15	1, 684	309	108	1, 766	576	6, 024	10, 482
Ohio.....	26, 901	9, 410	23, 391	1, 461	11, 691	11, 547	118, 637	203, 038
Oklahoma.....	424	596	285	1, 419	601	676	2, 945	6, 946
Oregon.....	1, 983	6, 573	453	340	2, 384	1, 914	20, 777	34, 424
Pennsylvania.....	71, 952	6, 153	53, 127	1, 526	31, 172	16, 976	189, 114	370, 020
Rhode Island.....	11, 924	11, 745	3, 335	10	1, 793	715	23, 048	52, 570
South Carolina.....	70	180	106	10	199	199	1, 424	2, 188
South Dakota.....	59	452	139	94	873	935	4, 848	7, 400
Tennessee.....	1, 132	393	344	52	541	553	2, 122	5, 137
Texas.....	3, 345	1, 768	1, 162	183, 758	1, 507	3, 757	18, 601	213, 898
Utah.....	984	603	39	796	78	863	7, 124	10, 487
Vermont.....	659	10, 826	760	9	349	136	3, 183	15, 927
Virginia.....	771	855	405	37	1, 027	884	6, 114	10, 093
Washington.....	3, 982	17, 019	1, 296	425	3, 222	3, 025	52, 667	81, 636
West Virginia.....	5, 284	430	2, 679	210	1, 405	479	13, 175	23, 662
Wisconsin.....	3, 332	3, 428	11, 083	940	5, 911	14, 767	35, 666	75, 127
Wyoming.....	298	225	150	1, 434	700	146	2, 964	5, 917
Alaska.....	52	479	31	17	147	116	2, 563	3, 405
Hawaii.....	34	295	45	23	123	98	90, 829	91, 447
Puerto Rico.....	90	29	12	87	14	43	14, 579	14, 854
Virgin Islands.....	2	5	5	2	2	10	3, 827	3, 853
American Samoa.....	0	1	0	0	0	7	97	105
Canadian commuters and visitors.....	19	2, 108	20	18	31	5	461	2, 662
Mexican commuters and visitors.....	6	7	2	1, 242	3	4	82	1, 346
Foreign address.....	2	16	0	12	0	0	32	62
Others and unknown.....	53	272	56	304	50	88	1, 530	2, 353

"Displaced persons in the United States

"During the war years there were references in the press to groups of displaced persons who reached the shores of this country. I have been unable to obtain sufficient information to make a complete report upon the subject of displaced persons who, to this date, have entered the United States. This should be the subject of careful inquiry upon consideration of any legislation upon the subject.

"Life magazine at one time carried a picture of a refugee camp at Oswego, N. Y.

"I am advised by the Attorney General that during the war there came into this country 953 persons without visas, and that approximately 200 of these have been

returned to their native countries. The others were issued visas after reaching here, and charged against the quotas of their respective countries.

"I have received information that American vessels have been used, and are being used, for the transport of refugees from Bremerhaven and Mediterranean ports, and that such vessels are transporting 940 persons per vessel to this country. This situation should be made the subject of inquiry.

"In addition, reports from the American zone in Germany indicate that large numbers of persons are infiltrating into that sector.

"In view of the position taken by some to change our immigration policies and the observations of Mr. George Meader on the conduct and quality of displaced persons infiltrating into the American zones of occupation, I thought it advisable to obtain specific and detailed information concerning such persons both in this country and abroad. In particular I sought the following data: (1) Who are they? (2) Where are they? (3) How did they get where they are? (4) How many are coming to this country? (5) Under what authority are they here?

"I asked the Department of Justice for the following information:

"A. Total number of persons entering this country in 1938, the total broken down (1) according to countries from which immigrants came, (2) according to nationality, (3) according to race.

"B. Same information for 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946.

"C. How many displaced persons are there in this country?

"D. Who are the displaced persons—the figures broken down (1) according to countries from which they came, (2) nationality, (3) race.

"E. Where are they now?

"F. How are displaced persons in this country being provided for and under what authority are they here?

"G. Total number of legal entries into the United States under quotas for the years 1939 to 1946, the total being broken down (1) according to countries from which the immigrants came, (2) according to nationality, (3) according to race.

"In answer to item A, the Department of Justice furnished me with the following statistical table set out on pages 28 and 29; and in answer to item B, the Department of Justice furnished me with the following statistical tables set out on pages 30 to 39, inclusive:

Immigrant aliens admitted, year ended June 30, 1939, by classes under the Immigration Act of 1924, races or peoples and sex

Race or people and sex	Number admitted	Quota immigrants	Husbands of citizens	Wives of citizens	Unmarried children of citizens	Infants (admitted as returning residents)	Natives of non-quota countries	Wives and children of natives of non-quota countries	Ministers and their wives and children	Professors and their wives and children	Women who had been citizens	Other classes
All races.....	82,998	62,402	1,088	3,759	2,196	71	12,119	104	705	447	88	19
Albanian.....	207	91		62	53					1		
Armenian.....	193	144	4	37			6		1	1		
Bohemian and Moravian.....	264	197	6	23	16	1	11		1	8	1	
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.....	397	326	4	36	12		2		17			
Chinese.....	124			112						12		
Croatian and Slovenian.....	457	341	17	46	41		5		6	1		
Cuban.....	558	2	2	7	2		545					
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.....	73	68		4						1		
Dutch and Flemish.....	758	562	34	17	8		136	1	3	1	1	
English.....	5,076	2,026	93	195	37	13	2,577	31	59	24	21	
Filipino.....	56	45		9	1		1					
Finnish.....	439	365	4	30	1	1	13		5			
French.....	2,214	609	18	63	32	3	1,463	2	3	15	5	1
German.....	5,524	4,463	148	217	104	16	424	4	47	94	7	
Greek.....	992	464	29	386	65		15		29	1	3	
Hebrew.....	43,450	41,439	159	451	287	2	545	8	815	213	31	
Irish.....	2,968	1,607	25	66	53	10	1,190	3	9	4	1	
Italian.....	6,708	3,940	275	1,193	1,108		132	18	29	11	2	
Japanese.....	57					3			51	3		
Lithuanian.....	131	95	4	16	4		10		1		1	
Magyar.....	614	475	14	57	18	1	24	1	5	18	1	
Negro.....	304	180	6	6	14		94		3		1	
Polish.....	868	513	28	159	83	1	68		13	3		
Portuguese.....	509	417	13	41	23	1	9		1	4		
Rumanian.....	98	60	1	16	1		11		7	2		
Russian.....	840	636	9	98	8		79	1	4	5		
Ruthenian (Russniak).....	198	81	8	30	11		63		5			
Scandinavian.....	1,563	1,153	74	89	31	4	184	2	17	5	4	
Scotch.....	1,968	537	30	62	18	7	1,284	16	11	2	2	
Slovak.....	991	729	31	88	122	1	10		1	9		
Spanish.....	428	246	11	46	23		53	13	25	5		6
Spanish American.....	826	6	5	6	2	2	797	4	2		1	1
Syrian.....	282	171	8	41	11		40		9		1	1
Turkish.....	34	26		4	1				3			

Welsh.....	134	47	6	6	2	1	64	1	5	-----	2	-----
West Indian.....	292	145	2	7	5	1	129	-----	-----	-----	-----	3
All other:												
Chiefly natives of Mexico.....	2,145	1	6	9	-----	2	2,109	-----	16	1	1	-----
Egyptians, Estonians, Latvians, etc.....	258	175	14	24	4	1	26	-----	2	3	2	7
Sex:												
Male.....	39,423	31,699	1,088	-----	1,236	39	4,633	18	441	259	-----	10
Female.....	43,575	30,703	-----	3,759	960	32	7,486	86	264	188	88	9

Immigrant aliens admitted, year ended June 30, 1940, by classes under the Immigration Act of 1924, and races or peoples

Race or people	Number admitted	Quota immigrants	Husbands of citizens	Wives of citizens	Children of citizens	Infants (admitted as returning residents)	Natives of non-quota countries	Wives and children of natives of non-quota countries	Ministers and their wives and children	Professors and their wives and children	Women who had been citizens	Other classes
All races.....	70,756	51,997	963	3,195	1,316	40	11,886	99	630	499	100	31
Armenian.....	181	132		32	1		9		6	1		
Bohemian and Moravian.....	188	133	3	17	7		14		6	8		
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.....	276	216	3	30	10		5		12	5		
Chinese.....	106			99					2			
Croatian and Slovenian.....	292	220	14	34	18		4	1	1			
Cuban.....	548	1		1	1		543	1				1
Dutch and Flemish.....	1,087	849	45	37	5		133	1	11	3	3	
English.....	4,889	1,948	78	220	39	10	2,484	28	44	20	18	
Filipino.....	55	43	1	7	1				3			
Finnish.....	298	253	10	17	1		16		1			
French.....	2,363	630	8	78	30	4	1,582	5	5	15	6	
German.....	3,556	2,630	81	219	35	7	413	4	49	111	7	
Greek.....	1,049	554	14	352	73		24		32			
Hebrew.....	36,945	55,156	121	365	123	2	639	14	252	239	33	1
Irish.....	2,548	1,160	29	58	33	4	1,239	5	14	2	4	
Italian.....	5,512	3,491	323	846	676	1	130	9	20	15	1	
Japanese.....	48					2			44		2	
Lithuanian.....	99	57	3	29	1		6		3			
Magyar.....	561	393	21	66	39		22	1	3	16		
Negro.....	315	181	7	13	24		87		1		1	1
Polish.....	467	238	25	80	11		81		14	18		
Portuguese.....	516	433	9	46	12		16					
Rumanian.....	102	44	4	24	5		19		6			
Russian.....	671	513	3	85	5	1	43		15	6		
Ruthenian (Rusniak).....	118	30	8	11	7		60		1	1		
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes).....	1,514	1,173	38	94	32	5	144		18	1	8	1
Scotch.....	1,646	515	19	89	7	2	1,282	11	10	5	6	
Slovak.....	349	216	32	34	51		6		2	7	1	
Spanish.....	435	226	26	57	27		35	12	24	19	1	8
Spanish American.....	922	23	13	13	4	1	865	2		1		
Syrian.....	193	85	2	22	3		72	5	3	1		
Turkish.....	18	12		4	2							
Welsh.....	105	44	4	4			49		3	1		
West Indian (except Cuban).....	166	72	1	11	3		77		1		1	
All other:												
Chiefly natives of Mexico.....	1,801		6	31	2	1	1,747		9		5	
Albanians, Estonians, Dalmatians, Latvians, etc.....	517	326	12	70	28		40		15	4	3	19

Immigrant aliens admitted, year ended June 30, 1941, by classes under the Immigration Act of 1924, and races or peoples

Race or people	Number admitted	Quota immigrants	Husbands of citizens	Wives of citizens	Children of citizens	Infants (admitted as returning residents)	Natives of non-quota countries	Wives and children of natives of non-quota countries	Ministers and their wives and children	Professors and their wives and children	Women who had been citizens	Other classes
All races.....	51,776	36,220	368	1,543	211	23	12,501	85	404	245	168	8
Armenian.....	93	67		10			9		7			
Bohemian and Moravian.....	437	408	2	13	3		5		4	2		
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.....	56	48		6			2					
Chinese.....	73			66					6	1		
Croatian and Slovenian.....	81	53	8	10			8		1	1		
Cuban.....	596	2		1			591	1			1	
Dutch and Flemish.....	1,344	1,137	16	26	10	1	120	3	9	10	12	
English.....	6,115	3,016	48	218	33	3	2,640	23	44	12	78	
Filipino.....	56	45		10	1							
Finnish.....	366	309	3	28	1		23		2			
French.....	3,283	1,472	27	123	23		1,582	4	5	24	23	
German.....	2,154	1,642	24	84	17	1	316	2	32	30	6	
Greek.....	410	303	12	54	11		22		6	2		
Hebrew.....	23,737	22,378	73	290	28	4	703	13	123	114	11	
Irish.....	1,883	470	18	47	5		1,306	7	11	6	13	
Italian.....	696	530	16	35	5		105	1	3		1	
Japanese.....	30					7			23			
Lithuanian.....	121	87		22			5		5	1	1	
Magyar.....	279	209	3	37		1	21		4	3	1	
Negro.....	229	85	8	8	6		111	1	10			
Polish.....	686	476	13	49	6		122	2	7	9	2	
Portuguese.....	395	313	7	32	24		15	1		2	1	
Rumanian.....	90	43	5	9			24	1	7	1		
Russian.....	940	748	8	89			75	2	13	5		
Ruthenian (Rusniak).....	98	23	2	7			59		5	2		
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes).....	1,351	1,095	27	38	9		156	1	11	8	6	
Scotch.....	1,865	510	15	83	4	3	1,221	5	14	2	8	
Slovak.....	163	142	4	8			8		1			
Spanish.....	443	270	13	47	17		52	11	26	7		
Spanish-American.....	1,148	3	3	10	2		1,122	5	1	1	1	
Surian.....	150	64		16		2	65		2	1		
Turkish.....	15	13		2								
Welsh.....	97	45		1			48		1		2	
West Indian (except Cuban).....	152	64	2	7	2		77					
All other:												
Chiefly natives of Mexico.....	1,924	2	5	43			1,858	2	12	1	1	
Albanians, Estonians, Dalmatians, Latvians, etc.....	220	148	6	14	4	1	30		9			8

Immigrant aliens admitted, year ended June 30, 1948, by classes, under the Immigration Act of 1924, and races or peoples

Race or people	Number admitted	Quota immigrants	Husbands of citizens	Wives of citizens	Children of citizens	Natives of non-quota countries	Wives and children of natives of non-quota countries	Ministers and their wives and children	Professors and their wives and children	Women who had been citizens	Other classes
All races.....	28,781	14,597	223	904	135	12,554	42	136	54	80	56
Armenian.....	61	51	—	5	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
Bohemian and Moravian.....	110	92	2	8	—	7	—	1	—	—	—
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.....	23	18	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Chinese.....	13	—	—	10	—	—	—	1	2	—	—
Croatian and Slovenian.....	37	21	4	5	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
Cuban.....	551	1	—	1	—	547	—	—	1	—	1
Dutch and Flemish.....	386	239	5	19	—	117	—	3	1	1	1
English.....	3,802	1,001	46	161	19	2,485	20	32	4	33	1
Filipino.....	18	9	1	6	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Finnish.....	78	50	3	14	—	9	—	2	—	—	—
French.....	2,363	555	11	57	13	1,685	1	9	18	14	—
German.....	800	413	7	38	5	310	—	14	9	4	—
Greek.....	263	219	5	26	2	17	—	—	—	—	—
Hebrew.....	10,608	9,760	52	189	28	546	4	15	9	5	—
Irish.....	1,707	249	11	33	5	1,381	4	16	2	6	—
Italian.....	146	41	1	12	—	91	1	—	—	—	—
Japanese.....	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—
Lithuanian.....	64	36	2	11	—	12	—	3	—	—	—
Magyar.....	131	85	2	16	3	22	—	2	1	—	—
Negro.....	171	60	2	8	11	89	—	—	—	1	—
Polish.....	436	278	10	34	3	109	—	2	—	—	—
Portuguese.....	201	129	5	31	14	23	—	—	—	—	—
Rumanian.....	84	51	1	7	—	21	—	4	—	—	—
Russian.....	269	166	3	30	2	66	—	—	2	—	—
Ruthenian (Rusniak).....	80	5	1	5	—	69	—	—	—	—	—
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes).....	594	348	18	35	6	175	—	10	—	2	—
Scotch.....	1,649	285	8	48	4	1,279	3	11	2	9	—
Slovak.....	102	73	5	9	—	14	—	—	—	1	—
Spanish.....	292	167	9	42	14	52	5	1	2	—	—
Spanish American.....	1,132	9	2	7	—	1,110	3	—	—	1	—
Syrian.....	94	38	1	7	—	45	—	1	—	2	—
Turkish.....	18	15	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Welsh.....	88	25	2	4	—	57	—	—	—	—	—
West Indian (except Cuban).....	127	40	—	5	6	76	—	—	—	—	—
All other:											
Chiefly natives of Mexico.....	2,131	2	2	16	—	2,105	1	2	1	1	1
Albanians, Estonians, Latvians, Persians, etc.....	145	67	1	8	—	17	—	—	—	—	52

Immigrant aliens admitted, year ended June 30, 1943, by classes under the Immigration Act of 1924, and races or peoples

Race or people	Number admitted	Quota immigrants	Husbands of citizens	Wives of citizens	Children of citizens	Natives of non-quota countries	Wives and children of natives of non-quota countries	Ministers and their wives and children	Professors and their wives and children	Women who had been citizens	Other classes
All races.....	23,725	9,045	145	680	100	13,491	31	115	39	54	75
Armenian.....	52	41	1	5		5					
Bohemian and Moravian.....	88	77	1	3		7					
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin.....	36	30		4		2					
Chinese.....	4							2	2		
Croatian and Slovenian.....	46	36	1	1		7	1				
Cuban.....	551	4		3		543					1
Dutch and Flemish.....	381	250	8	7	1	110	1	1	1	2	
English.....	3,629	1,132	17	146	14	2,247	10	34	7	21	1
Filipino.....	4	4									
Finnish.....	96	70	1	10		13	2				
French.....	1,763	296	2	30	7	1,416	1	7	1	3	
German.....	498	216		24		245	1	5	3	4	
Greek.....	378	346	2	6		24					
Hebrew.....	4,705	4,029	40	103	6	516	1	5	5		
Irish.....	1,511	299	5	26	1	1,142		23	8	7	
Italian.....	150	42	6	12		90					
Lithuanian.....	73	51		13		9					
Magyar.....	86	62	1	4	2	17					
Negro.....	198	86	4	12	1	90		4		1	
Polish.....	434	307	5	36	1	89	1	5			
Portuguese.....	312	252	5	26	22	7					
Rumanian.....	37	28		2		7					
Russian.....	211	90		15	2	102	2				
Ruthenian (Russniak).....	57	18	2	3		34					
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes).....	625	376	17	33	7	175	1	9		7	
Scotch.....	1,387	279	7	31	2	1,047	7	8	1	4	1
Slovak.....	129	105	1	8		15					
Spanish.....	404	264	9	35	22	68	1	2	3		
Spanish-American.....	1,444	5	3	11	2	1,420	1		2		
Syrian.....	80	49	1			30					
Turkish.....	23	20		3							
Welsh.....	89	28		1		54		6			
West Indian (except Cuban).....	186	80		14	10	79	1	2			
All other:											
Chiefly natives of Mexico.....	3,868		3	11		3,843		1	6	4	
Estonians, Latvians, Persians, etc.....	190	73	3	2		38		1		1	72

ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS

*Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Philadelphia—Immigrant aliens admitted, years ended June 30, 1944-46,
by countries as specified*

[NOTE.—Column (a) covers country of birth and column (b) covers country of last permanent residence, the difference between the two indicating the number of immigrants who had left their native land to make their home in other foreign countries before coming to the United States for intended future permanent residence]

Country of birth or last residence	1944		1945		1946	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
All countries.....	28,551	28,551	38,119	38,119	108,721	108,721
Europe.....	8,694	4,509	10,141	5,943	64,877	52,852
Albania.....	10	1	5	1	29	9
Belgium.....	135	126	92	71	1,770	1,718
Bulgaria.....	23	6	11	3	36	8
Czechoslovakia.....	341	136	289	64	1,075	267
Denmark.....	119	61	108	43	291	194
Estonia.....	28	26	19	16	136	9
Finland.....	72	29	58	29	197	29
France.....	232	387	207	201	5,000	5,708
Germany.....	1,360	238	1,260	172	4,010	2,598
Austria.....					989	
England.....	1,135	1,210	2,627	2,784	28,763	30,922
Scotland.....	357	96	515	192	2,472	1,586
Wales.....	47	15	100	53	1,495	1,044
Greece.....	292	236	235	176	578	367
Hungary.....	227	87	132	54	577	49
Ireland (Eire).....	146	68	286	125	1,387	526
Italy.....	177	120	320	213	3,886	2,636
Latvia.....	66	24	50	16	206	29
Lithuania.....	105	37	86	19	244	14
Netherlands.....	217	71	111	50	610	355
Northern Ireland.....	92	44	340	302	1,584	1,290
Norway.....	195	127	114	61	379	248
Poland.....	1,420	292	1,222	195	4,806	335
Portugal.....	429	431	562	570	554	578
Rumania.....	249	70	234	77	425	19
Soviet Russia.....	433	41	399	18	1,110	72
Spain.....	291	271	238	156	402	227
Sweden.....	90	58	67	45	327	643
Switzerland.....	50	33	70	39	282	766
Yugoslavia.....	178	93	184	88	676	65
Other Europe.....	178	85	200	110	581	541

China.....	72	50	109	71	337	252
Japan.....	43	4	3	1	17	14
Palestine.....	35	45	52	133	193	483
Syria.....	42	8	61	18	143	90
Other Asia.....	157	120	335	219	938	794
Canada.....	7,023	9,821	8,866	11,079	17,586	20,434
Newfoundland.....	363	322	513	451	1,041	910
Mexico.....	6,399	6,598	6,455	6,702	6,805	7,146
West Indies.....	2,299	3,198	4,660	5,452	4,876	5,878
Central America.....	1,876	1,985	3,382	3,423	2,122	2,338
South America.....	899	1,160	1,326	1,609	1,755	2,633
Africa.....	75	112	267	406	1,098	1,516
Australia.....	428	461	1,179	1,261	4,869	5,111
New Zealand.....	105	116	356	364	877	898
Other countries.....	41	42	414	987	1,187	7,372

ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS

"In answer to item C, the Department of Justice furnished me with the following statement (Note: It will be noted that the following statement does not fully answer the question in item C):

"Displaced persons: The President's directive of December 22, 1945, concerning immigration from the American occupation zones in Europe provided that 90 percent of the quotas for central and eastern Europe should be used for persons who could not or would not be returned to their prewar homes. The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization was a member of the committee that went to Europe to survey the problem and set up a plan of operations. The plan effected was a joint one, in which a number of agencies co-operated. Military authorities determined that applicants for admission would not be detrimental to the security of the United States and also furnished transportation to the port of embarkation. The Public Health Service made physical examinations. Applicants for visas were examined and visas approved by consuls of the Foreign Service of the United States. UNRRA had the care and custody of refugees until they embarked, and the War Shipping Administration furnished the ships on which they traveled. All expenses, such as visa fees, transportation costs, and head tax were privately paid by individuals or welfare agencies.

"Displaced persons were considered for admission in the following order: American citizens, orphaned children, close relatives of American citizens, then other refugees. Upon arrival at New York, officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service made sure that all requirements of the immigration laws were met.

"Persons who qualified for admission as immigrants could be sponsored by an individual or by approved welfare organizations guaranteeing financial support. The first ship bringing displaced persons arrived May 20, 1946. From then until June 30, 1946, there were 2,534 such persons admitted as quota immigrants and 17 admitted nonquota. Almost half of those admitted—1,215—were charged to the quota of Poland; the next largest group—718—were charged to the German quota.

"The President specified that special attention be given to orphan children. By June 30, 1946, the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, Inc. (the only sponsoring agency authorized to be responsible for unaccompanied children) had received 122 children from Europe. Another group—190 Polish children who had been housed in Mexico—were admitted to the United States under the Polish quota. These children were assigned quota numbers in March, which was prior to the beginning of the displaced persons program in Europe.

"For a year or more, there had been some concern about approximately 1,000 refugees who were transported from the war zone of Italy and detained at Fort Ontario, Oswego, N. Y. This group of persons was granted the privilege of pre-examination, and most of them were readmitted as quota immigrants."

"In answer to item D, the Department of Justice furnished me with a copy of President Truman's plan for refugees taken from the January 1946 Monthly Review of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, as follows:

"On December 22, 1945, President Truman announced a far-reaching program to facilitate the admission into the United States, within the framework of existing immigration laws and regulations, of displaced persons and refugees from Europe. The President's plan encompasses two principal groups. The first of these is the group of refugees now in the relocation camp at Oswego, N. Y. Almost 1,000 persons were originally housed in this camp, after having been brought to the United States on an emergency basis by order of President Roosevelt. Some 900 refugees still at Oswego may now become permanent residents of the United States through appropriate statutory and administrative processes. Officers of the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service are presently processing the cases of those of the internees who desire to become permanent residents of the United States, and, if found eligible, they will be granted preexamination or other appropriate relief to enable them to establish legal residence.

"The major group affected by President Truman's directive of December 22, 1945, are displaced persons and refugees who are natives of central and eastern Europe and the Balkans. The annual immigration quotas for these countries total approximately 39,000. Statutory restrictions preclude the allocation of more than 10 percent of the annual quota in any single month. Consequently, no more than 3,900 visas may be issued in any one month to natives of the affected countries.

"The President declared that "common decency and the fundamental comradeship of all human beings require us to do what lies within our power to see that our established immigration quotas are used in order to reduce human suffering." Therefore, he directed that the following procedure be followed "to facilitate full immigration to the United States under existing quota laws":

"The Secretary of State is directed to establish with the utmost dispatch consular facilities at or near displaced person and refugee assembly center areas in the American zones of occupation. It shall be the responsibility of these consular officers, in conjunction with the immigration inspectors, to determine as quickly as possible the eligibility of the applicants for visas and admission to the United States.

"For this purpose the Secretary will, if necessary, divert the personnel and funds of his Department from other functions in order to insure the most expeditious handling of this operation.

"Within the limits of administrative discretion, the officers of the Department of State assigned to this program shall make every effort to simplify and to hasten the process of issuing visas. If necessary, blocs of visa numbers may be assigned to each of the emergency consular establishments. Each such bloc may be used to meet the applications filed at the consular establishment to which the bloc is assigned. It is not intended, however, entirely to exclude the issuance of visas in other parts of the world.

"Visas should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds, and nationalities. I desire that special attention be devoted to orphaned children to whom it is hoped the majority of visas will be issued.

"With respect to the requirement of law that visas may not be issued to applicants likely to become public charges after admission to the United States, the Secretary of State shall cooperate with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in perfecting appropriate arrangements with welfare organizations in the United States which may be prepared to guarantee financial support to successful applicants. This may be accomplished by corporate affidavit or by any means deemed appropriate and practicable.

"The Secretary of war, subject to limitation imposed by the Congress on War Department appropriations, will give such help as is practicable in:

"(A) Furnishing information to appropriate consular officers and immigrant inspectors to facilitate in the selection of applicants for visas; and

"(B) Assisting until other facilities suffice in:

"(1) Transporting immigrants to a European port;

"(2) Feeding, housing, and providing medical care to such immigrants until embarked; and

"(C) Making available office facilities, billets, messes and transportation for Department of State, Department of Justice and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel connected with this work, where practicable and requiring no out-of-pocket expenditure by the War Department and when other suitable facilities are not available.

"The Attorney General, through the Immigration and Naturalization Service, will assign personnel on duty in the American zones of operation to make the immigration inspections, to assist consular officers of the Department of State in connection with the issuance of visas and to take the necessary steps to settle the cases of those Allies presently interned at Oswego through appropriate statutory and administrative processes.

"The administration of the War Shipping Administration will make the necessary arrangements for water transportation from the port of embarkation in Europe to the United States, subject to the provision that the movement of immigrants will in no way interfere with the scheduled return of service personnel and their spouses and children from the European theater.

"The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service will assign to duty in the American zones of occupation the necessary personnel to conduct the mental and physical examinations of prospective immigrants prescribed in the immigration laws."

"Ugo Carusi, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, was designated by the President to serve as chairman of an interdepartmental committee, which includes representatives of the Department of State, War, and Justice, the War Shipping Administration, and the Public Health Service, to supervise the execution of President Truman's directive. Commissioner Carusi, accompanied by Howard K. Travers, Chief of the Visa Division of the State Department, and Dr. Ralph C. Williams, Assistant Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, has left for Europe to make arrangements for the speedy inauguration of the President's program.

"It is anticipated that officers of the State Department, the Public Health Service and the Immigration and Naturalization Service will be stationed in the American zone of occupation in Germany, to which immigration activities under the President's directive will be confined for the time being, in order to pass on the qualifications of prospective immigrants before they embark for the United States."

"In connection with President Truman's plan for refugees, the Department of Justice furnished me with the following statistical table covering persons admitted under that plan:

Table 3.—Displaced persons admitted to the United States under the President's directive of December 22, 1945, by nationalities, April–October 1946

Nationality:		Nationality—Continued	
Albania	1	Monaco	3
Austria	164	Netherlands	6
Belgium	2	Norway	1
Bulgaria	2	Poland	1, 681
Czechoslovakia	174	Rumania	27
Danzig	3	Turkey	1
Estonia	34	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	54
Finland	3	Yugoslavia	60
France	1	Stateless	642
Germany	1, 450	Iran	6
Great Britain	1	Costa Rica	1
Greece	2	Venezuela	1
Hungary	133		
Latvia	113		
Lithuania	134	Total	4, 700

Table 4.—Displaced persons admitted by country of last permanent residence

Country of last residence:		Country of last residence—Con.	
Albania	1	Latvia	12
Austria	216	Liechtenstein	1
Czechoslovakia	106	Lithuania	6
Danzig	1	Norway	1
Estonia	2	Poland	259
France	3	Rumania	2
Germany	4, 048	Russia	15
England	5	Sweden	1
Ireland (Erie)	2	Yugoslavia	2
North Ireland	2	Russian pos. in Asia	1
Hungary	7	Unknown	1
Iceland	1		
Italy	5	Total	4, 700

Table 5.—Displaced persons admitted to the United States under the President's directive of December 22, 1945, by nationalities, April–October 1946

Nationality:		Nationality—Continued	
African (black)	2	Magyar	138
Albanian	1	Latvian	114
Armenian	6	White	46
Bohemian	174	Polish	2, 054
Bulgarian	32	Rumanian	40
Croatian	33	Russian	154
Dutch and Flemish	10	Ruthenian	28
Estonian	32	Scandinavian	2
Finnish	9	Slovak	19
German	1, 599	Syrian	1
Greek	5	Turkish	1
Irish	1	Other peoples	59
Italian	2	Unknown	2
French	3		
Lithuanian	133	Total	4, 700

"In answer to items E and F, the Department of Justice furnished me with no information.

"The question asked under item E was: 'Where are they now?' i. e., where are the displaced persons who entered this country illegally?

"The question asked under item F was: 'How are displaced persons in this country being provided for and under what authority are they here?'

"In answer to item G, the Department of Justice furnished me with the following statistical table:

*Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Philadelphia—
Aliens admitted as quota immigrants under sec. 5 of the Immigration Act of 1924, in years ended June 30, 1938-46, by countries of last permanent residence*

Last residence	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
Number admitted	42,494	62,402	51,997	36,220	14,597	9,045	9,394	11,023	29,095
Europe	35,590	56,500	45,554	25,206	10,640	4,561	4,146	5,203	14,338
Belgium	442	653	1,649	1,784	341	117	117	65	209
Bulgaria	108	116	76	126	15	2	6	3	3
Czechoslovakia	2,623	2,546	883	295	128	98	126	60	245
Denmark	328	285	223	233	73	98	55	37	176
Estonia	35	86	75	35	14	12	25	14	7
Finland	377	376	209	229	38	42	27	26	21
France	1,286	1,746	2,373	4,488	4,299	1,159	372	177	1,731
Germany	16,730	32,711	20,994	3,963	2,130	237	221	151	2,250
Great Britain:									
England	1,653	2,484	5,605	7,161	779	839	1,151	2,611	5,512
Scotland	275	216	224	275	43	59	27	124	396
Wales	26	32	40	50	17	2	11	49	112
Greece	359	414	389	204	160	224	221	171	78
Hungary	844	1,164	1,654	291	172	75	81	52	30
Ireland (Eire)	801	1,034	708	202	64	108	56	105	290
Italy	3,152	3,968	3,412	409	98	36	103	172	103
Latvia	106	152	264	86	24	18	23	12	24
Lithuania	255	255	228	197	47	40	32	18	11
Netherlands	665	1,207	1,997	777	131	73	68	46	92
Northern Ireland	127	68	67	55	13	31	37	235	345
Norway	476	424	406	341	62	60	114	53	178
Poland	1,959	2,535	568	391	305	361	272	174	289
Portugal	291	339	375	1,010	392	347	375	416	441
Rumania	230	291	251	104	59	43	68	71	7
Soviet Russia	46	35	23	35	47	29	37	11	61
Spain	221	153	144	226	161	209	232	125	153
Sweden	335	301	476	498	189	52	55	40	574
Switzerland	578	1,195	1,155	1,330	570	118	31	28	716
Yugoslavia	748	905	559	126	69	29	85	85	31
Other Europe	614	809	527	285	177	43	73	73	253
China	408	442	471	791	130	47	27	59	65
India	22	24	35	86	27	48	29	75	219
Japan	42	38	48	210	32	17	4		7
Palestine	1,175	945	735	231	133	103	41	110	385
Syria	154	149	80	5	17	9	6	10	56
Other Asia	80	83	123	123	113	59	72	106	243
Africa	141	190	166	526	439	120	87	168	689
Australia	150	125	121	112	63	62	110	99	160
New Zealand	44	44	47	53	15	21	39	42	98
Philippine Islands	69	64	70	122	29	6	4	9	206
Other Pacific	15	8	19	56	37	40	31	24	34
America	4,604	3,790	4,519	8,699	2,922	3,952	4,798	5,718	12,595
Canada	2,631	1,736	1,796	2,292	1,565	2,071	2,563	2,006	2,961
Newfoundland	4	3	1	5	1	4	3	5	16
Mexico	385	295	308	662	133	131	152	172	776
British West Indies	437	337	327	305	114	359	766	1,655	1,512
Cuba	657	934	1,331	3,081	508	1,002	699	647	886
Dominican Republic	22	13	21	111	41	31	49	79	166
Other West Indies	31	16	53	126	42	43	63	147	271
Central America	86	81	194	587	79	49	129	137	302
South America	348	365	486	1,524	432	257	374	424	1,116
Other America	3	10	2	6	7	5		446	4,589

"In an effort to discover exactly what had been done under the President's directive of December 22, 1945, giving preference to displaced persons in immigration quotas, I asked the State Department to furnish me with a statistical table of immigration visas issued under the directive broken down according to the country of birth of the immigrant and his race.

"I also asked the State Department to advise me concerning the scope and the operation of the program.

"In reply I received a letter from Mr. G. J. Haering, Chief, Visa Division, under date of December 18, 1946, which letter is submitted herewith.

"MY DEAR SENATOR REVERCOMB: In reply to your request of December 12, 1946, for certain information on visa issuances to displaced persons, I take pleasure in transmitting the following information and accompanying statistics.

"1. Under date of December 22, 1945, the President issued a directive in regard to the immigration into the United States of displaced persons resident in the American zones of occupation in Germany and Austria. A copy of that directive with its covering press release is enclosed.

"There is also enclosed a copy of the President's communication of May 25, 1946, to the Secretary of State in regard to the extension of the program for the issuance of visas to displaced persons. The President's approval of October 31, 1946, of the prospective admission of a small group of Estonians who arrived in the United States during the current year in small boats may likewise be mentioned in this connection.

"2. Upon the issuance of the President's directive of December 22, 1945, the Department arranged for the establishing of emergency consular offices in the American zones of occupation in Germany to issue immigration visas to displaced persons in those zones. A committee consisting of representatives of the Department of State, War Department, Public Health Service, and Immigration and Naturalization Service proceeded to Germany and Austria in January to coordinate these consular facilities with arrangements by the Army, War Shipping Administration, and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for assembling, screening, and the transportation of displaced persons. Arrangements were also made for the use of corporate affidavits of support of certain voluntary welfare agencies to meet the public-charge provisions of the immigration laws and regulations in the cases of displaced persons. The President's directive of December 22, 1945, provided for the use of such corporate affidavits as were approved by the Attorney General.

"Actual visa issuances to displaced persons commenced in the American zones of occupation of Germany and Austria at the end of March. Owing to the necessity of dealing simultaneously with the repatriation of American citizens and as a consequence of other limitations, difficulties were encountered in maintaining consular staffs at sufficient strength to deal with visa activities. In the distribution of visas among displaced persons of the various faiths and creeds, as provided for in the President's directive, the consulates have been confronted by the following circumstances:

"(a) All displaced persons must be qualified for admission into the United States under the immigration laws and regulations, including the so-called public-charge provisions of the law. The slowness of most non-Jewish welfare agencies in providing any considerable number of affidavits and of establishing adequate staffs of their representatives in the field to deal with cases requiring evidence to meet the provisions of the law naturally affected the number of non-Jewish cases which could qualify in early months of the distribution of visas to displaced persons. In contrast, Jewish organizations had large staffs and thousands of affidavits of support available at the very beginning of the program, and they were therefore in a position to take up any balance of monthly quotas for which non-Jewish applicants were not available by virtue of a lack of adequate documentation concerning support.

"(b) A large proportion of some non-Jewish groups had a Volksdeutsch status under the Nazi regime and their Army security screening was thereby affected.

"(c) For obvious reasons, the majority of the persons qualifying under the German and Austrian quotas would be Jewish persecutees.

"In combination, these circumstances have resulted in creating a majority of Jewish immigrants among the displaced persons covered by consular reports on visas issued thus far. However, an increase in the volume of affidavits of support for non-Jewish immigrants is bringing about a continually rising percentage of visa issuances to displaced persons of non-Jewish faiths.

"3. The attached statistics are a summary of data contained in consular reports covering the issuance of immigration visas in 1946 through the month of October. Included in these figures are visa issuances to 504 persons in the Santa Rosa camp.

"It may be added by way of explanation that not more than 10 percent of the annual quota for a country may be issued monthly except in quotas of less

than 300. The principal quotas involved have been those of Germany and Central European countries totaling approximately 39,000 numbers per fiscal year inclusive of the German quota of 25,957. The number of persons qualified for displaced persons status under the German quota has been far less than the supply of German quota number, and, of course, this has resulted in a proportional reduction of the possible maximum of displaced persons who could receive quota visas under the President's directive. This maximum has been further reduced by the legal requirement that quota numbers must be allotted to aliens entitled to preference under section 6 of the act of 1924, as amended, regardless of whether they are displaced, and to aliens to whom the provisions of section 19 (c) of the 1917 act are applied.

"The quotas shown in the enclosed statistics represent the countries of birth of the aliens with few exceptions applicable chiefly to minor children accompanying their parents.

"I hope that the material contained in this letter and its enclosures will prove to be of service to you.

"Sincerely yours,

"G. J. HAERING,
"Chief, Visa Division."

"The State Department has also provided me with a copy of Mr. Truman's letter to Mr. Byrnes, Secretary of State, under date of May 25, 1946, in regard to the extension of the program for the issuance of visas to displaced persons, which letter follows:

"MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have been advised that the State Department has requested, and the Bureau of the Budget has approved for inclusion in the third deficiency appropriation bill, an item of approximately \$1,600,000,000 for use in connection with immigration to the United States of displaced persons and refugees in Europe. I have approved the appropriation requested and trust that it will be enacted by the Congress.

"You will recall that on December 22, 1945, I issued a directive on the subject of immigration, in which I stated, among other things:

"The decision has been made, therefore, to concentrate our immediate efforts in the American zones of occupation in Europe. This is not intended, however, entirely to exclude issuance of visas in other parts of the world.

"In our zones in Europe there are citizens of every major European country. Visas issued to displaced persons and refugees will be charged, according to law, to the countries of their origin. They will be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds, and nationality."

"I have been informed that 90 percent of the nonpreference quotas are now being allocated to displaced persons in American zones of occupation in Europe, which means that many persons in other countries are denied the opportunity to emigrate to the United States, even though eligible to enter.

"It is my view that the State Department should now give serious consideration to lessening the allocation to the American occupied zones, thus enabling displaced persons in other areas, as well as eligible persons residing in their native countries, to enter the United States under the nonpreference quotas.

"Very sincerely yours,

"HARRY TRUMAN."

"The State Department likewise furnished me with the following statistical table concerning immigration visas issued to displaced persons through October 31, 1946, under the President's directive:

Immigration visas issued to displaced persons in 1946 through Oct. 31

(Based on consular reports received in the Department of State by Nov. 30, 1946)

Quotas:		Quotas—Continued	
Albania	2	Denmark	1
Australia	1	Egypt	1
Austria	349	Estonia	49
Belgium	20	Finland	11
Bulgaria	17	France	22
China	5	Germany	2,914
Chinese	1	Great Britain	2
Czechoslovakia	466	Greece	2
Danzig	31	Hungary	226

Immigration visas issued to displaced persons in 1946 through Oct. 31—Continued

Quotas—Continued

Iran.....	8
Iraq.....	1
Ireland.....	2
Italy.....	7
Japan.....	5
Latvia.....	134
Lithuania.....	172
Luxemburg.....	1
Netherlands.....	16
Norway.....	3
Palestine.....	1
Poland.....	¹ 3,705
Rumania.....	87
Spain.....	1
Switzerland.....	4

Quotas—Continued

Turkey.....	4
Union of S. S. R.....	392
Yugoslavia.....	187
Nonquota.....	² 324
Total.....	9,174

Faiths:

Catholics.....	1,669
Jews.....	6,032
Protestants.....	1,039
Others.....	434
Total.....	9,174

¹ Includes visas issue to Polish refugees in Santa Rosa.

² Covers wives and unmarried minor children of American citizens.

"United Nations' action on displaced persons

"The United Nations Assembly at the recent meeting in New York adopted a resolution on December 15, 1946, to bring into being a constitution under which the International Refugee Organization is to be created to deal with displaced persons. The terms of the resolution provide that the organization is to become effective on signature by the delegates in the United Nations Assembly either with or without reservation as to subsequent legislative acceptance.

"I am advised by Mr. Philip Burnett, of the Division of International Affairs of the State Department, that this constitution has been signed by the Honorable Warren R. Austin, our representative, with reservation as to subsequent legislative acceptance.

"This means that the resolution will be submitted to the Congress of the United States for approval or rejection.

"When the representatives of the 15 member nations have signed the constitution it then becomes effective subject to its adoption by the governments of the respective countries.

"The constitution creating this United Nations authority on displaced persons would empower that organization, in summary, to deal with displaced persons as to (1) feeding and clothing them; (2) repatriation, that is, return of them to their countries of origin; and (3) resettlement of them.

"Resettlement means placing them in other lands. Therefore this question of settlement or entry into this country of displaced persons will be brought before the Congress whenever the plan is submitted for legislative acceptance.

"Whether or not the United Nations (or its agent International Refugee Organization) will be given authority to override the immigration laws of this country will depend upon the authority granted the International Refugee Organization when the Congress acts upon the plan which must be submitted to it.

"Mr. Burnett, of the Division of International Affairs of the State Department advises me that it is the position of the State Department that there is not any provision in the United Nations' general constitutional powers that would permit that organization to override the immigration laws of this country without the specific authorization and consent of the Congress.

"I am filing with the original copy of this report a copy of the resolution creating the International Refugee Organization and a copy of the Financial and Budgetary Questions Relating to the International Refugee Organization.

"These two documents are too lengthy to write into this report with convenience.

"Thus, we see that the United Nations Organization is proceeding to take over control of displaced persons. But the extent of its power to place and settle such persons in this country will depend upon the authority given it by Congress on the subject.

"The policy upon immigration is still for the Congress.

"American Legion's position"

"I am advised by the National Headquarters of the American Legion at Washington, D. C., that at its national convention this year that organization passed a resolution dealing with the subject of our immigration laws. The position taken in that resolution may be summarized as follows: The American Legion is opposed to any change in the quota as now provided under our immigration laws, and also opposes admitting persons of other countries under any unused quotas.

"The American Legion is composed of veterans of the armed services who saw service in the First and Second World Wars and has a membership of approximately four million.

"Veterans of Foreign Wars position"

"I am advised by the Washington Office of the Veterans of Foreign Wars that that organization passed a resolution at its national convention this year urging that all immigration into the United States for all quotas be stopped completely for a period of 10 years.

"The Veterans of Foreign Wars has a membership of approximately 2,000,000 veterans.

"Summary"

"From the data contained herein the following summary facts appear:

"1. In 1940 there were 5,009,857 registered aliens in this country, that is 5,009,857 persons who had not become citizens. Note: Under our present immigration laws 153,912 persons may legally enter the United States annually under complete filling of all quotas.

"2. There are approximately 1,250,000 displaced persons including ex-enemies, but not German refugees, in the American, British, and French occupied zones in Europe.

"3. The number of such persons in the Russian zone is not known.

"4. It has long been State Department procedure to establish priorities for nonpreference immigrants on a first-come first-served basis.

"On December 22, 1945, however, President Truman, by direction, abolished this procedure and gave priority of admittance to displaced persons in the American zones in Europe.

"Under date of May 25, 1946, the President advised the Secretary of State that serious consideration should be given to lessening the allocation to American occupied zones, that displaced persons in other areas and eligible persons residing in their native countries could be taken into the United States under non-preference quotas.

"(NOTE.—The effect of the Presidential directive was, naturally, to cut off those on the waiting lists in their native countries from receiving visas, and also to cause a great rush into the American occupied zones of those who desired to come to America.)

"Nine thousand one hundred and seventy-four visas were issued displaced persons in the American zones in Germany and Austria between January 1, 1946, and October 31, 1946.

"The number of aliens admitted on visas from everywhere in 1946 to October 31 was 44,154, plus 4,903 under section 19 (c) of 1917 act.

"5. A number of persons who have reached this country illegally during the war have been admitted as quota immigrants, visas being issued to them after they entered here. This, of course, has excluded some who could have entered legally. Note: The number of these persons has not been furnished to date, although requested of the Department of Justice. This point should be made the subject of inquiry.

"6. The United States Army has accepted into its occupied zones all persons who can present a plausible claim that they are persecuted for racial or religious reasons, or have political beliefs favorable to the allies.

"7. Displaced persons are furnished a basic ration of 2,000 calories per day, and persecutees receive an extra 200 calories. By comparison the German population receives 1,550 calories daily. According to the Meader report all age groups in both sexes of displaced persons are overweight.

"8. The United Nations has moved to take over the feeding, clothing, repatriation, and resettlement of all displaced persons. The representative of the United States, Hon. Warren A. Austin, has signed approval of such power subject to legislative action of his Government. Therefore, the Congress will determine

to what extent the United Nations Organization known as International Refugee Organization may resettle displaced persons in this country.

"Conclusion

"The question squarely confronts this Government as to whether it will retain its present policy on the admission of persons to this country expressed in existing statutes, or whether it will change that policy so as to permit increased immigration or further restrict immigration.

"This subject may come before the Congress upon a bill dealing directly with a change in the immigration laws or it may be presented when the Congress is asked to act upon the resolution of the United Nations Assembly setting up an organization to deal with displaced persons and to define the powers of that organization.

"There are many phases to the problem.

"During the war years none of the immigration quotas were filled. Some of those who advocate the entry of larger numbers of displaced persons suggest that we cumulate these past unused quotas and permit entry under them now. This would require a change in the present statutes under which quota entry is based upon yearly periods and even upon monthly limitations—as not more than 10 percent of the annual quota can be admitted in any 1 month.

"It is doubtful that a number of countries will use their quotas for entry here this year and during subsequent years, notably the United Kingdom and some north European countries. It has been suggested that these current unused quotas be filled with displaced persons regardless of nationality. To follow such a suggestion would of course break down the whole quota system and completely do away with the present plan of allotments by countries and the policy of national origins. Any such plan would require amendment of the present law.

"One of the most important considerations is that of economic result to this country. With today's starved market and need for replacements, there is full opportunity of employment. The time may come, however, when this market has been satisfied and production will be lessened and unemployment becomes a critical question. The addition to this population of any considerable number of persons would naturally add to the problem of unemployment whenever it may arise.

"The political aspect of the situation cannot be overlooked. Many of those who seek entrance into this country have little concept of our form of government. Many of them come from lands where communism has had its first growth and dominates the political thought and philosophy of the people. Certainly it would be a tragic blunder to bring into our midst those imbued with a communistic line of thought when one of the most important tasks of this Government today is to combat and eradicate communism from this country.

"The point of whether these displaced persons who are undesired in their own country, and who for some reason have made themselves undesirable, or who from their own choice are not willing to attempt to get along with their own governments, should be brought into this country to dwell among our people, is worthy of study.

"Another point to be given consideration is whether we should accept people who are unwilling to accept the now dominant political policies of their own countries, and take the chance of dealing with them here among us. In other words, will we take the position that they should work out with their own peoples and their own governments their own situations in Europe until such time as they may come here under our present immigration laws, or shall we bring them here to work out their problems in this land.

"We cannot ignore the distressing plight of many of these people who suffer as a result of the ravages of war. But, in helping them, should aid be given to them in Europe to reestablish themselves there, in or near to their native lands, or should we permit them to come into this country in large numbers and have our people assume the burden of caring for and directing them here?

"No step should be taken at the price of probable economic or political turmoil in our own midst.

"Our position should be taken squarely upon what is best for this country.

"This does not mean that we ignore the plight of distressed people anywhere. Their needs should be met with great liberality. But it does mean that we cannot ignore our paramount duty to the people of this country to do what is best for them within the bounds of right and to keep secure the strength and progress of the Nation.

"Respectfully submitted.

"CHAPMAN REVERCOMB.

"DECEMBER 30, 1946."

Mr. FELLOWS. We are ready to proceed.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to place in the record, with your kind permission, the President's message on the displaced persons. (The material referred to is as follows:)

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 7, 1947]

TRUMAN'S MESSAGE ON DP'S

WASHINGTON, July 7 (AP).—The complete text of President Truman's message to Congress today asking legislation to admit European displaced persons as immigrants follows:

"To the Congress of the United States:

On several occasions I have advocated legislation to enable a substantial number of displaced persons to enter the United States as immigrants. I stated this view in opening the second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the message on the state of the Union on January 6, 1947, I said:

"* * * The fact is that the executive agencies are now doing all that is reasonably possible under the limitation of existing law and established quotas. Congressional assistance in the form of new legislation is needed. I urge the Congress to turn its attention to this world problem, in an effort to find ways whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

"I express appreciation to the Congress for the attention already being given to this problem, an appreciation which appears to be generously shared by the public with increasing understanding of the facts and of our responsibilities."

"Because of the urgency of this subject I should like again to call attention to some of its fundamental aspects. We are dealing here solely with an emergency problem growing out of the war—the disposition of a specific group of individuals, victims of war, who have come into the hands of our own and the other western Allied armies of occupation in Europe."

"CITES NAZI PERSECUTION

"We should not forget how their destiny came into our hands. The Nazi armies, as they swept over Europe, uprooted many millions of men, women, and children from their homes and forced them to work for the German war economy. The Nazis annihilated millions by hardship and persecution. Survivors were taken under the care of the western Allied armies, as these armies liberated them during the conquest of the enemy. Since the end of hostilities, the armies of occupation have been able to return to their homes some 7,000,000 of these people. But there still remain, in the western zones of Germany and Austria and in Italy, close to a million survivors who are unwilling by reason of political opinion and fear of persecution to return to the areas where they once had homes. The great majority come from the northern Baltic areas, Poland and the Russian Ukraine and Yugoslavia."

"The new International Refugee Organization, supported by the contributions of this and other countries, will aid in the care and resettlement of these displaced persons. But, as I have pointed out before, the International Refugee Organization is only a service organization. It cannot impose its will on member countries. Continuance of this organization and our financial support of its work will be required as long as the problem of these homeless people remains unsolved."

"It is unthinkable that they should be left indefinitely in camps in Europe. We cannot turn them out in Germany into the community of the very people who persecuted them. Moreover, the German economy, so devastated by war and so badly overcrowded with the return of people of German origin from neighboring countries, is approaching an economic suffocation which in itself is one of our major problems. Turning these displaced persons into such chaos would be disastrous for them and would seriously aggravate our problems there."

"This Government has been firm in resisting any proposal to send these people back to their former homes by force, where it is evident that their unwillingness to return is based upon political considerations or fear of persecution. In this policy I am confident I have your support."

URGES ADMISSION TO UNITED STATES

"These victims of war and oppression look hopefully to the democratic countries to help them rebuild their lives and provide for the future of their children. We must not destroy their hope. The only civilized course is to enable these people to take new roots in friendly soil. Already certain countries of western Europe and Latin American have opened their doors to substantial numbers of these displaced persons. Plans for making homes for more of them in other countries are under consideration. But our plain duty requires that we join with other nations in solving this tragic problem.

"We ourselves should admit a substantial number as immigrants. We have not yet been able to do this because our present statutory quotas applicable to the eastern European areas from which most of these people come are wholly inadequate for this purpose. Special legislation limited to this particular emergency will therefore be necessary if we are to share with other nations in this enterprise of offering an opportunity for a new life to these people.

"I wish to emphasize that there is no proposal for a general revision of our immigration policy as now enunciated in our immigration statutes. There is no proposal to waive or lower our present prescribed standards for testing the fitness for admission of every immigrant, including these displaced persons. Those permitted to enter would still have to meet the admission requirements of our existing immigration laws. These laws provide adequate guaranties against the entry of those who are criminals or subversives, those likely to become public charges and who are otherwise undesirable.

"These displaced persons are hardy and resourceful or they would not have survived. A survey of the occupational backgrounds of those in our assembly centers shows a wide variety of professions, crafts, and skills. These are people who oppose totalitarian rule, and who because of their burning faith in the principles of freedom and democracy have suffered untold privation and hardship. Because they are not Communists and are opposed to communism they have staunchly resisted all efforts to induce them to return to Communist-controlled areas. In addition, they were our individual allies in the war.

"RECALLS UNITED STATES FOUNDING

"In the light of the vast numbers of people of all countries that we have usefully assimilated into our national life, it is clear that we could readily absorb the relatively small number of these displaced persons who would be admitted. We should not forget that our Nation was founded by immigrants many of whom fled oppression and persecution. We have thrived on the energy and diversity of many peoples. It is a source of our strength that we number among our people all the major religions, races, and national origins.

"Most of the individuals in the displaced-persons centers already have strong roots in this country—by kinship, religion, or national origin. Their occupational background clearly indicates that they can quickly become useful members of our American communities. Their kinsmen, already in the United States, have been vital factors in farm and workshop for generations. They made lasting contributions to our arts and sciences and political life. They have been numbered among our honored dead on every battlefield of war.

"We are dealing with a human problem, a world tragedy. Let us remember that these are fellow human beings now living under conditions which frustrate hope; which make it impossible for them to take any steps, unaided, to build for themselves or their children the foundations of a new life. They live in corroding uncertainty of their future. Their fate is in our hands and must now be decided. Let us join in giving them a chance at decent and self-supporting lives.

"I urge the Congress to press forward with its consideration of this subject and to pass suitable legislation as speedily as possible.

"HARRY S. TRUMAN.

"THE WHITE HOUSE, July 7, 1947."

Mr. CELLER. I should like to draw attention to a communication that was printed in yesterday's edition of the Washington Post from

Lt. Gen. F. E. Morgan, a British general, now retired, who was formerly connected with UNRRA. Significantly, he states.

The sight of so much human misery and fearful suffering so nobly borne cannot fail to create an impression on the mind, on the conscience, of anyone not entirely bereft of human feeling.

Further, he states:

I wonder how many of your readers, how many newspaper readers in the United States appreciate the fact that the Jewish displaced persons of Europe constitute quite a small minority of the sickening total of all those who are still suffering as a result of the devilish activities of our late enemies.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to put the rest of the communication into the record.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

(The communication referred to is as follows:)

[From the Washington Post, July 8, 1947]

ACTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS

A COMMUNICATION

It is possible that you may recollect my name in connection with the problem of the displaced persons in Germany and with the activities of UNRRA in relation thereto. On this assumption, I make so bold as to address to you that which follows.

I was released from duty with UNRRA in August of last year and retired from the British Army in December last. Neither of these events has in any way diminished my personal interest in the displaced-persons problem which, to one who has tried to deal with it on the spot at first hand, must always be unforgettable. The sight of so much human misery and fearful suffering so nobly borne cannot fail to create an impression on the mind, on the conscience, of anyone not entirely bereft of human feeling.

I have chosen this particular moment at which to address you since I have recently returned from a trip abroad of some weeks' duration, a trip which took me to a point whence it was possible to look back both at Europe and at North America and, as it were, compare their situations in certain respects.

Since, as I have said, the problem of the displaced persons of Europe must forever remain uppermost in my mind, it was inevitable that I should be struck by the apparent contrast between the respective scales of effort that have been put out by the United States of America and by Great Britain toward the solution of what is popularly known as the displaced-persons problem.

There can never be doubt that the United States of America has given evidence of great sympathy toward the unfortunates of Europe, the left-overs from the late war. Expressed in terms of dollars, the United States' contribution toward relief in general has been typically generous. Never I suppose has any call for relief from distress gone unanswered from the United States.

But looking at the matter from afar, it seems to me that for a variety of reasons the outpourings of United States generosity in this instance have canalized themselves into the particular channel that affords relief to Jewish persons, those of them that have survived Hitler's holocaust and have become displaced during and since the war.

I should be the last to suggest that the Jewish displaced persons are not in need of relief. Having seen for myself, I know how dire is their need both physically and spiritually. Religious persecution is no new thing in this wicked world. Our European history tells us an almost unending story of martyrdom on account of one faith or another. We had prided ourselves that the Dark Ages were dead, until Hitler showed us that we were falsely optimistic.

I wonder how many of your readers, how many newspaper readers in the United States appreciate the fact that the Jewish displaced persons of Europe constitute quite a small minority of the sickening total of all those who are still

suffering as a result of the devilish activities of our late enemies. There are very many devout Christians who are equally deserving of the help that the less unfortunate are able and, I am sure, willing to give, if the matter could be put before them.

This help that is so sorely needed by so many is no longer as it was in the first instance simply a matter of what is understood by the term "relief." Thanks to the generosity of the relief measures already undertaken by a heartening variety of agencies, the back of the relief problem one may say was broken some time ago. But to this problem, there succeeds that no less urgent of what one may term rehabilitation or resettlement.

Difficult though the relief problem was, this next one must be infinitely more so, for its solution is not only a matter of the provision, transportation, and distribution of money or of goods to specified recipients. It becomes now a matter of finding new homes, indeed new lives, not only for individual men, women, and children but for family groups or even larger groupings.

As you will see, this cannot possibly be any comparatively cold-blooded matter of cash and calories. There is called for here a corresponding generosity in human kindness, of help both practical and spiritual, to be given in such a manner that the recipients thereof may be given a chance to restore themselves to life from the very brink of death, physical and spiritual, where they have precariously existed for so long.

When from afar one contemplates this aspect of the further problem, it is most striking to perceive what has been done and what is being done by this little island, Great Britain, and its people whom so many apparently believe to have passed or to be passing their greatness. I wonder once more how many newspaper readers in your country appreciate the great work that has been done in Britain and is still patiently being carried out on behalf of a very large proportion of the unfortunate former inhabitants of Poland.

I wonder how many realize that for some time past there has been a steady flow into Great Britain of displaced Baltic people and Ukrainians. These latter, it is true, are being found employment in trades and occupations that cannot for the moment be filled by British labor, but nevertheless it must, I think, be counted for righteousness to the British that they are indeed accepting these people from abroad to share the meager resources of their war-battered homeland. They are being received, not as slaves, not as inferiors in any way, but as human beings, just as entitled as are any of us to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Yet when one turns to look for some equivalent activity on the part of the United States of America, which has at its disposal such immeasurably greater material resources and no less great resources in human kindness, it is curious to find that so little that is practical seems hitherto to have been done. Something, it is true, has indeed been accomplished by the prompt reopening of the annual European immigration but I must admit that it does appear somewhat anomalous that the quota fixed should, I understand, include a preponderance of Germans. I do not suggest that our late enemies, the Germans, are not in dire need of help but it seems arguable that, for the time being at any rate, priority of rescue might more equitably be accorded to those, our friends, who have not so much as the security even of a shattered homeland.

There is, I am fully aware, much more at stake in all this than immediately meets the eye. Life in the world today has become so complicated that it is possible for each one of us to think up on the spur of the moment a hundred apparently good reasons for not doing this or for not doing that. It is easy, it is often deceptively easy, in the world of today to take the line of least resistance, to do nothing, to stay out, to let sleeping dogs lie, and to brush the dirt under the carpet.

It is easy, that is to say, if one is able to stifle the sometimes painful twinges of the conscience. So many of us have formed the habit when confronted with a present-day problem of diving at once into its mathematical intricacies instead of, as I believe more rightly, pausing for a moment to ask ourselves simply, what is right and what is wrong. And I believe further that there are indeed very few problems either of today or of any other period to which the right answer is in fact to do nothing.

To say that nothing has been or is being done for Europe's displaced persons is, of course, very far from the truth. But I believe the question we should each one of us now ask ourselves is, "Are we doing enough for them?" It is my understanding that were the full truth of the distressing situation of these unfortunate people, free from all speculation as to possible complications, be they political, ethnographical, sociological, or any other, put before all of those who are in a

position to give the help that is so urgently and so heartendingly needed, it would at once be given. The whole business could then be settled in a very short while, to the detriment of none and to the great gain of both giver and receiver.

In conclusion, may I please refer you to my opening paragraph that gives you some detail of my present, personal situation. From this, you will perceive that I take the liberty of writing to you simply and solely as an individual Briton who has in the recent past had the privilege of serving not only his own Government but yours as well. I write on behalf of no organization or organized society. I do not, if you can believe it, have the support of this matter even of a sub-committee. I write not for my own benefit in any way but on behalf of those so displaced by misfortune that there is no constituted authority to whom they can make appeal. I write, in fact, on behalf of the displaced persons of Europe.

F. E. MORGAN,

Lieutenant General, British Army (Retired).

NORTHWOOD, ENGLAND.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now I think we are ready, Mr. Hannah.

STATEMENT OF PHILIP HANNAH, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF LABOR

Mr. HANNAH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am particularly grateful for this opportunity to appear before you to present the views of the Department of Labor on Congressman Stratton's bill, H. R. 2910, providing for the admission into this country of 400,000 displaced persons. Others before me have eloquently asserted their conviction that America, in this period of widespread suffering in other parts of the globe, has an obligation to demonstrate its moral leadership by assuming at least part of the task of harboring the victims of persecution abroad. I, too, share that conviction. The assumption of this responsibility is entirely in keeping both with our tradition of providing haven for the oppressed, and our present position of leadership in the world.

In favoring the passage of Congressman Stratton's bill, I wish to emphasize that I do not advocate any change in our present immigration policy. Practically all persons who would be admitted under the bill are now public charges supported by the American people. They present a unique and nonrecurring problem and the bill is designed solely to solve that problem most effectively.

Others before me have indicated how the problem arose and at what cost to us. It is my purpose to demonstrate that H. R. 2910 provides the solution most beneficial to America, and that in favoring its enactment we need not be guided by humanitarian impulse and traditional sympathy alone. I shall try to show that admission of the 400,000 displaced persons contemplated by this bill will have no harmful effect upon our economic life, and that this conclusion is supported by the history of past immigration to the United States.

We are all aware how widespread is the erroneous belief that in any given country during any particular period there are just so many jobs to be filled, and that an increase in population inevitably means that some must go jobless. This belief implies a loss of faith in the almost infinite potentialities of our free-enterprise system, a loss of faith in America as the land of unlimited opportunity.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt there?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is a fine statement, because we have heard for years, everywhere, from top people who are seeking to sponsor some

particular measure—we call it social reform, if you like—that America has crossed its last frontier. I have heard that from the White House for the last 12 years.

I do not agree with that. Do you?

Mr. HANNAH. No, I do not agree with it. That statement was made in 1797.

Mr. FELLOWS. Surely.

Mr. CELLER. There are, gentlemen, still geographic frontiers. Also there are spiritual, cultural, and economic frontiers.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have that in the record several times.

Mr. CELLER. It cannot be repeated too often to dispel misconceptions as to our future possibilities of expansion.

Mr. FELLOWS. But my point is, Mr. Hannah, that you and I agree on the proposition that America has not crossed its last frontier, calling it anything that you want to.

Mr. HANNAH. The frontiers are unlimited.

Mr. FELLOWS. Certainly.

And for political purposes or otherwise, I have heard that from top men in this country for years.

Mr. GRAHAM. America is still a going concern.

Mr. HANNAH. That is right.

Mr. FELLOWS. I thank you for that statement.

Mr. HANNAH. From this basic fallacy has sprung the mistaken belief that immigration means unemployment, reduced wage scales, lower living standards, and a decline in consumption. I shall examine some of these misconceptions and show how completely the facts belie them, and how, if any conclusions are to be drawn from our history they would point in the contrary direction.

As to the effect of immigration on standards of living, it has been argued that immigrants menace our living standards since they bring with them the poverty and depressed standards of their native lands. Actually, these sections of the country where the foreign-born reside in substantial numbers have a per capita income which is no lower than it is in other sections where the proportion of foreign-born residents is smaller. If the irrefutable facts of cash income mean anything they indicate that immigration has not resulted in a decline in living standards. In fact, the Census Bureau has estimated that during the nineteenth century, immigration brought us 30,000,000 new inhabitants and added \$40,000,000,000 to our national wealth. I do not contend that immigration is the sole cause of such well-being; other factors are at work. But I do contend that immigration contributed to it, and that there is no factual basis for the view that the immigration contemplated by this bill would hamper or injure the economic well-being of our country.

As to the effect of immigration on the development of industry:

Few students of immigration assert that our industrial development would have been possible without the fertilization of our population by immigrants. The United States Immigration Commission, which from 1907 to 1911 was engaged in a critical and searching investigation concerning the effect of immigration upon American life, conceded in its 42-volume report, that the great expansion of our industry would have been impossible without the new arrivals.

From 1890 to 1910, the heaviest immigration period in our history, 12,500,000 persons entered the country. The total population increase by 1910 was less than 50 percent but the number of gainfully employed workers rose 67 percent and economic activity to three times the 1890 level—coal, 220 percent; steel, 606 percent; ton-miles of freight, 184 percent; bank clearings, 191 percent; and total trade, 102 percent.

As we scan our economic history, the immigrant's role as a creator of new industries leaps from the page with overwhelming impressiveness. How many American jobs would never have come into being if we had barred our gates to Slater, who introduced cotton manufacture into New England; Carnegie, the steel industry; Cudahy, meat packing; Bausch & Lomb, the optical industry?

Mr. FELLOWS. Those are economic royalists, are they not?

Mr. HANNAH. They were very creative.

Bulova, the watch industry; Knudsen, automobiles; Sarnoff, radio; Alexander Graham Bell and Emile Berliner, the telephone and microphone; Mergenthaler, the linotype machine; and Garand, the rifle which made our infantry in the recent war the best-armed foot soldiers in the world.

How would our economic system have fared without the contributions of Prang to printing; Roebling to bridge building; Singstad to tunnel construction; Schwallbach, the typewriter; Bellanca, Sikorsky, and de Seversky in aviation design; and the work of those titans of electrical engineering, Steinmetz, Pupin, and Tesla?

When we turn to the development of our agricultural economy we are struck by the important role played by immigrants. Beginning with the Spaniards who introduced the cultivation of citrus fruits in Florida and California, every immigrant group has initiated new specialized forms of agricultural producing or processing. Intensive market gardening in California was developed by Armenians, Italians, and others; the cheese industry in Wisconsin by Swiss and German settlers. The cultivation of olives, figs, dates, grapes, and the resulting wine industry were the work of immigrants who brought their skills from abroad. Immigrant farmers generally were good farmers because they frequently introduced methods of intensive cultivation and conservative use of soil developed in countries where land is scarce and must not be wasted.

Then as to the effect of immigration with respect to employment.

The most popular argument against any entry of immigrants, however slight, is that it deprives Americans of their jobs and aggravates unemployment. Nothing in the past supports that contention. Our history demonstrates rather that in periods of heavy immigration there has been a great increase in the number of available jobs. From 1870 to 1930 the total number of jobs rose far more rapidly than the population. The latter increased from 38,000,000 to about 122,000,000, or about 200 percent, whereas the number of gainfully employed mounted from 12,500,000 to almost 49,000,000, or about 300 percent.

Breaking this period down further, the census of manufacturers shows that from 1899 to 1909, when about 7,500,000 immigrants arrived, jobs increased by 40 percent.

From 1909 to 1919, the entry of another 6,500,000 newcomers was accompanied by a 36-percent increase in the number of jobs.

Again, I am constrained to say that immigration was not necessarily the sole cause of this advance. But the concurrence of high immigration with an even larger increase in the number of jobs clearly demonstrates that the claims that immigration results in diminishing job opportunity is wholly without foundation.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt there?

Mr. HANNAH. Surely.

Mr. FELLOWS. From 1933 until the war, it was estimated that we had 12,000,000 unemployed, and it has been suggested that the fact that immigration fell off in the later years might have something to do with it.

Do you agree with that?

Mr. HANNAH. No. I think the fact that we had 12,000,000 unemployed was due to many, many economic factors of the depression. As a matter of fact, more people left the country than came in.

In think there were many, many economic factors.

Mr. FELLOWS. That was from 1930 on. You go up to 1930. But from 1930 until we entered the war, there were something like 12,000,000 unemployed, were there not?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes; we went as high as 12,000,000 sometimes. But I do not think immigration was any contributing factor to it.

Mr. FELLOWS. I do not think so, either.

I notice you state in here, and I quote:

But the concurrence of high immigration with an even larger increase in the number of jobs clearly demonstrates that the claim that immigration results in diminishing job opportunity is wholly without foundation.

Mr. HANNAH. Yes, sir. That demonstrates conclusively that immigration does not diminish job opportunities. All our history shows that where immigrants come in, job opportunities increase, proving again our contention that our opportunities in this Nation are unlimited, and we have not reached any cross roads by any stretch of the imagination.

Unemployment is due to many factors, and differing theories of the business cycle are as numerous as the economists who propound them.

Mr. FELLOWS. You do not lay it to the Republican Party, as Mr. Celler does, this depression?

Mr. HANNAH. I beg your pardon?

Mr. FELLOWS. You do not lay the depression to the Republican Party the way Emanuel Celler does?

Mr. HANNAH. I lay the depression to many, many economic factors, a multitude of them; and probably the lack of planning.

Mr. CELLER. You asked for it; you are going to get it.

Mr. HANNAH. One of them probably was the lack of planning to prevent depressions. Depressions are man made.

Mr. CELLER. I will say that in part the failure of President Hoover to adopt and carry out the principle that the greatest good is for the greatest number, which should have been his policy, probably caused some of that depression.

Mr. HANNAH. It probably was a contributing factor.

Mr. FELLOWS. It did not have anything to do with the depression in China.

Mr. CELLER. We are not discussing China today.

Mr. FELLOWS. They had an everlasting depression in China.

Mr. ROBSION. I remember in this country in 1893 when Hoover was not President; Grover Cleveland was President. He was a bad one, too.

Mr. CELLER. The trouble is that he inherited some of the bad features of the administration of Mr. Harrison.

Mr. ROBSION. I just wonder if we are dealing with displaced persons this morning.

Mr. GRAHAM. Or with economic problems.

Mr. HANNAH. We contend that unemployment is due to many factors, and different theories of the buying cycle are as numerous as the economists who propound them, but no economist has asserted that immigration is a cause of depressions which strike alike countries having the most divergent immigration policies. However, most students of the subject agree that immigration generally increases in response to a need for labor in fields where shortages exist, and declines drastically in periods of economic depression. During the economic crisis of the 1930's more immigrants returned to their countries of origin than entered the United States, and this reverse movement, although not to the same degree, has occurred during every depression in our country.

During those years of unemployment, more immigrants returned to those countries than came into this country, so the influx of immigration contributed nothing to our serious unemployment situation.

Authoritative studies for varying periods preceding the war indicate clearly that not only has immigration benefited our economy but that all during our history, the immigrant, by and large, has successfully adjusted himself to and become an integral part of American life. I have not the time here to demonstrate that conclusion in detail, but the contributions made by immigrants to science, medicine, music, literature, entertainment, and the arts have enriched our cultural existence immensely. Merely to list some of the names is to furnish a roster of creative genius which includes Einstein, Toscanini, Thomas Mann, Fritz Kreisler, Hans Zinsser, Bruno Walter, Rubinstein, Elman, Franz Werfel, Heifetz, Iturbi—one could go on endlessly.

In this survey, it has been impossible to do more than touch upon the vast accumulations of data indicating the success with which the immigrant has been absorbed into our economic, social, and cultural structure. But on the basis of even the relatively scanty material which I have presented it is at least certain that the heavy immigration between 1870 and 1925 did nothing to harm us, and that the new arrivals prior to that period not only made complete adjustment to our national life but were essential to its successful development.

Despite these considerations, however, opposition to the admission of immigrants, even when the number proposed is small, as it is under H. R. 2910, has always been articulate and continues to be so. On the floor of Congress, Representative Otis, of Massachusetts, made the following assertion:

When the country was new it might have been good policy to admit all. But it is so no longer.

That statement, gentlemen, was made in 1797. And throughout our history similar sentiments were constantly expressed.

But there have been other voices in our past expressing other sentiments. Voices respected for their wisdom, their humanity, and their prophetic insight. Our own Declaration of Independence, speaking of the tyranny of the British monarch, states:

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations for lands.

At the Constitutional Convention, James Madison, referring to our immigrants, declared:

That part of America which has encouraged them most, has advanced most rapidly in population, agriculture, and the arts.

In 1864 the platform of the Republican Party, which Abraham Lincoln helped to write, contained the following plank:

Resolved, That foreign immigration which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to the Nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

I have devoted considerable time to demonstrating that immigration in the past has been beneficial to our economic development and well-being. I have considered it necessary to refute some of the misconceptions which are firmly held in many quarters. It is precisely these errors upon which rests much of the opposition to Congressman Stratton's bill. But H. R. 2910 does not in any sense constitute a reversal of or present immigration policy. It will rescue a portion of the homeless victims of persecution, oppression, and terror. It should result in positive benefits to the life of our great country.

The entry of displaced persons will not affect the labor market of the United States.

The bill provides for admission into the United States of some 100,000 displaced persons annually for a period of 4 years. The entry of these persons will have no significant effect on the labor market of the United States. The number of workers in this group annually would be but one-tenth of 1 percent of our total labor force. Since the group includes a variety of skills and industrial experience, it will scarcely affect the labor supply of any given skill or industry. In fact, the group possesses certain skills and industrial experience now in short supply in our country. These skills can be used readily and would actually increase our economic well-being. The group as a whole is so small and possesses a skill distribution of such character that it should not affect employment opportunities for American workers, including those being mustered out of military service.

As to the characteristics of displaced persons: At the end of last year there were slightly over 1,000,000 displaced persons in Germany, Italy, and Austria. About 82 percent of these were in Germany; 14 percent in Austria; and the remainder, about 4 percent, in Italy. Some 56 percent were in the United States occupation zones in Germany and Austria, while the British and French zones had 34 and 6 percent, respectively. Of the grand total, 795,000 of the displaced persons were in camps. Of these, 701,000 were in UNRRA camps and the remainder in military installations.

Mr. ROBSION. Why is that? Why do we receive so many and France and England do not have so many?

Mr. HANNAH. We have so many because they were there in our zone of occupation when we got there.

Mr. FELLOWS. No; not all of them. Not all of them. The record shows that.

Mr. CELLER. It was stated by General Hildring that over 85 percent to 90 percent, were there when the shooting stopped.

Mr. HANNAH. And many of them, I understand, came into our zone. They were displaced and homeless and we gave them succor and some aid.

Mr. ROBSION. We fed a little better and clothed a little better, did we not?

Mr. HANNAH. I think you are right; we did.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Hannah, the preponderant majority was there when the shooting stopped.

Mr. HANNAH. That is right.

They are there. That is the main thing. They are there, and we must help them.

Mr. ROBSION. Has the gentleman got any suggestion?

What are these folks going to do now, under this bill, and your proposal? If you take 100,000 a year, say we would get 100,000 this year, what are the other 300,000 going to do? Part of them will be there 3 more years or over and another part of them 2 years. What are they going to do over there during that period of time?

Mr. HANNAH. We will have to take care of them; and the sooner we can pass the legislation to begin taking care of them in the proper way the sooner we will give them the relief they need.

Mr. ROBSION. You agree that Europe has been badly damaged in every way and needs restoration, do you not?

Mr. HANNAH. Oh, I certainly do.

Mr. ROBSION. Would you favor now, during this period, these persons there going to places that were safe and that would provide employment, and take employment instead of sitting right there for the next 3 years or longer?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. Would you be in favor of that?

Mr. HANNAH. Their economy is so dislocated over there that there is no employment for many of them.

Mr. GOSSETT. Would you say there is no work to do over there?

Mr. HANNAH. There is work to do.

Mr. ROBSION. But we have been sending some help over there—money, and so forth—and the plan is, on the part of the administration and many leaders, that we make other contributions to help rehabilitate the country, but they need something besides money; they need workers, mechanics.

Mr. HANNAH. And where are those people going to work?

Now, the German economy cannot absorb them. They will make mincemeat out of them. There is animosity between those displaced persons and the Germans.

Now, they cannot go back to Poland. Many of them refuse to go back to Poland.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes; but many of them have gone back. There has been one incident in Poland that has been bad, but I am saying, would you not favor their going to places and seeking employment and having employment, even until we could bring them over here?

Mr. HANNAH. If you can find employment for them, but I think they ought to be employed over here and there is room for them over here and they want to come over here.

Mr. ROBSION. They want to come and you want them to come.

Mr. HANNAH. And our economy can assimilate them usefully.

Mr. ROBSION. We have the reports that they do not have the manpower over there to rehabilitate Europe, but they want money and food. Now, are we going to send money and food over there to help rebuild Europe or would it be better to let the folks there help rebuild their own country?

Mr. HANNAH. Their own? They have no country. These people there have no country.

Mr. ROBSION. This is not their country, either, is it?

Mr. HANNAH. What?

Mr. ROBSION. This is not their country.

Mr. HANNAH. No; but it could be.

Mr. ROBSION. Europe is more their country than the United States, because they have been there and their folks through many generations.

Mr. HANNAH. Those people do not want to go back. They are opposed to communism. They cannot fit into the German economy. What are we going to do? Just keep them?

Mr. ROBSION. You do not have communism in Great Britain. You do not have it in France, I guess, so much; but my point is, Would you favor a plan that they remain in Europe and take employment where there was no danger to help rehabilitate Europe?

Mr. CELLER. Where are there countries where there is not danger, where these displaced persons could go and safely work? There are no such countries.

Mr. HANNAH. Where can they go? Where can they find jobs and job opportunities?

Mr. ROBSION. I think the big thing in this question is that some folks there have sat down and they are determined to get to the United States and not stay in Europe, work or no work.

Mr. CELLER. The International Refugee Organization is endeavoring to work that out but all the other countries simply say, What are the Americans going to do? They sit tight and offer pious, pontifical declarations of sympathy, but do very little unless we act and not merely pour out words of sympathy.

Mr. FELLOWS. Wait a minute. Do nothing? What do you mean? How many billions have we sent over there?

I do not get that, do nothing.

Mr. CELLER. Man does not live by bread alone. Man must have some place where he can rest his weary head and work without fear. Now, if these displaced persons who happen to be Yugoslavs go back to their own country, you know that they will be purged by Tito. If the Estonians and the Latvians and Lithuanians go back to their countries, their native lands, they would be purged by the Russians.

Mr. GOSSETT. Does the gentleman have any kind of evidence where any displaced person of the 7,000,000 that have been sent home have been purged? If he does, I would like to put it in the record.

Mr. CELLER. Yes, I have. We have had that. We had a case where Governor Lehman and Rabbi Philip Bernstein told us of certain Poles who went back to their native lands and were met with a

pogrom and many were killed and wounded. If that is not purging I do not know what purging is.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, they were not necessarily displaced persons. There is no evidence to show it.

Mr. CELLER. They were in the displaced persons camps. They sought to go back to their own homes. They went back to their own homes and went to the city of Kielce and we know what happened to them. They were purged.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do you have any better evidence than just your statement on that?

Mr. CELLER. We have the evidence of General Hilldring.

We have had the evidence of Dr. Philip Bernstein. They were not eye witnesses but they spoke to these very people who were not returned and who were saved by the grace of God and he was told what happened by eye witnesses and he related that to us.

We cannot disbelieve everybody who has been over there. General Hilldring was there since 1942. The young colonel—I forget his name—Colonel Sage—told us of several instances.

But wouldn't you say, Mr. Hannah, that although there may be economic rehabilitation of some of those European countries, that does not mean religious or racial rehabilitation.

Would you not say further that Hitler was very successful in the sense that he implanted deeply into the minds and hearts of Europeans racial and religious prejudices, particularly against these very displaced persons?

Mr. HANNAH. Too successful, all too successful to suit me.

Mr. ROBSION. The point I am trying to make is this. I know how bad it is for any group of people to go and sit down for 3 or 4 years and be supported by somebody else. I mean, they say there are a lot of splendid folks in this group at this time, machinists, mechanics, carpenters, and others.

Mr. HANNAH. There are many good, skilled, craftsmen.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes. Now, it just seems to me a little unthinkable that these folks could sit down for 3 or 4 years until we get them over here. This bill does not propose to bring them now.

Mr. HANNAH. I am sure that those people do not want to sit down but where can they go? Where can they go to work, to live, to breathe?

Mr. ROBSION. That has been shown here, where they could go.

Now, of course, you believe in the bill we passed the other day in the House—and I guess the Senate perhaps passed it, I do not know about that—for establishing the International Refugee Organization.

Now, to pass that bill, it was urged that we would save \$73,000,000 plus. They said, "Now, under this present plan of taking care of the displaced persons, we will spend this coming fiscal year about \$130,000,000 or \$140,000,000, but to establish the International Refugee Organization, it will undertake to resettle these folks and it would only cost \$73,000,000, and in that way, we have saved about \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000."

Now, how are we going to do this? As you do here in this bill, or do it under the International Refugee Organization, in which some 45 or 50 nations have united to try to solve the problem? Or will we go along with this bill here and have at least 300,000 there for the

next 3 years and then 200,000 for 2 years and 100,000 for 1 year, just sitting there doing nothing, which would cause any group of people—I do not care how fine they are—to deteriorate, more or less?

Mr. HANNAH. I should think we could do it much more effectively. We will indicate to the world our willingness. We will live up to the great tradition and concept which made this Nation great.

Mr. ROBSION. I think our mind ought to be a little more open, perhaps.

Mr. HANNAH. Here is a haven, and particularly at this time, you have the lowest unemployment in the peacetime history of this Nation and the highest employment.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Hannah, is not the answer to the question of the Senator on my left the fact that many countries are taking a fair proportion of these displaced persons? Already, Norway and Sweden and Holland and Belgium have taken some. France intends to take more.

Mr. ROBSION. Would my friend yield there for a moment?

Mr. CELLER. Just a minute, Senator.

And there is a steady flow of these displaced persons into Britain.

I will read a part of the statement I just put into the record, a statement by Lt. Gen. F. E. Morgan:

I wonder how many realize that for some time past there has been a steady flow into Great Britain of displaced Baltic people and Ukrainians. These latter, it is true, are being found employment in trades and occupations that cannot for the moment be filled by British labor, but nevertheless it must, I think, be counted for righteousness to the British that they are indeed accepting these people from abroad to share the meager resources of their war-battered homeland.

And what Britain is doing and what Norway and Sweden and Holland are doing—that is, taking their fair portion or allocated part of these displaced persons, America should do.

Mr. HANNAH. That is right.

Mr. ROBSION. How many have we taken over here of refugees under the Executive order of President Truman?

Mr. CELLER. About 17,000.

Am I right?

About 17,000. Is that not right, Mr. Carusi?

Mr. CARUSI. That is right.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Hannah, before you finish—

Mr. HANNAH. Little Belgium has taken about 12,000, sir, of these displaced persons. There is a steady flow.

Mr. ROBSION. This is an emergency.

Mr. HANNAH. And here is our great Nation—

Mr. FELLOWS. When you speak of Britain as taking 200,000 do you mean the Polish soldiers, of which there are 160,000 in camps?

Mr. HANNAH. That is right.

Mr. FELLOWS. They have been there in camps.

Mr. HANNAH. Now, I talked to those Polish soldiers over in Scotland and I said, "Why don't you go back to Poland?"

They say, "Mr. Hannah, my country is Communist."

They want to practice their religion. They want to believe in God.

What do you think Stalin would do with these Polish people? They know what he will do to them. There is no question in their minds.

Mr. ROBSION. According to Dr. Bernstein's statement here, there are 2,250,000 Jewish people in Russia.

We have 5,250,000.

I have not heard where the Jewish people are being persecuted in Russia.

Mr. CELLER. This is not a Jewish question.

Mr. ROBSION. I know it is not.

Mr. FELLOWS. I know; but as I say, you are mis-speaking the percentages.

Mr. HANNAH. These people have made a great contribution to the advancement of our Nation. That is what made our country great.

Mr. ROBSION. I know but you talk about 2,250,000 people that cannot practice their religion and it would be dangerous to go to Russia; but there are 2,250,000 Jewish people in Russia.

Mr. CELLER. But those Jews in Russia cannot practice their religion as they can in other lands, and those Jews who want to get out of Russia cannot get out of Russia. The Russian borders are sealed against them. They cannot leave.

Mr. ROBSION. My point is if this is anything it is an emergency problem. It does not appeal to me to have people sitting down for the next 3 or 4 years doing nothing. Now, we do not do that in this country.

Mr. CELLER. Would you take 100,000 in?

Mr. ROBSION. What?

Mr. CELLER. Would you take 100,000 in?

Mr. ROBSION. It depends on how you are going to do it.

Mr. CELLER. I am afraid you would not answer that in the affirmative.

Mr. ROBSION. I do not want to close my whole mind on a question like that.

Mr. CELLER. I think we should take the 400,000 in at once, but as Governor Lehman said the other day, we have to be realistic. We want to get a bill passed, and if you have 400,000 at once there would be less likelihood of the bill passing than if you had 100,000 a year for 4 years.

There would be less likelihood if you took the 400,000 at once than if you had them scattered over 4 years.

Mr. ROBSION. The 300,000 must sit down and wait. Now that is the point that I think is bad.

Mr. HANNAH. What is the alternative? What are you going to do?

Mr. ROBSION. The alternative is that we are trying to rehabilitate Europe and these folks ought to be willing to work, not just sit down.

Mr. HANNAH. They are willing and anxious to work, but where?

Mr. ROBSION. No; I think you have the movement started here, that they think they can get to the United States, and that is the big thing.

Mr. CELLER. Maybe if you took 100,000 in the first year, the whole problem will become dissipated and you might not have to take the balance. Other countries may take them.

Mr. FELLOWS. Let Mr. Hannah go on.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I ask one question?

Mr. FELLOWS. Surely.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Hannah, aside from any political affiliation, in your Department, do you fear a business recession in the next few years?

Are there any trends indicating that?

Mr. HANNAH. There are no definite trends. The BLS sees high productivity and employment.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you.

Mr. FELLOWS. And you do not agree, then, with the predictions that men in high places made a year or two ago that we would have 10,000,000 unemployed in a short time? They have misguessed that?

Mr. HANNAH. Apparently they have miscalculated.

Mr. CELLER. There was one man that said there would be 60,000,000 employed, and his prophecy apparently has come true.

Mr. HANNAH. Yes; it has come true; and people said that that was not at all possible. They said we could never employ 60,000,000 people in this Nation of ours, and we have about 58,000,000 people working today.

Mr. CELLER. More—58,500,000 civilians. The balance are in the armed forces.

Mr. HANNAH. And I do believe that 100,000 of these displaced persons would help our economy.

Mr. FELLOWS. Go on.

Mr. HANNAH. Displaced persons are of all ages. Of the 701,000 receiving UNRRA assistance last December, some 56 percent were males. About 80 percent of the males and 75 percent of the females are 18 years of age and over, and a small percentage is over 45, indicating that few would be dependents due to age.

Mr. ROBSON. Now, if the gentleman will excuse me, over here on this International Refugee Organization, it was contended there by some that it would not interfere with employment here because 80 percent of them would be unemployable, children and old people and so forth, but your information is—

Mr. HANNAH. About 80 percent of the males and 75 percent of the females are 18 years and over and a small percentage is over 45.

If you will see table 1 there it will show a small percentage over 45. Therefore, they are in very good employable age to assimilate into our economy.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

You are talking about these people that would like to work. Mr. George Meader, who was appointed special investigator by the Mead committee, went over and made a report on these folks, and I want to quote it here:

These persons are for the most part penniless and do not desire to work, but expect to be cared for, and complain when things are not as well done as they think they should be. Mr. Goldman, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation director of the camp, said that he had not been able to get more than 400 of the 3,000 to do any work, even fixing up their own dwelling place. When he did get any work out of them it was because of offering them special inducements, such as extra cigarettes.

Now, Mr. Meader and you do not agree on what these people would do.

Mr. CELLER. I might say that Mr. Meader made a rather flying trip to the displaced persons camp, was there about 2 or 3 days, and devised these outrageous conclusions.

Mr. GOSSETT. Have you been to the camps yourself?

Mr. HANNAH. No; I have not, but I have talked to many people that have, and that does not stack up with their conclusions.

Mr. GOSSETT. I can name a great many of them with whom it does stack up.

Mr. HANNAH. But there are a great many people, industrious and desiring to work, and they possess many skills and crafts—and just to say that they do not want to work—they said that when people were unemployed in America here, that millions of them did not want to work, and there were no jobs for them.

Mr. GOSSETT. While I have the right to speak here, there is one other thing that I would like to get into the record.

You made the statement that these folks were there; in other words, that they were in Germany. You did not mean to say that even a substantial portion of those now in our camps were in Germany when the war ended?

Mr. HANNAH. No; many of them came in after the shooting stopped.

Mr. GOSSETT. Most of them came in later.

Mr. CELLER. Answer that. What have you to say on that?

Mr. GOSSETT. As a matter of fact, here is a statement of Mr. Marvin Klemme, formerly forestry and agricultural adviser of UNRRA, in Germany. This was placed in the record yesterday by Mr. Fisher. He said:

So far as the almost 200,000 Jews are concerned, probably less than 30,000 of them were in Germany at the time the war ended.

Now, as far as I know, that is a pretty accurate statement. Do you agree with that?

Mr. HANNAH. Who was that, Mr. Gossett?

Mr. GOSSETT. Marvin Klemme, formerly forestry and agricultural adviser to UNRRA, in Germany.

Then Mr. Meader also concurs in that. He says that at least 100,000 Jews have flocked to these camps, since January of 1946, and others continue to come.

Bear in mind these are not German Jews.

And Mr. Klemme said the same thing. He uses 30,000. So both Mr. Klemme and Mr. Meader say that there were not more than 30,000 Jewish people in Germany when the war ended.

Mr. HANNAH. Colonel Sage's testimony says 80 percent of these displaced persons were there.

Mr. FELLOWS. He is talking about a certain part of them; that is, the 200,000 Jewish people.

Mr. HANNAH. I am talking in the aggregate. Eighty percent of the displaced persons were there when the shooting stopped.

Mr. GOSSETT. Where did you get your facts, now, on that?

Mr. HANNAH. Colonel Sage spent many, many months over there.

Mr. FELLOWS. He has already testified.

Mr. HANNAH. You have the figures on that.

Mr. GRAHAM. Is this cumulative, built up one on top of another, step by step, or are these simply the representative investigations made by different bureaus that worked toward a common end?

In other words, what we want to do is this: We want to separate this testimony. Is it just piling up on this and does it come back to one man or is it a separate investigation by your department, one by this department, and one by that, that works toward a common end?

Mr. HANNAH. No; you will find that the investigations of the Government agencies are just about in complete accord. There may be a private investigation made by an individual.

Mr. GRAHAM. The claim has been that all these things come from one source. That is what I am trying to find out.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you, Mr. Hannah, been over there in Europe?

Mr. HANNAH. I was over in England and Scotland.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have not visited any of the displaced persons?

Mr. HANNAH. No; I have not been into Germany.

Mr. CELLER. I might say, probably, to refresh the recollection of the members of the committee, that General Hildring and Rabbi Bernstein, both of whom have been in the displaced persons camps, and have reason to know, have testified that about 85 percent of the displaced persons were actually in these camps when the war stopped.

Mr. FELLOWS. Would you like to go along with your statement?

Mr. HANNAH. Very well.

Most of the displaced persons of working age possess useful skills, thus limiting the possible period of dependency or training that might be needed. According to an UNRRA survey made in July 1946, about two-thirds of the males 16 years of age and over and about one-half of the females reported experience in gainful employment. I refer to the attached table 2.

The largest group, entitled "Special Services," is composed of domestics, tailors, seamstresses, shoemakers, locksmiths, cooks, and restaurant workers. Construction workers as well as professional and administrative people are included.

Mr. CELLER. Before you leave that, I just secured a copy of the testimony of Lt. Col. J. M. Sage, and he says as follows:

Between 80 and 90 percent of these had been forced into German territory by the Nazi army before the end of hostilities.

Mr. FELLOWS. Go ahead, Mr. Hannah.

Mr. HANNAH. Many nationalities are found among the displaced persons. But most of them come from countries which are now either ruled or dominated by Soviet Russia, and have no desire to return to their native lands.

As to displaced persons in relation to the United States labor supply:

As the data indicate, of the 100,000 displaced persons it is proposed to bring into the country annually, not more than 80,000 would be potential workers. This is true because 45,000 males and 35,000 females are 18 years of age or over. The actual number who would seek work would probably be smaller because some of the younger people would attend school and some of the women be housewives. Thus, not more than 60,000 may actually be expected to enter the labor force annually. This number is so small compared to our total labor force of 60,000,000 as to present no problem of competition with our own workers.

It is understood from the plans discussed for handling these persons on arrival that various church and similar groups will help introduce these persons to American life and settle them in cities, towns, and communities, throughout the Nation. Such arrangements guarantee that no centralization of these displaced persons will occur in a single city or geographic area and hence the labor supply of no particular geographic segment of the United States will be seriously affected.

The distribution of skills and industrial experience also indicates that no single employed group in America will be injured by this new labor supply. In fact, many of these people will meet labor needs that have gone unfilled for some time. There are substantial num-

bers of construction workers possessing skills needed in our expanding construction industry, as well as numerous agricultural workers, mostly Poles, used to hard, heavy labor in the fields.

Among the more highly skilled people are nurses, dentists, and physicians sadly lacking in many of our communities. There are railway workers, machinists, and tool makers, all in short supply in various parts of the country. The list could be expanded indefinitely. It seems obvious to me that the increase in the supply of these skills would help meet our labor demands in many, many instances.

The entry of these people should not affect the job opportunities for veterans seeking employment. There are now over 14,000,000 veterans of World War II in the United States, so that by comparison the 60,000 displaced persons who, during 4 years, might seek employment annually, seem insignificant. Of this number, relatively few would be workers with skills competing with those possessed by veterans and many will be women who would not be job competitors at all.

Under the proposed plan of admitting 100,000 persons a year, we estimate that about 35,000 would be adult women. Many thousands of these possess skills for which there is a real need in the United States today. A survey of employables in these camps was made by UNRRA in the summer of 1946, which is in table 4 attached. The persons studied totaled almost 400,000 of whom about 146,000 were women. These employable women are slightly over 50 percent of all women in the camps as of that time. I wish to go into some detail as to the occupational skills of these women, lest the public assume too readily that they are more likely than the men to become dependents or that they will depress our own standards by flooding the labor market with unskilled labor. Let me review briefly some of the occupations and industries in which there are now needs for women workers with skills these women possess.

War-developed shortages in most forms of office and clerical work are still unsatisfied. Roughly 12,000 of the 18,000 women classified as clerical and commercial workers are bookkeepers, office clerks, typists, and machine operators, and an additional 4,000 are sales clerks. Our hospitals are begging for nurses and others with related skills, such as therapists, pharmacists, doctors, and attendants. Of almost 8,000 women in this general group, 4,000 are nurses, 800 are hospital attendants, 1,000 are doctors or dentists, and over 800 more are technicians of various types. Our schools are unable to get teachers; there are 5,000 women teachers and librarians in these camps.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt for one question?

Where did you get those figures?

Mr. HANNAH. These figures were taken from a survey by UNRRA, who broke them down into skilled occupations.

Mr. FELLOWS. Did Colonel Sage give you these?

Mr. HANNAH. These are from UNRRA and I got some from Colonel Sage.

Mr. FELLOWS. I see.

Mr. HANNAH. In the manufacturing industries the employment of women in the United States is now proportionately higher than before the war. Although hundreds of thousands of women have voluntarily

left their jobs since VJ-day, the ratio of women employed in manufacturing is still substantially above prewar levels. Looking back over the months to January 1946, the total number of women employed in nonagricultural industries has remained steady, and such employment in April 1947 was actually 100,000 higher than in April 1946.

There would appear to be no difficulty, therefore, in absorbing into our industrial life the proportionate number of women with such experience who would be entering the United States under the terms of this bill. Altogether there are less than 10,000 women so classified in the camps.

The demand for domestic workers in this country has scarcely been touched. Among the women in the camps are about 25,000 thus classified. They could fill a real need in American life without being so numerous as to have the effect of depressing standards that we are trying so hard to build up for this type of work. Undoubtedly, our women's wear and department stores could absorb into their alteration departments a considerable number of the 15,000 women with tailoring or sewing skills.

Further detail is scarcely necessary. Even taking into account the proportions of these women who have simply been housewives, or who are inexperienced workers, it is apparent that the problem of absorbing them into our economy will not be difficult. Far from assuming that they will become permanent dependents either of American citizens or of philanthropic organizations, we may more correctly anticipate that they will fill much needed places throughout the economy. I am happy to report that the important women's organizations in the United States are heartily behind this bill.

If you see table 5 you will find a list of organizations supporting the Stratton bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. Which way did you put the Federation of Women's Clubs?

Mr. GRAHAM. Both ways.

Mr. HANNAH. Both ways.

You have quite a list of them. I don't know. They sort of rescinded themselves, I understand. I do not think we have them down.

WAR ORPHANS AMONG DISPLACED PERSONS

Children who may be included among those admitted under H. R. 2910 present a somewhat different problem. These young persons have been deprived of educational and vocational training opportunities over periods varying from 4 to 6 years. This means that those who are old enough to enter the labor market within a short time will not be as well equipped as American youngsters of like age. The problem involved is more than assimilation into employment, more than learning the language. Many have never known the stable family life or the emotional security essential to becoming properly adjusted.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I interrupt at that point?

Mr. HANNAH. Surely.

Mr. GRAHAM. One of the things that is running in my mind is the very thing about these children. I have had a great deal of experience in dealing with juvenile delinquency. Really it is parental delinquency and community delinquency more than juvenile, but I

have wondered a great deal about the question of the admission of these children, unguarded, unprotected, unless special care is taken of them.

Do you have anything to say on that particular point?

Mr. HANNAH. I am touching on that, that I think they will need some specialized care because they have not had the stable family life. It presents a somewhat different problem.

Mr. GRAHAM. I do not know whether you know it but I have been a State district attorney, a State attorney general, and a State's attorney. There is nothing academic about this to me.

Mr. HANNAH. I feel confident that many of our splendid organizations will use all their facilities.

Mr. CHELF. Do you plan to have these children adopted by the various charitable organizations throughout the country?

Mr. HANNAH. I do not know whether they will be adopted or not.

Mr. CHELF. Has there been any plan set up whereby they can and will be taken into private homes or families?

Mr. HANNAH. I really cannot answer you definitely, but I understand many of the organizations throughout the Nation have been contemplating such plans.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you read the new Senate bill on this matter, the bill introduced in the Senate?

Mr. HANNAH. By Senator Bricker?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. HANNAH. No; I have not read it as yet.

Mr. FELLOWS. They gave first priority to the orphaned children in that bill.

Mr. HANNAH. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you think that is a good thing?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you think it should be incorporated here, and would be a good thing?

Mr. HANNAH. I think they ought to be given some priority and specialized treatment.

Mr. GOSSETT. On that point, the President's Executive order, under which we have been operating since December 1945, also gave priority to orphaned children, but they have not been getting it.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say in answer to the gentleman's question, propounded by the gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. Chelf, that in New York, the tendency is to do away with orphan asylums and to let the families take in the children and the welfare organizations pay for their upkeep, so the tendency is to get the children into families with a view to ultimate adoption by the families.

That has been the tendency, I know, in New York. I do not know what the tendency is throughout the country.

Mr. ROBSON. I think that policy occurs in my State and perhaps all the States.

Mr. GOSSETT. Under existing law, any orphaned child can be brought in if adopted. It then becomes the child of an American citizen. So there is no difficulty there. Any American citizen who wants to adopt an orphaned child can just step forward and do it. It does not take this bill to do that.

Mr. CHELF. Do you have any figures on the number of orphaned children?

Colonel Sage did not seem to have it at the time.

Mr. GOSSETT. Wait a minute. Let me get this right.

Am I wrong about that, Mr. Carusi?

Can an orphaned child be brought into this country?

Mr. CARUSI. If adopted, but is still subject to quota.

Mr. GOSSETT. Is he still subject to quota?

Mr. CARUSI. He has to be a natural child.

Mr. CHELF. He is still subject to the quota, you say?

Mr. CARUSI. Oh, yes; assuming he were not adopted, it makes no difference.

Mr. HANNAH. There is an emergency fund, a United States emergency fund, also laid down, that I understand Marshall Field is very much interested in, in working and collaborating with the Children's Bureau, which is giving special attention to this problem of the orphans, and I think in many instances it would be safe to say ultimately it would lead into adoption for many of these orphans to fit into family life.

Mr. ROBSION. Of course, this bill that we have here relates to about 1,000,000 so-called displaced persons. That, of course, does not represent anything like the number of displaced persons in Europe or the number of orphans that are homeless. It really just boils down to represent those who were there and those types of persons who are now being cared for in the American camps over there.

Of course, there are millions of other displaced persons out of the 340,000,000 or 350,000,000 people in Europe, I presume, besides this 1,000,000 there in the American camps, are there not?

Mr. CHELF. We have about 600,000 in the American camps, as I understand.

Mr. ROBSION. I know, but there are no doubt several millions of other displaced persons over there and orphaned children, with all that slaughter and destruction.

Mr. HANNAH. We feel there are about a million other displaced persons.

Mr. ROBSION. We are just dealing here with the displaced persons in Europe and orphaned children and so forth that are in our camp.

Mr. HANNAH. Our American zone.

Mr. ROBSION. Is not that so?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes. I think the figures on the entire displaced persons in Europe is about a million.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is according to the definition given in this bill. That is what you mean by displaced persons?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. In the camps there?

Mr. FELLOWS. No, no; I say when he uses the expression "displaced person," he is referring to the definition of a displaced person as given in H. R. 2910.

Mr. ROBSION. And that is a person in these camps over there, is it not?

Mr. FELLOWS. That is right.

Mr. CHELF. Which this bill seeks to relieve.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. Yes; but it does not refer to millions of the other displaced persons or families, homeless children, and so forth.

Mr. HANNAH. These young persons, as well as the younger children who might be admitted, should have specialized care, training, and guidance to compensate for deprivations suffered during their formative years and to help them become good citizens. I would like to suggest that the committee include in its report on H. R. 2910 a recognition of this problem and of the special responsibilities which must be assumed for absorbing these young people into the life of the country and giving them the help they will need to that end. Information obtained from the Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency regarding displaced unaccompanied children in Germany and Austria under the care of UNRRA indicates that the number eligible for immigration, even on a nonquota basis, would be small, as shown in table 6.

I have said enough to indicate that the total of immigrants which H. R. 2910 is designed to admit will have the effect upon our economic life of a pebble cast into the ocean—but that their qualities and skills may prove useful to us by meeting needs in areas where the need is most acute. Viscount Lord Bryce, the famed British analyst of our political institutions, writing at a period when our immigration was heaviest, prophesied that the mixture of racial stocks in America was likely “to carry the creative power of the country to a higher level of production than it has reached.” And the New York Trust Co., an old, conservative banking institution, in its monthly publication, *The Index*, for November 1937, feared that “it is not impossible that further gains in production will in time lead to a definite shortage of labor,” arriving at the following conclusions:

In view of the many disadvantages which apparently follow an extreme course—either too rigid control of immigration or a lack of effective restriction—the question arises, “Would not a more moderate and flexible policy tend to eliminate the difficulties and redound to the advantages of the entire present populace—labor and capital alike?” Much of our present labor force cannot or will not perform certain unskilled tasks—both for reasons of lower real income and prestige—yet much of the skilled work and the productivity of the country will always depend on the performance of these tasks. It might be, therefore, the wiser course to permit a reasonable replenishment, related to demand, of the unskilled labor force as a basis and opportunity for a higher economic and social status for the native and older immigrant worker. Balance and moderation, in immigration as in other policies, may eventually be considered essential to the public welfare.

But apart from our national needs and the benefits which immigration has conferred upon us, or may confer upon us as a result of this bill, we should give more than a passing thought to the blessings of freedom and safety which we can bestow on a pitiful handful of the earth's “scorned and rejected.” Let us think of Thomas Jefferson asking:

Shall we refuse the unhappy fugitives from distress that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?

Is it not more fitting that we listen to the heroic figures who wrought the framework within which our tremendous progress was achieved rather than to those whose voices, now raised in opposition to this bill, echo the erroneous and unfulfilled prophecies made since the beginning of our history as a Nation, that immigration would bring disaster upon us? For the sake of 400,000 displaced persons to whom America represents one of the few remaining hopes of attaining a rooted and normal existence, let us recall the words of George Wash-

ington in his Presidential Thanksgiving Day proclamation of 1795 asking the American people—

* * * humbly and fervently to beseech the kind Author of these blessings * * * to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Hannah, I am getting a great deal of benefit out of this statement of yours. I am delighted to hear you quote these forefathers of ours, and the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, in your essay, which is a fine one, after hearing so little about them in the last 15 years. They have been forgotten, don't you think?

Mr. HANNAH. I do not think they have been too far forgotten, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you not think that we have sort of overlooked what they told us, until we got your essay?

Mr. HANNAH. I think by far and large all of us are mindful of them.

Mr. FELLOWS. I do not mean you. I think some people in high places have overlooked these boys until we got your essay, that is why I like it. You glorify them, and I enjoy it.

Mr. HANNAH. I trust that I can impress upon this committee to give asylum to these poor, oppressed people.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one further question?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. You went into some detail, sir, with the enumeration of the various skills of persons now in the displaced persons camps. You enumerated doctors, nurses, and technicians of one kind or another.

Now, as to those persons, are they not much more badly needed in the devastated areas of Europe than in this country?

Mr. HANNAH. Where? Where are they going?

Mr. GOSSETT. Are not we sending technicians over there trying to help rebuild and rehabilitate Europe? Now, if they would be useful in this country, would they not be more useful there?

Mr. HANNAH. They would be far more useful here. Take your building industry, for instance. You have a terrific shortage of bricklayers.

Mr. GOSSETT. Are there not greater shortages in Europe, Mr. Hannah?

Mr. HANNAH. You have all these bills for housing, a 10-year plan. Take practically all the building, pattern makers, and so forth.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then would not we be selfish to take these skilled peoples out of Europe?

Mr. HANNAH. No, I do not think we would be selfish at all. I think we would be doing the wise thing.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, as a matter of fact, does not the gentleman know that England, and France, and the other countries have long since skimmed the cream off these camps and have gotten the folks out who were most useful?

Mr. HANNAH. No, the figures do not indicate that. There are many of these skilled men still there. There are some tables that I presented showing chemists, professional men, librarians, building trades, clothing machine operators, and other workers.

Mr. GOSSETT. Assuming that this Stratton bill were enacted into law and we were going over there to bring in 400,000 persons, would you give preference to these skilled people?

Mr. HANNAH. Would we give preference to them?

I do not think you would have to give preference to them. There is a need for them here.

Mr. GOSSETT. Would you give preference to the orphaned children that you were talking about?

Mr. HANNAH. I would give specialized care to the orphaned children.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, we have been hearing a lot about selection and screening. What are you going to do about that? Are you going to take the folks that can work and leave the ones that cannot work?

If we take 400,000 there will still be 400,000 or more left. What are the other nations going to say? Are they going to permit us to go in there as if they were a bunch of cattle and pick out the best and leave the worst?

Mr. HANNAH. I am convinced that there are many skilled men. I do not think we would pick out the best and leave the bad ones there. By far and large, they are all good.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you know what the tests are that they are going to apply in the screening process?

Mr. HANNAH. I understand they are going to be quite thorough.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you understand what they are?

Mr. HANNAH. I am not altogether too conversant with all the details.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are you familiar with the priority provision in this bill?

Mr. HANNAH. I do not believe I am.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you ever read the act? Have you ever read H. R. 2910?

Mr. ROBSION. The bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. The bill?

Mr. HANNAH. The Stratton bill; yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you ever read it?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. You do not remember the priority provision in it?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes; I remember it. I am sure I remember it. I am in full accord with it.

Mr. FELLOWS. You are in accord with it

Mr. HANNAH. What in substance does it say? Do you remember? I would have to refresh my recollection.

Mr. CELLER. Do you want a copy of the bill?

Mr. HANNAH. It says a priority shall be given to widows, parents, and children or other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States or of persons who served honorably in the armed services of the United States during World War II or World War I.

Mr. FELLOWS. That means what, when they go through the process of picking out 400,000? How do you understand that will operate?

Mr. HANNAH. I think they would screen from them the widows, parents, and children and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of those who are citizens of the United States.

Mr. FELLOWS. And those who do not have the priority will wait until they do take those?

Mr. HANNAH. They will wait.

Mr. FELLOWS. Now, Mr. Klemme testified that of the 82,000 Balts—you know, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians—only 1,000 could qualify under this priority provision. In other words, they would have to wait until the priority was filled, and if they found 400,000 other people who had relatives there would not be but 1,000 Balts who could come in under the 400,000. Now, the Balts have been spoken of as excellent people in every sense of the word.

Mr. CELLER. May I be privileged to say something here, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. I think what the chairman has stated is highly important, and it may be that in the interest of Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians some change in priority may have to be effected.

It is true that if only a few can come in under this bill—they could not come in under the quota system because of the pitifully small quotas allotted to these countries—I think there should be some changes made in the bill.

But with reference to the screening, there is authorization under this bill for the Secretary of State and the Attorney General to make appropriate regulations for the administration of the act and the President is authorized to utilize such agencies of the Government as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of the act.

Now, I am sure that those regulations that will be promulgated would provide for proper screening as to mental and physical qualities. I am sure they would not take in Communists or anarchists or nihilists or those who would not believe in our form of government. They would not take in those who would be physically or mentally unfit.

Now, as to that, the mere fact that these displaced persons survived the ordeals of the war and were able to survive the sadism and fiendishness of the Nazi machine bears eloquent testimony to the fact that they must be pretty fit mentally and physically.

Mr. GRAHAM. Can you answer that question?

Mr. FELLOWS. Can you answer that question, Mr. Hannah?

Mr. CELLER. He can answer it "yes" or "no," as he wishes.

Mr. HANNAH. I think that I would answer it "yes."

Mr. FELLOWS. What do you think, in general, of a bill that in its essence provides that those who are in good health, mentally and physically, who have relatives and friends and money to back them, shall come in in preference to the other half who have not any friends or relatives or money? Do you think that is humanity?

Mr. HANNAH. I think that they should be material for American citizens.

Was that put into this act to serve a particular group? is what we are driving at.

Mr. FELLOWS. No; this is the difficulty: The people that have the friends and the relatives and the money to back them come in under that priority. They are the ones that need it the less, of the two groups.

And if we were going to talk humanity, we would say, would we not, that those people who are sick and poor and less able to take care of themselves and have neither friends, relatives, nor money would be the ones to take first; would you not say so?

Mr. HANNAH. Of course, we would have them all screened along those lines, so we would not have public charges.

Mr. FELLOWS. I know, but would you not think if we were going to talk humanity, that would be the way to proceed?

Mr. HANNAH. I think we ought to proceed but I am in favor of the priority section.

Mr. FELLOWS. I understand. You mean you think we ought to proceed along the basis of humanity, take those who need it the most first; would you not say so?

Mr. HANNAH. It is quite apparent that they all need it.

Mr. FELLOWS. It is quite apparent that there are two groups here; those that have the relatives, and, of course, that means the sponsors as well.

Mr. HANNAH. That has been in keeping with our whole immigration history.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am not asking you that. I know you have to go along a certain line. But I am saying to you, recognizing that there are those who can have the priority, you would recognize that?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. And those who cannot get it because they are to be screened for physical or mental disorders or because they have not got relatives or friends.

Is that not your recognition of the priority?

Mr. HANNAH. Well, relatives or friends are essential for the priority.

Mr. FELLOWS. You recognize that?

Mr. HANNAH. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. And therefore you are recognizing that half of these people are going to be screened out, that are left there?

Mr. HANNAH. Oh, yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. And the ones that we take are the ones best able to take care of themselves; is that not true?

Don't look at Manny; look at me.

Mr. HANNAH. I am not looking at him.

Mr. FELLOWS. You keep getting a nod from Emanuel Celler; look at me.

Mr. GRAHAM. There should be no prompting of the witnesses.

Mr. CELLER. I have not said a word.

Mr. FELLOWS. Look at me.

Is that not what this bill does? Is that not what this priority actually does?

Mr. HANNAH. I think you are inclined to exaggerate.

Mr. FELLOWS. Don't look at Manny Celler.

Mr. HANNAH. I am looking at you, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. What exaggeration do you find in my statement?

Mr. HANNAH. I think that—

Mr. FELLOWS. No, what exaggeration do you find in my statement? You said I exaggerated. Where?

Mr. HANNAH. I think that certain screening is necessary. You will agree on that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes, of course.

Mr. HANNAH. The priority is all right.

Mr. FELLOWS. Then you will go along with this?

Mr. HANNAH. So that we will not have public charges.

After we exhaust the priority——

Mr. FELLOWS. Then what?

Mr. HANNAH. Then we will take the others.

Mr. FELLOWS. You believe in this priority?

Mr. GRAHAM. You believe in this priority as expressed in this bill?

Mr. HANNAH. I believe in it, yes.

Mr. GRAHAM. All right.

Mr. FELLOWS. You believe in it.

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Robsion.

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Chairman, the great thought has gotten over the country in getting backing of this bill that it is a matter of humanity and charity and so forth.

Dr. FELLOWS. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. HANNAH. It is a matter of humanity. No one can deny that.

Mr. GRAHAM. But we are talking about the priority in this bill. That is what we are talking about.

Mr. HANNAH. No one can deny the moral obligation on the part of our Nation to do our share.

Mr. FELLOWS. I agree with you.

Now, will you let me put this question?

Don't look at Manny; look at me.

You have two men standing in front of you. one in good health, mentally, and physically, a man with friends and money backing.

You have another man standing before you who is in poor health. He has not been able to stand the persecution. He has neither friends nor money. He is poor and he is sick. You are asked to perform an act of charity and pick the one to perform it upon or with or for—which one would you pick?

Mr. HANNAH. I would try to pick both of them.

Mr. FELLOWS. You can only take one under this bill. You are only taking one. Which one of these men would you take?

Mr. HANNAH. I would take the one that could be usefully assimilated into our economy.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is humanity from your point of view?

Mr. CELLER. Will you yield, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes; I will yield.

Mr. CELLER. May I suggest that your answer might well be the following; one—addressing to the chairman the following and to the other members of the committee.

Mr. GRAHAM. Are you putting words in his mouth?

Mr. CELLER. He can say whether he wants to accept those words or not.

I would ask this gentleman on this side of the table, Would they be willing in the first instance to accept 400,000?

Secondly, if you are dissatisfied with the method or the procedure for screening announced in the bill, what other method for procedure for screening would you suggest?

Mr. FELLOWS. Are you asking him or me?

Mr. CELLER. I asked him to ask that.

Mr. HANNAH. What method of screening would you suggest?

Mr. FELLOWS. I would say this: That I would take them all or I would not talk humanity in this bill, because it is brutal.

Mr. CELLER. The chairman would not take them all.

Mr. FELLOWS. I would take them all or I would not argue humanity.

Mr. HANNAH. Are you in favor of taking 400,000?

Mr. FELLOWS. I would eliminate the priority before I would pick anybody at all.

Mr. HANNAH. And then when you eliminate the priority, you take them all.

Mr. FELLOWS. I would take the 800,000 before I would operate under this thing, which is brutal in its operation. There is no other word for it. The man that needs it is going to be forgotten, and they talk humanity and languishing men and women.

Mr. HANNAH. He is certainly going to be forgotten if we do not do anything about it. He will be forgotten, all right.

Mr. FELLOWS. But you are no longer on the beam again; you are off.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question now?

Mr. HANNAH, all of us who have studied this bill realize that the heart of the bill is in this priority section. If it were inadvertently drawn—I just put this in there for the purely humanitarian note—that is one thing. If it was adroitly and subtly drawn and placed in there to favor a certain group, then that is the red flag to warn us. Now, that is the thing that we have to pass on—this priority section. We do not know the motive of the person who drew this act, or what was behind it when he drew it; but we are all wise enough, in our own concept, to know that that is a dangerous thing to deal with and when we come to the consideration of this bill, our whole discussion will revolve around that section and that is the reason we are so anxious and insistent to get from you, as the representative of the Department of Labor, what you honestly think.

Our questions are honest because they are going to have a tremendous bearing on the decision we make on this bill.

That is a fair warning to you and every other witness.

Mr. CELLER. I might say to the chairman——

Mr. FELLOWS. We did not ask you.

Mr. GRAHAM. Let the witness answer. I asked him, and not you.

It is a fair question and I would like to have a fair answer from him.

Mr. HANNAH. If you are opposed to the priority section and it can stand broadening and amending, then by agreement it should be arrived at.

Mr. FELLOWS. He is asking you what your opinion is.

Mr. GRAHAM. I want your opinion.

Mr. CELLER. Give it to him.

Mr. HANNAH. I think if that was the only reason for holding up the passage of the bill, the priority section, you could surely find favorable language among yourselves that would be agreeable, and probably eliminate many of your inhibitions about how this priority is going to work.

Mr. CELLER. May I inject this, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. The reason why section 3 was phrased the way it was phrased was, first, to follow the time-honored principle that we should, as far as possible, assemble families together, to bring spouses in, to bring children in, to bring relatives in.

Secondly, the reference to those honorably serving in the armed services in both wars was put in there in a way to help and appease the veterans. Apparently the veterans have not been appeased, because the two great veteran organizations are opposed to the bill, namely, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion.

But I for one would be perfectly agreeable and willing to have section 3 reworded in any way that would be suitable and if this priority announced in section 3 is faulty, let us find another method but the idea is first to agree upon the admission of 400,000. Then we can work out among ourselves suitably how they shall be brought in.

Mr. FELLOWS. We thank you for your statement, Mr. Hannah.

Mr. HANNAH. Thank you.

(The tables attached to Mr. Hannah's statement are as follows:)

TABLE 1.—Age and sex of displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance in Germany, Austria, and Italy Dec. 31, 1946, compared with age and sex distribution of United States population, 1940

Age	Displaced persons ¹						United States, ² percent		
	Number			Percent			Total	Male	Female
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female			
Total.....	700, 797	391, 366	309, 431	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0
Under 18 years.....	150, 931	76, 066	74, 865	21. 5	19. 5	24. 2	30. 6	30. 9	30. 2
Under 1 year.....	35, 910	17, 955	17, 955	5. 1	4. 6	5. 8	1. 5	1. 6	1. 5
1 to 5 years.....	³ 36, 543	³ 18, 272	³ 18, 271	5. 2	4. 7	5. 9	8. 1	8. 2	8. 0
6 to 13 years.....	³ 47, 827	³ 23, 914	³ 23, 913	6. 8	6. 1	7. 7	13. 6	13. 7	13. 4
14 to 17 years.....	30, 651	15, 925	14, 726	4. 4	4. 1	4. 8	7. 4	7. 4	7. 3
18 years and over.....	549, 866	315, 300	234, 566	78. 5	80. 5	75. 8	69. 4	69. 1	69. 8
18 to 44 years.....	461, 446	268, 337	193, 109	65. 9	68. 5	62. 4	42. 8	42. 2	43. 4
45 years and over.....	88, 420	46, 963	41, 457	12. 6	12. 0	13. 4	26. 6	26. 9	26. 4

¹ Source: United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
² Source: United States Bureau of the Census.
³ Sex distribution not available for these age groups; total figures were evenly divided between males and females.

TABLE 2.—Distribution of employable displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance in Germany, Austria, and Italy by broad occupational group, July 1946

Occupational group	Total	Male	Female
Total.....	386, 851	241, 327	145, 524
Administration.....	41, 618	23, 400	18, 218
Mining and processing.....	3, 256	2, 428	828
Construction.....	21, 175	20, 251	924
Agriculture.....	89, 987	61, 768	28, 219
Health and sanitation.....	11, 794	3, 995	7, 799
Transport and supply.....	27, 850	26, 262	1, 588
Special services.....	102, 041	50, 147	51, 894
Professions and arts.....	32, 303	21, 262	11, 041
Metal trades.....	7, 608	6, 764	844
Miscellaneous processing.....	16, 732	10, 254	6, 478
Other.....	32, 487	14, 796	17, 691

Source: United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

TABLE 3.—*Displaced persons in camps by nationality and by location, Dec. 31, 1946*¹

Nationality	Germany	Austria	Italy	Total	
				Number	Percent
Total.....	682, 513	73, 456	38, 766	794, 735	100. 0
Polish.....	263, 555	11, 969	3, 344	278, 868	35. 1
Baltic ²	178, 147	2, 400	291	180, 838	22. 8
Soviet.....	11, 082	2, 398	320	13, 800	1. 7
Yugoslavia.....	18, 888	9, 757	10, 849	39, 494	5. 0
Jewish ³	139, 284	32, 760	21, 288	193, 332	24. 3
Western Europe.....	2, 007	15	378	2, 400	. 03
Other.....	69, 550	14, 157	2, 296	86, 003	10. 8

¹ Source: Hearing. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on S. J. Res. 77, Mar. 1, 1947.² Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia.³ Jewish displaced persons are recorded separately irrespective of nationality since they are physically separated to permit preparation of kosher food and for their easy identification as persecutees.TABLE 4.—*Distribution in selected occupational groups of employable female displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance in the United States, British, and French zones of Germany and in Austria and Italy as of July 1946*

	Number	
	In selected occupations	In major groups
Administrative.....		18, 218
Auditors and bookkeepers.....	2, 566	
Office clerks.....	7, 880	
Sales clerks.....	3, 616	
Office machine operators.....	251	
Stenographers.....	255	
Typists.....	1, 354	
Total.....	15, 922	
Mining and processing.....		828
Construction and maintenance.....		924
Architects.....	29	
Draftsmen.....	173	
Total.....	202	
Agriculture.....		28, 219
Farmers.....	23, 698	
Health and sanitation.....		7, 799
Dentists.....	640	
Dietitians.....	50	
Hospital attendants.....	796	
Midwives.....	498	
Nurses (all types).....	3, 859	
Pediatricians.....	88	
Physical therapists.....	109	
Physicians-surgeons.....	433	
Pharmacists.....	569	
X-ray technicians.....	37	
Total.....	7, 079	
Transport and supply.....		1, 588
Telegraph operators.....	167	
Telephone operators.....	534	
Teletypists.....	25	
Total.....	726	
Special services.....		51, 894
Cooks.....	2, 429	
Domestics.....	21, 683	
Kitchen help.....	2, 471	
Laundry women.....	314	
Tailoresses and seamstresses.....	15, 504	
Waitresses.....	1, 222	
Total.....	43, 623	

TABLE 4.—*Distribution in selected occupational groups of employable female displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance in the United States, British, and French zones of Germany and in Austria and Italy as of July 1946—Con.*

	Number	
	In selected occupations	In major groups
Professions and arts.....		11,041
Chemists.....	224	
Child-care workers.....	599	
Professional entertainers.....	1,037	
Librarians.....	116	
Teachers (academic).....	3,949	
Teachers (vocational).....	528	
Teachers (technical).....	324	
Total.....	6,777	
Metal trades.....		844
Machine operators.....	177	
Machinists.....	156	
Total.....	333	
Miscellaneous processing.....		6,478
Clothing machine operators.....	1,182	
Leather workers.....	132	
Paper workers.....	86	
Rubber workers.....	81	
Textile workers.....	2,032	
Total.....	3,512	
Other.....		17,691
Inexperienced.....	6,512	
Housewives.....	3,780	
Total.....	10,292	
Total.....	112,164	
Grand total, all occupations:		
Female.....		145,524
Male and female.....		386,851

Source: "Occupational Skills of Employable Displaced Persons Receiving UNRRA Assistance in Germany, Austria and Italy as of July 1946," issued by UNRRA, October 1946.

TABLE 5.—*List of women's organizations in the United States actively supporting H. R. 2910*

- American Association of University Women.
- Catholic Daughters of America.
- Hadassah.
- League of Women Voters.
- National Board, Young Women's Christian Association.
- National Council of Catholic Women.
- National Council of Jewish Women.
- National Council of Women of the United States.
- National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.
- United Council of Church Women.
- Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace.
- Women's American ORT.
- Women's Auxilliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- Women's Division of the Methodist Church.
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
- Women's Trade Union League.

TABLE 6.—*Displaced unaccompanied children under care of UNRRA in Germany and Austria*

Under the care of UNRRA in the British, French, and United States zones of Germany on March 10, 1947, there were 7,913 displaced unaccompanied children under 18 years of age. The comparable figure for Austria was 929. A substantial percentage of these children are in the United States zone.

While information is not available as to the exact number of these children who would be considered eligible for immigration even on a nonquota basis, it is not expected that the total would exceed a few thousand. The figures on age distribution for the unaccompanied children under care in March were not available, but reports from UNRRA dated November 30, 1946, show over 50 percent in the age groups between 12 and 18 years. In all age groups the number of males is greater than the number of females.

Under the President's directive of December 22, 1945, relating to displaced persons, the United States Committee for the Care of European Children is sponsoring the immigration of orphan children under 18 years of age. Of the 388 children who had arrived in the United States up to January 15, 1947, 318 were between the ages of 14 and 18 years, 11 between the ages of 12 and 14 years.

Mr. Gossett. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt here?

I want to put in at this place in the record, if I may, an article appearing in the Christian Science Monitor on the 4th of June by Josephine Ripley, quoting at length Maj. Gen. Lowell W. Rooks, Director General of UNRRA, to the effect that 7,000,000 persons had been repatriated and that none of them had been purged or persecuted and further to the effect that the charge made against UNRRA by the refugee defense group before the congressional committee was politics.

I want to offer that.

Mr. Fellows. Without objection, it will be received.

(The article in question is as follows:)

UNRRA HEAD SEES POLITICS IN REFUGEE GROUP'S CHARGES

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 4, 1947]

(By Josephine Ripley, Staff Correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor)

WASHINGTON, June 4.—The usually even temper of Maj. Gen. Lowell W. Rooks, Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, erupted in indignation today over recent attempts to discredit UNRRA's handling of displaced persons.

"UNRRA will not, in its short remaining span of life, yield to this smear campaign," he declared at a special press conference.

The charge which touched off this blast at critics had to do with a statement from the Refugee Defense Committee of New York to the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The refugee defense group—in which Charles Poletti, Robert M. La Follette, Dorothy Thompson, and David Martin are interested—declared in a memorandum to the House committee that "if the International Relief Organization should develop into the continuation both in personnel and in policy of the unlamented UNRRA, then it will earn for itself the curses of all its million wards—as UNRRA has already done for itself."

POLITICAL MOTIVE CHARGED

General Rooks charged that that statement was inspired by political and not humanitarian motives. The purpose behind it, he declared, is to block "even at the expense of gross slander, any further repatriation of Poles, Balts, Ukrainians, and Yugoslavs to their homelands."

The point at issue is repatriation policy. UNRRA's policy has been to encourage repatriation when the displaced person has no reason to fear political persecution or mistreatment should he return to his homeland.

Many of these people would return, General Rooks claims, if there were not a deliberate campaign being conducted among the DP's to discourage such a decision.

This campaign, he charged, is being conducted by those who are opposed to any repatriation to countries now regarded as under Russian influence or domination.

He accused this group of preferring "to see these unhappy displaced persons sit where they are in camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy until they rot

thoroughly—and largely at the expense of the American taxpayer—rather than go home where, I am convinced, the greater part of them would find their best opportunity to rehabilitate themselves.”

REPATRIATION SUCCESSFUL

In defense of repatriation, when there are no political hazards involved, General Rooks pointed out that out of more than 7,000,000 persons repatriated since the end of the war not one substantiated incident of persecution after repatriation had come to his attention.

UNRRA's policy to encourage repatriation under these circumstances is in accord with that of the United States Government, the United States Army, and the British Government.

There are still more than 700,000 persons remaining today in DP camps. Repatriation is going on slowly at the rate of about 10,000 to 12,000 a month, according to latest figures.

UNRRA's responsibility for these refugees terminates on June 30, when it is hoped that the IRO may be ready to take over. Congress has still to vote on the United States contribution to the organization, \$75,000,000 being the figure requested by the President.

If the IRO is not able to take over by the end of the month, UNRRA could carry on for another month or two, General Rooks stated.

Mr. GOSSETT. Then I want to offer an article appearing in the Washington Sunday Star on the last Sunday in June, saying Australia seeks citizens, in which the commissioner of immigration for Australia said they would like to have immediately 200,000 workers and they could give them all jobs within a week.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, it is received.

(The article in question is as follows:)

[From the Washington Sunday Star, June 29, 1947]

AUSTRALIA SEEKS CITIZENS

SENDS CABINET OFFICER TO BRITAIN, EUROPE, AND AMERICA TO SPEED UP HER IMMIGRATION PLANS

(By Frank Chamberlain)

(Distributed by the Associated Press)

CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA.—Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell, an Australian with intense national pride in this land of 3,000,000 square miles and 7,500,000 people, is on a flying mission to Britain, Europe, and the United States to get ships to carry some of the hundreds of thousands of Britons and Europeans he is convinced want to migrate here.

Mr. Calwell has instructions from Prime Minister Joseph B. Chifley to “ginger up the immigration program.”

Mr. Calwell hopes to convince Britain that Empire defense depends on a well-populated Australia, and to insure that 10 Britons will come to Australia for every other immigrant.

What he wants specifically is ships, ships, and more ships to “decentralize the Empire,” and to get behind the “stubborn wall of delay in London” which he believes is hindering the program.

Transportation suggestions

Before he left Sydney by flying boat, the Immigration Minister said in an interview that he would reopen with the Admiralty a proposal to use at least one Royal Navy aircraft carrier to bring migrants here and also investigate the possibility of converting wartime troop carriers into migrant ships. He plans to confer with executives of shipping lines in Britain, Europe, and America with a view to purchasing or chartering suitable migrant ships.

Mr. Calwell will visit France, Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark and expects to arrive in the United States August 13 to spend 12 to 14 days in the United States and Canada.

As Australia's first full-time Minister for Immigration, Mr. Calwell has brought the drive for a greater population into the forefront of Labor Party policy aimed at defense and industrial development.

"I have to get ships as some insurance that if this country is ever attacked again we will have more than 7,500,000 people to take the shock and deliver the counterblows," he said in an interview.

Strength in numbers

"We have a haunting fear, and a just one, that some day Japan will rise again and that day might well be less than 20 years after the Allied army of occupation has left Japan. We feel that Japan might once again stand on the wrong side of the Owen Stanley Ranges (New Guinea). We have had one experience.

Repeating that Australia was "in a bad way for population," the Minister said that "unlike Canada, we have no great land mass peopled by 140,000 Americans to inspire confidence in our capacity to hold our country. We inhabit a country that geographically belongs to Asia."

Mr. Calwell said 186,000 persons were registered for immigration at Australia House, and "it is safe to say that 250,000 people in Britain and northern Ireland would be happier if they could find themselves in Australia before 1947 is out.

"There are 47,000 more positions available than there are workers to fill them. If we could bring 200,000 adult and junior workers here tomorrow, Australia would give them all work within a week."

Concedes some difficulties

He conceded that such a sudden influx would present many difficulties, particularly in housing, but added: "There are hospitals, colleges, schools, orphanages, and other institutions needing trained nursing or domestic staffs that have rooms and beds waiting for workers they cannot find. There must be at least 100,000 private homes able to provide accommodation for domestic help. There is the same number of farms able to provide a room for a farm worker, and in some instances a house for married couples, to help the farmer and his family."

Mr. GOSSETT. Then I want to offer—

Mr. CELLER. Just a moment. Did the gentleman investigate whether that statement has been implemented by actual passage of the bill by the Australian Parliament?

Mr. GOSSETT. I have not.

Mr. CELLER. I might say that in that connection there have been many statements by responsible leaders of Australia that they wish to admit certain immigrants into Australia, but up to this very morning there has been no implementation by passage of any act by the Australian Parliament.

That is unfortunate.

Mr. FELLOWS. Why don't they do it?

Mr. GOSSETT. Then I want to offer, thirdly, as my last exhibit here, a letter appearing in the Times-Herald of July 8, written by Mr. Marvin Klemme, formerly forestry and agricultural adviser for UNRRA, as to the composition of the camps.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, that will be made a part of the record.

Is that the one where he speaks of the moving picture?

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes.

(The article in question follows:)

DISPLACED PERSONS

(Extension of Remarks of Hon. O. C. Fisher, of Texas, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, July 8, 1947)

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following letter printed in the Washington Times-Herald, July 8, 1947, written by Marvin Klemme:

"I have just seen the moving picture, Passport to Nowhere. In fact, I was so interested in it that I went back to see it the second time.

"I want to say that, in my opinion, this is the biggest piece of propaganda from the screen since Mission to Moscow.

"I have just returned from Germany myself after spending over 2 years with UNRRA looking after these very same displaced persons. At least 80 percent of this film is misrepresentation in that it will lead an uninformed person to believe something that is not true.

"These people are not wandering around over the country as this picture shows. They are living in large camps mostly, but some are living in requisitioned Germans' hotels, resorts, and private homes.

"Their living standard is considerably above that of the Germans because, in addition to receiving the German ration scale, they also receive additional food, clothing, and amenity supplies through UNRRA and other agencies.

"If they do not keep clean it is their own fault. I will say though that in the majority of the camps they do keep clean and that this picture is a misrepresentation.

"The children shown digging in garbage dumps are more likely to be German or Italian children, for there is absolutely no excuse for DP children to be doing this.

"In order to get Congress to pass the Stratton immigration bill a lot of phony information is going out. This movie, as well as miscellaneous printed propaganda, would lead the American public to believe that the 850,000 DP's in Germany were all victims of Nazi slave labor and concentration camps.

"This is simply not true.

"The statement that about 80 percent of these people were in Germany when the war ended is very misleading. The 175,000 Balts (Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians) are almost entirely refugees from Soviet Russia, although they did arrive in Germany before the war ended. This is largely true of the Ukrainians and the more educated classes of the Poles.

"The Yugoslavs are known as King Peter Yugoslavs and are afraid to go home as long as Tito has control of their country.

"So far as the almost 200,000 Jews are concerned, probably less than 30,000 of them were in Germany at the time the war ended. One of the UNRRA officials at Belsen, where there are about 11,000 Jews, told me that they had been unable to find more than 100 who were there when the war ended.

"The great majority of these people came in from Poland, Russia, and other of the central and southeastern European countries. They were all on their way, or so they thought, to Palestine, and with the help of Russia.

"It may interest our Congress to know that large sums of nice new German paper money, apparently run off by the Russians with those plates that we loaned them, were found in the possession of these people.

"The British blockade of this 'second exodus to Palestine' left most of them stranded in the United States zone. Our military people want to get rid of them, and they don't care particularly where they go.

"Checks indicate that well over 90 percent of them want to go to Palestine. The United States is second or third choice with them, and if they are permitted to come over here they will still want to go to Palestine.

"If I were a Member of the United States Congress, I would certainly vote against the Stratton bill as it is now drawn up. I would probably vote for it if it were amended somewhat as follows:

"1. To take a reasonable number of orphans or unaccompanied children.

"Actually the number available will be small because children over there are in demand and most of those countries are competing with each other to prove claim to them.

"2. Blood relatives—fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters of people who are now citizens of the United States.

"3. A reasonable number of agricultural and forestry workers to take the place of so many of our young people who are flocking to the cities because farm life is too monotonous for them.

"It appears to me that if this concession could be made and considering the fact that we have already taken a couple of hundred thousand of these people in one form or another, as well as furnishing large sums for relief, that we will have done more than our share.

"There is a limit to what any country can do.

"MARVIN KLEMME.

"Formerly Forestry and Agriculturist Adviser With UNRRA in Germany."

Mr. FELLOWS. Monsignor O'Grady, we are glad to see you, sir.

STATEMENT OF MSGR. JOHN O'GRADY, WAR RELIEF SERVICES,
NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

Monsignor O'GRADY. My name is Msgr. John O'Grady. I am secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities. This morning I appear in behalf of the War Relief Services, which is an organization of the Catholic bishops of the United States.

I am one of many people who have been interested in this matter for a number of years. I have been interested in the possible migration of large numbers of people from Europe to other countries.

I was, therefore, greatly interested in some of the statements that were made this morning about the number of people required to rebuild Europe. And, of course, those with whom I have been discussing this matter, including representatives of the governments of those countries, think that they have a great many more people than they need to rebuild it.

We think, for instance, of the Italian Peninsula, with about 35,000,000 people. Most people who are realistic about it say that they must really export about 10,000,000 of those people.

I think it is generally assumed that in time you are going to ship out of Germany maybe 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 displaced Germans, people who have been driven west from the Sudetenland and East Prussia.

I have been working on this problem, and I am interested in the bill. I have been working on it for 6 months. I say 5 months in the statement, but certainly it is for a longer period of time than that. I have had an opportunity to discuss this problem with other governments who are thinking about it and who have been through all these matters that you are discussing this morning.

They are no longer matters of theory with them, but they are matters of tragical reality. I have been discussing them a good deal for a period of 6 months with the Governments of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Paraguay. Of course, I have had a chance there of getting their different attitudes on the question of screening, the question of whether or not you should get people who would meet your needs, or whether or not you are approaching it on a purely humanitarian basis.

I have seen their selective method in operation, and I have seen this method of individual visas, so called, in which people were assisted by friends and relatives. I think I have had a chance to see those who were selected, and I have had a chance not only of seeing them, but I have seen them at work. I have talked to them by the thousands. I have actually supervised the placement of about 1,500 people. And that was not 1,500 people; that was 1,500 workers. Sometimes you would probably have to multiply that by three or four, because I also had an opportunity of dealing with the children.

I have not only had an opportunity of dealing with my own placements, but I was responsible, of course, with working with the governmental committee, and I also had a chance of participating in two large movements, one being that of the steamship *Sturgis*, which arrived in Rio de Janeiro in about the second week of May.

I actually interviewed in the camp in which they were placed for resettlement about 360 of those, heads of families, and I also saw their children, their grown children, their young children, their babies.

I went aboard the second ship, and I think that, both there and in the *Ihla de las Flores* right in the heart of the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, I had a chance of seeing every head of family, and I think I talked to almost every person on board that ship, including the members of the crew who had been with them on the way over.

Of course, in dealing with the governments, I had to go through the same thing that you are going through here today, this process of discussion, because there was a discussion in those countries. I read the newspapers, too, and we had all these arguments in the newspapers.

I had a chance, of course, of debating it with members of the legislatures, on just the very same questions that you have here.

The organization that I represent here this morning has had contact, naturally with this problem, working in cooperation with other national organizations of our country, in the camps. They are working there all the time. We have missions in all these countries, in Italy, Germany, and Austria, and Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, and even Yugoslavia, believe it or not.

Of course, by talking to the people, you know, you get a good deal about their history. I have sat and talked to them by the hour, and it has been a very interesting experience for me. It has been a difficult experience, and I thought I was through with it the other day, but it looks as if I were at the beginning of my problems.

Now, of course, I have been interested in this problem, too, from the standpoint of the United States, because I can very well remember the discussions that we had with Secretary Byrnes and that our group and other governments have had with Secretary Byrnes about closing these camps. That had all been discussed with the President of the United States by the various groups.

Of course, our Government finally decided that in the interests of humanity we should keep the camps open, because they felt that we could not in conscience as a Nation, when we were talking about democracy and saving other nations send those people back.

We have had all these other arguments, and I find this: In the beginning, for instance, the Brazilian Commission, on the basis of a somewhat superficial examination of the camps, decided that probably they would not be suitable to Brazil. Finally Brazil decided to accept 60,000 of them for this next year.

They are under way now. There is one ship on the ocean now. Two have already arrived, one bringing 864 families and the second 862.

I find, and this is generally true, that the closer you get to the problem the more you begin to think that these are pretty strong people. I discussed this with all the people that had studied this problem, the South American people, and I got their policy. And that is the general experience of people who have studied the problem, as I have talked to them.

They do not have broken families. Now, that is an interesting thing to me, I would consider. I have dealt with juvenile delinquency, too, for many years, you know, and I am supposed to be more or less of an expert in that field. I carry that reputation.

But that is not the story. I talked about broken families, and really I have been amazed. It shows how tough this fiber of family life really is, that all these people have been able to stand all these things.

They have been given a taste of what communism really is. They know not only the theories of communism, but also the actual practice.

Mr. GRAHAM. Pardon me; may I interrupt you there? I am a bachelor, and we are two exports on this, too.

Monsignor O'GRADY. We are paradoxes.

And these people have also done with Hitler, a great number, and they know what fascism is. They have worked under different ideologies.

I have talked to them, Estonians, Latvians, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovenes, and Croats, and the more I see of them, actually, the more I am convinced that they are a pretty strong, independent people, and they do carry a lot of skills.

I think these survey studies did not do them entire justice, because I do find when I talk to them over long periods of time that I get a very different impression.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you there? The legislature of my State of Maine last winter passed a resolution inviting the Balts to the State of Maine. There are 82,000 of them.

That is why I asked a question about the priority as far as the Balts are concerned.

Monsignor O'GRADY. They are a pretty tough people, I will tell you right now. And that is my general impression of those that I have talked with.

And I have actually seen them. When I got into the job of having to place people I did that. We have placed all sorts of people. These other countries just gobble them up pretty quickly, you know, and are anxious to have all the skilled people they can get hold of.

Argentina is not too selective. They say, "Let them all come. We need them all."

Everybody thought there was going to be some question about the doctors. Still they got to work in the hospitals and were ready to take anything that came.

Mr. ROBSION. Father O'Grady, will you excuse me? I beg your pardon for having to leave, but I will read your statement.

Monsignor O'GRADY. Thank you very much, Congressman.

On the whole, in the countries that I have seen I think they have gone through the same process of thinking. I had quite a debate with the Chilean Government, and I think they are gradually shifting.

You see, a lot of these same things that are said in here, I am afraid, and said around this country have been the same things that I have run into in certain of these countries.

I do not want to be specific, but I have read about the same things, and the same things were said. I have read some of the sacred documents, and they are the same things. On the very day that I had to deal with my first ship in Rio de Janeiro, Tito, the Premier of Yugoslavia, addressed a note to the Vatican in which he made charges against us and said that we had some criminals aboard.

We had some people that he wanted back, and, of course, everybody knows why he wanted them. There is no question. And you gentlemen do not need any proof.

I can mention the names of the families. Everybody knows them. Everybody knows that they are wanted in Yugoslavia and what will happen to them if they return. There is no debate about it. It is simply metaphysics, and everybody seems to know about it.

I can pick out 100, 200, or 300 people who, if they had returned, would have been dead within months. There is no question about that. The governments know it.

The Yugoslavians do not want these men abroad. That is the truth of the matter. They are too powerful, you see, for them. They do not want them abroad. They would like to get them at home so that they can put an end to them. I think that is useless to debate. I do not think you could get anywhere.

We have decided that. We have put them in camps. We have decided to give them a chance of living. We have spent a lot of money, and this year we are going to spend \$73,000,000 in keeping those camps operating. We are committed on that, and if we are not committed on that, we had better face the question openly and say we are going to close the camps and turn them back to Tito, and then let us forget about stopping communism and these other isms such as fascism and others, and let us try to stop what we are doing. Let us stop what we are doing in some of the Latin American countries right now.

I am not blind. I can see what we are doing every day. We are working with these countries and trying to help them, you see, to save themselves against these isms.

Yet, at the same time we close these camps, we are forcing them, these people, to live in slavery.

These folks have done some real thinking. I will say again that they are fine people, and the more I saw of them the more I thought of them. I have read so much about physical disorders and mental disorders and all these other things, and about all the children that were around.

Of course, we have had a number of those children in our own institutions and are willing to take more. We agreed originally to take a lot of these children. And we have taken some of them that were in the camps in Mexico, for instance. We have a considerable number of Polish children.

But these children for the most part are holding on to their own families and to relatives. I understand the French are going to gobble up all the children they can, naturally, because of the shortage of population.

I think this question of selection is a real problem. I have been very much interested in that. For instance, when I visited the camp in Brazil, when they got these folks, they made a pretty good plan. They studied the actual needs and then they distributed them over the country on the basis of those needs.

They have taken them away from the capital immediately, right into the heart of the industrial center, about 75 miles from the city of Sao Paulo, and have distributed them from there. Now, they have made a selection. And their commission in Europe made a selection.

I have been interested in contrasting that group with the nonselected group with which I dealt in Argentina. And there was not too much difference between the run of the mine and the so-called selected group. That is a very interesting situation. If you take them nonselected, you get about the same; that is, assuming no extremes. I have seen some of these that people told me could not get into the different countries.

Out of those, I had one hunchback with whom I had to deal in Argentina, and he is doing pretty well. He is holding down a skilled job. But he would be turned down under rigid requirements, you know.

I think that is a real question—this question of selection—because I have had a lot of experience in employment offices, and I have seen how this process of selection works, and I think it would take an awfully wise man.

I do not imagine we ought to let in a lot of Communists or Fascists or anything of that kind. I think we ought to take our own interest as a Nation. I think that is my first concern.

But at the same time I want to come to a few other points, and I might as well launch into them right here and now.

Here we are, for instance, a great nation, the greatest nation on the earth, the most democratic nation. We are holding up an example of democracy before the world. We are trying to save this world from these other ideologies. We are trying to prevent them from spreading.

People are looking at us. I am amazed at these Latin countries—how they look to the United States. Once in a while we get a kick, and I used to think they were serious, but now I do not. I think they are influenced by us. They imitate us.

They are very nice to me, I must say, in regard to this whole matter. I think I had a little influence on their deliberations. Maybe it was the turn of fate. I do not know.

Every now and again somebody would say, "What is the United States doing?"

I believe when you look over the immigration histories of all those countries, beginning in about 1930, you will see that they have become more rigid. Even Argentina, to its great chagrin, became quite rigid. I think they are now sorry that they did because they think that instead of 16,000,000 people they need 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 people, and I think they do need 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 people.

But, of course, it takes time to absorb that number. They cannot import 5,000,000 people a year, you see, because they cannot absorb that number, no matter how flexible the economic system really might be. It takes time to absorb a very large number of people in any system.

Then Brazil followed along with the same restriction, and I think they have been influenced right along in all these matters by what the United States has done, and now they see us talking about. They know our Government is interested in this problem. They know that we are talking to them about it. They know that we are talking about saving these people—giving them a chance for resettlement.

As Secretary Byrnes said to some of the people who are interested in this, "Now, what are you going to do about resettling them?"

Get some of them moving out of these camps. Get some of them moving to some other countries.

Now, I do not have much concern about what Australia is going to do. I think Australia is going to do all right. From what I can gather from my latest information, Australia, like these other countries, has a shipping problem.

Of course, they are concerned like, let us say, the Latin countries. I went to Argentina first. They are all thinking about Italian immigration. Of course, they are going to import an awful lot of Italians.

Then we began to interpret this other thing to them, and said, "You are interested in the stability of this European situation. Now, you have 250,000 of these folks in Italy. They are a problem in stabilizing Italy, a very serious political problem in Italy, much more than your own Italian immigrants."

So finally we got the Argentine Government to include about 10 percent of them as a part of their immigration problem. Then, of course, as they finally came along, they agreed to accept a very large number of them, and they take a very broad attitude toward it.

I find the same development in other countries. But still there is the question there always, "What is the United States, with all its preaching of democracy, going to do? Is it willing to contribute," as this gentleman put it, "to the support of these camps in Europe?"

Well, what work are these people going to do? They are doing some work in the forests, yes. I think they are being kept busy. You know, we used to have the CCC around here.

Mr. CELLER. The Civilian Conservation Corps.

Monsignor O'GRADY. The Civilian Conservation Corps.

Mr. GOSSETT. May I interrupt you there?

You know, we are having a full committee meeting at 1 o'clock, and Father O'Grady is a very interesting witness. I am sure he cannot finish in a few minutes.

Mr. CELLER. He might be able to.

Could you finish soon, Father O'Grady?

Monsignor O'GRADY. I have to take off tomorrow evening. I am going to the camps tomorrow evening.

Mr. GOSSETT. We are not meeting tomorrow, anyway, Mr. Chairman.

The full committee meets tomorrow. It has a very important session, and we have to be there. Now, I have guests coming in at 12 o'clock that I have to go meet. I hate not to hear the rest of Father O'Grady's testimony.

Mr. CELLER. Would you take too long?

Mr. GOSSETT. Will you excuse me, Father? I will read the rest of your statement in the record.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I find the rest of these countries are moving along, and I think that that is the general movement. Now, you take the English. The English are taking 4,000 of them a week. They are taking them into their industries. And I find in talking to their technicians that they are doing very well. They really are fitting very nicely into their industry.

I was interested, of course, in what Mr. Hannah had to say about this matter. Six months ago I used to know a good deal about employment conditions in this country. I have been interested in our policy in the importing of Mexican labor.

If I remember rightly, I think we expended about \$14,000,000 last year in order to subsidize the admission of Mexican labor into this country. I have been around in the farms a good deal, and I hear on all sides about the shortage of farm labor. I think if you go into southern Michigan, you will find a considerable shortage.

Mr. FELLOWS. Where has this farm labor gone, Father?

Monsignor O'GRADY. The cities, as in all countries.

Mr. FELLOWS. And where will these immigrants go? The cities?

Monsignor O'GRADY. Now, there is a question I would like to bring up. Brazil, for instance, in its policy, makes an agreement with them for location in a certain place.

I think the problem of management in this matter is quite important. The 100,000 is a drop in the bucket, as has been emphasized around here so frequently. Still, I think you ought to take into account the needs of the different sections of the country. And you ought to try to settle the people in view of those needs.

Otherwise you are going to have a kick-back. That has been the experience of other countries, too. I find that is one of the biggest problems that we had in Brazil. That is, the original groups all concentrated in Rio de Janeiro, and they were very critical about that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes. I noticed that Dean Acheson on the radio a few nights ago said that these people, few of them, would get farther inland than Brooklyn.

Mr. CELLER. You mean, not Dean Acheson, but Adolph Berle said that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Oh, he did.

Mr. CELLER. And I thoroughly disagree with Mr. Berle on that, and those who are enlightened on the subject also disagree with him.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I think we ought to try to develop an interest in getting the original groups organized. I have been trying to do that in Latin America, so that you can get these folks out where they are needed. I think that is a real challenge, to get them out where they are most needed, and, I would say, to get them away from these large centers of population.

I think these folks would be glad to accept that choice, because they are anxious to work. They are willing to accept their lot. They are not ambitious about what they do. I think they are willing to make the best of the situation. They are glad to be free, and I think they are glad to have the opportunity of doing any kind of work that is available. I mean, that is my general impression.

Mr. FELLOWS. That would remove a great many of the objections that have been made, the objection that these people will land and stay in the centers of population.

This question of settlement is a very important thing, anyway.

Mr. CELLER. Bishop Mulloy, your confrere, testified that the various 83 Catholic bishops, 24,570 priests, and 13,000,000 lay people throughout the country would do everything in their power to settle these displaced persons on the land first as hired help during which apprenticeship they would become thoroughly familiar with American methods of agriculture and adjust themselves to the life in the community, and ultimately, having been thoroughly absorbed by the community itself, as renters and then they would become owners of the land.

Mr. CHELF. I think the religious groups have submitted the first and the only direct approach to the solution of this problem up to now.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I think the religious groups are united on this.

Mr. CHELF. We have heard the pros and cons. We have heard this argued eloquently from every conceivable angle both pro and con. But your organization and the other religious organizations have given the first direct appeal to me from the standpoint of solving the problem, of dispersing the folks out in the rural agricultural communities.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I think they have given a great deal of thought to it. And, of course, it is very encouraging to see them all work together. I have talked to their leaders in the past week. I have been back in the country just about a week, and I intend to be in the camps in Europe in another week. I think that there is a great possibility there in the religious groups' working as a unit in the placing of these people and in the following up of them; the continuing interest in them, I think, is also a very important problem.

I have made a plan for doing that in Brazil, with our own church, and we are working also in cooperation with other groups.

Mr. CHELF. Excuse me. Right on that point, do you think there would be any objection on the part of any of these displaced persons who belong to the some 90,000-farmer group, or men of the soil, to some going to a certain rural community within the confines of the United States and there to settle for at least a period of, say, 5 years? In other words, give them an opportunity to take root and to grow and to expand and to become associated or identified with that particular locality, thereby getting away from the thought of going back to the concentrated areas with their kith and kin in the large cities to further aggravate the congestion there, in the foreign bloc.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I think that might well be thought about.

Now, Brazil has made that a condition. They require 4 years in the same type of occupation; in other words, if they came in with the idea that they are going to do a certain type of work. And in order to overcome this objection, I find in other countries the same thing, not so much in Argentina, but in Chile I find a great deal of that. They say, for instance, "Now, if you go into the southern province of Chile, there is a great need for farmers."

But they fear that they will not continue on there. And you have to face that possibility.

I think it would not be going to an extreme to have a pretty rigid requirement in regard to that matter.

Now, I think with support and with publication in regard to the proper settlement of those folks, it would provide an unusual opportunity for religious organizations, I know for our group and I think the Lutheran group, too.

Mr. CELLER. Yes; the National Lutheran Council has pledged itself to do that very thing. Also many other religious groups would do the same.

Monsignor O'GRADY. You know, the National Lutheran Council has a fine organization through the Middle West. I had an opportunity of working with them for years. In their social-service programs we worked hand in hand in regard to all these matters of social service throughout the Middle West and in regard to the care of children and other things, and I know that what the Luther Council sets itself to, it can accomplish.

Mr. FELLOWS. How many agriculturists, if you know, are in this group of 800,000?

Monsignor O'GRADY. The UNRRA figures say about 33 or 34 percent of them, around a third. But my experience with them is this: On the first interview, if you do not interview them carefully, you are liable to get one impression. I find that as you interview them more carefully, this might happen. Someone of them might say that he

was a pilot. But the nation to which he was going would say, "You are not going to fly planes in this country."

Then we get down to it, and I find that he is a pretty good agriculturist, and I find quite a few agriculturists. I find quite a few dairy-men, a very considerable number of people who had had actual dairy-ing experience, and people who had had actual experience in bee culture, for instance. I have run into a great many specialists in agriculture.

Now, I think we need that. I know sufficient about American agriculture to know that we cannot have too many good agriculturists. There is not any such thing as too many good agriculturists. You need them in your own State of Maine. You need them in every State, and even in Iowa.

Mr. FELLOWS. You mean, to raise pigs and not destroy them?

Monsignor O'GRADY. To raise pigs and not destroy them; to raise chickens and not destroy them; to know pastures, for instance; to know how to take care of the cows so that they give more milk, and watch the pastures in relationship to the milk supply.

Mr. FELLOWS. And raise grain and not burn it.

Monsignor O'GRADY. That is right.

I would like to compare these folks not to the ordinary peasant movement that you get in the ordinary immigration, but to the type of immigration, for instance, that you had in this country in the late forties and early fifties. You got the best people of these countries.

We are getting the best people of these countries, the enterprising people.

Mr. CHELF. You mean, we have a chance, or we are getting them now?

Monsignor O'GRADY. We are going to get them. We can get them under this thing. I think we can get a lot of enterprising people of the type that we got in the forties and fifties, and those were your best immigration years. Everybody says that.

Mr. CHELF. And you feel that these folks that are in the camps now, Father, are on a par with those that we got then?

Monsignor O'GRADY. I believe that.

Mr. CHELF. There has been a lot of discussion that they were dregs, and so forth, and to tell you the truth, I was in a quandary about it.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I was, for a long time, too, until I had a chance of working with them. And my eyes were open, you see, when I had a chance of talking with them.

Take their children. I am amazed at the growing children, 14 and 15 years of age, bright, intelligent, wide-awake people.

Mr. CHELF. The only thing we can do in this situation, Father, is to listen to folks like you and others who have been there and seen it first-hand, and take what you know about it.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I talked to some of the Australians about this, and said, "Now, who are the immigrants who have made Australia? They were not refugees, of course, but they were enterprising people."

If they were just ordinary peasants, it would not make a great deal of difference to them what kind of government they had. If they were just ordinary peasants, they would probably have gone back. But they are people with convictions about how life should be lived and

about their religious and democratic way of life and their own right to think for themselves, you see.

I remember, for instance, that I was talking with a man from a southern Province of Brazil, the Province of Iguaçu. Someone mentioned Anders' army. This man said, "Could you find me 30 Polish families from Anders' army? I know those people. I worked with them in the army."

He was starting a new industry in Brazil. And he said, "Now, I have a lot of fine new machines, and I have known them, and those are the kind that I want to operate these machines."

I have talked with a lot of industrialists in these countries. I have recently gone to São Paulo, and seen some of those who were placed in January. I have gone to the men who were employing them.

Mr. CHELF. Are they satisfactory, Father?

Monsignor O'GRADY. They are satisfactory. That is what I have been told. That is what these industrialists tell me. That is all I know.

Mr. CHELF. I mean, there have been no complaints about them?

Monsignor O'GRADY. I think in my experience in the past 6 months we have had one complaint, and that was in the past 2 weeks. I have not had a single complaint about my group in Argentina. We have had one complaint about a placement. I do not know who was responsible for it. I think it was in regard to three, four, or five people. I think there were four involved, to be placed in the center of the State of São Paulo. But I think it has been settled. There was some misunderstanding.

But on the whole, I find a great deal of satisfaction.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, they were misplaced into a trade that they probably did not understand, and were more suitable to some other.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I think that was the question.

Mr. CHELF. That was a question of local administration?

Monsignor O'GRADY. I think it was a question of local administration. I think the problem of administration is a very important one here, and I think it is a thing that needs to be thought about. But this process of education that is going on in this country is to me very, very significant.

I have been through this whole debate in regard to immigration legislation. I have read all these arguments to which Mr. Hannah referred. I have thumbed the volumes of the Immigration Commission and the attitude of labor and everybody else around here, but I do think that the present world position of the United States calls for this legislation.

England is opening up; Canada is opening up; Australia is opening up; South Africa is opening up. I think all of the Latin countries are gradually opening up, the Latin countries to the south of us. And I think a large migration to those countries, especially to Argentina, is inevitable, because they have the resources, and I feel that a large immigration program is necessary for the economic development of this country.

But I think that we have to set an example, because it is necessary for the stabilization of Europe. There is no use in talking about keeping all these people there. There is no place for them. It is going

to take Europe years and years to get back, you see, to where it can support its people.

For instance, Germany can never support within its probable confines, even with the settlement of the German situation, 70,000,000 people. But we are not debating that. That is another question, I realize.

This is an economic problem, too, as well as a social problem; that is, if we are going to do our part in the upbuilding of European industries, which is necessary to save Europe, after all, to save Europe to our side, to prevent them from going over to the other side. We want to do our part.

Now, the relieving of this situation is an essential part of that program, and that is what other countries do not understand.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, Father, it is your opinion that it is just as vital and just as important to deal with the displaced persons' problem on the same parity, so to speak, or the same equality, as it is to give financial and economic relief to the nations, such as Greece. In other words, it ought to be equivalent, or considered as vital and important a part as the economic and financial development or assistance or aid given?

Monsignor O'GRADY. That has been my impression. For instance, in talking to the officials of the Italian government, I found that they think that is basic. They are interested, for instance, in the emigration of their own people, which is inevitable. And now at the present time they are negotiating a treaty with Brazil.

But they are trying to get as a part of all this, the displaced persons' problem. They say: "That is a basic economic problem for us, and we cannot rehabilitate ourselves and our economy until we get this problem of displaced persons settled in our country."

Therefore, there is not much use, for instance, in our country's approaching Italy, which is basic, again, from the standpoint of keeping them on our side of the fence. That is, after all, a fundamental reality. After all, we have to think of who remains on our side of the fence. That is very important, isn't it?

That is a thing that struck me all the time in dealing with this situation. I have had to deal with those folks that have been coming from these different countries, and I have had to deal with their officials, too, all the time. And that is a fundamental problem and a fundamental consideration, I think, for America, for this program of ours, for the rehabilitation of Europe.

This is one of the sore spots; and until this sore spot is eliminated, you cannot talk, and you cannot talk objectively. You cannot talk with conviction about a program for the rehabilitation of Europe.

Mr. CHELF. Father, under this bill, it seeks to bring in some 400,000 people over a period, as you know, of 4 years, approximately 100,000 each year. Up to now, as you well know, there has been some violent opposition to that particular number.

Of course, obviously all legislation is give and take, or a compromise. We cannot always get what we want.

Monsignor O'GRADY. That is right.

Mr. CHELF. Would you, in view of that, be willing to deal with this problem in order to get the ball rolling and to get the job done, to take the lead and to do something and to convince these other countries that

mean to do something and that we would do something for a substantial number, whatever that number might be, or whatever number might be agreed upon as a start or a tee-off in the right direction?

Monsignor O'GRADY. What I am interested in is the United States giving some example in this business. I would like to see it done soundly. I do not think I am too interested in this ideology business.

There are some arguments for this immigration business, in encouraging people to do things for themselves. And there is the further consideration in here of the IRO, which was mentioned.

Now, I expect to see something of the IRO next week at Lucerne. They have actually about \$5,000,000 for the settlement of these people.

As I see it now, you are going to have to get interested in a lot of groups, and we are going to have to devise other plans besides the IRO to ship these people and to get their transportation.

Now, these two ships, for instance, or the three ships, that the IRO would have cost about \$5,000 a day each to operate, and they will take, for instance, to Rio de Janeiro about six or seven trips a year, in 365 days. So you can figure if they take about 860 to 870 families how long it is going to take three ships, and you can see how much money you need.

This question of transportation is the basic problem now.

The whole question of how you are going to pay the costs is important. Some of the governments, Brazil, for instance, I think, have shown an inclination to spend more money. And I think again it is a matter of publication in those countries, and public interest and the public attitude. But I would not want anything said to the effect that there was any favor to any one group. I would like to see this thing done on a broad, objective basis without giving anybody to understand that you were favoring this group or that group or any other group. I would like to see the thing done on a broad objective basis.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is, the priorities do not suit you any more than they suit me?

Monsignor O'GRADY. I do not now. You see, from what I gathered, I think this problem of children is slightly exaggerated. People talk about adoptions. Well, you place babies for adoption, now. You do not place—

Mr. FELLOWS. Old men.

Monsignor O'GRADY. You do not place children 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 years of age for adoption. Of course, we have quite a lot of these children in our institutions now. I do not know how it will work out. But we are gradually trying to place them out in families. It is not going to be too easy.

But that does not mean that we ought not to face it and be willing to face our duty in doing an heroic service. That is what we are in the business for. That is my business. I am in the business supposedly of rendering heroic service, and I have to do it, even though it involves great difficulties.

I think on the question of priority you have to do this. When you want to do humanitarian work, you may also have to say that you want to meet, as far as you can, the needs of the people of the United States, the interests of your own country. In other words, we want to get people to meet these needs. You are not going to do it perfectly, because no system of selection, even with the greatest care, is going to

operate perfectly; but still again, you say, any law is a compromise, and you have all these different mentalities to reckon with.

I want to see the United States give an example. I want to see the door open, and I want you to give an example to the world, because I think we can. I think there are so many fine things about the United States that people like to imitate. My goodness. All these Latins tell me, if we could only make things like the Yankees, wouldn't it be wonderful around here?—if we only had their expertness, you know, if we only had their vision.

And then we must remember all our talk about our humanitarianism, too. They admire this great Nation. And I would like to see that continue, because I think our independence is going to continue on that.

We have to do other things besides the purely economic things. I have said many times that economic pressure will not always work. We have to do more than that in order to have a program for the work, a program that will stand out, that will make the United States stand out like a shining light in the world.

You have to have more than merely dollar diplomacy and than the economic aspect. I regard this as a part of a giant diplomatic program.

I think what you have to do in facing the realities is this. You know the story. I think that is up to the judgment of you gentlemen. I am sure the Congress of the United States, representing the well-informed opinion of the people of the United States will, I know, do the right thing in the interests of our country.

Mr. CHELF. Father, you see, we have a most difficult problem. I do not think that this has occurred to many of the folks, but six men serving here as a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives probably represent, each one of them, about 300,000 folks, which is the normal, average congressional district. But actually we folks that are sitting here represent almost 24,000,000 people, which is a break-down of the 140,000,000 of the country right here in this particular spot that we occupy at the present. So it is a most difficult job, and we are trying as best we can to get all the information pro and con, and then see if we cannot do something about the situation.

Monsignor O'GRADY. Yes; I think you are right.

Mr. CHELF. Of course, as I said a while ago, there is a great deal of objection and opposition to the number. I have asked several, and it is one thing that I cannot understand, how they arrived at the figure of our fair share's being the 400,000.

Of course, frankly, I have never gotten that quite straight in my mind. And if you have anything on that, Father, that you would like to offer for the record, I would be happy to hear it.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I do not know yet whether or not this has been considered. Of course, under the regular quota system, we are supposed to get 153,000 a year. But that means, of course, over 60,000 English, and we are not going to get that, and twenty-five thousand-odd Germans, and we are not going to get that many Germans this year.

There was a good deal of talk before I left the country of trying to get a number that would make up for our losses in immigration under

the quota system during the war. Of course, we have had no immigration. We have not had any 153,000, and we are not going to have any 153,000 under the quota system for a long time to come. We are not going to get any English, because they need their own people, you see, in their own factories.

But I doubt very much that it is going to give use more immigration than the regular quota system would in operation, and the regular 153,000.

Mr. FELLOWS. What would you say about stopping all quota immigration and taking these for the next 4 years? That would obviate a lot of objections to it.

What objection would you have to that?

Monsignor O'GRADY. You are not going to get 153,000. Of course, there are all these experts around, and I look like a tyro. But with 153,000, you break it down, I think, and you have 62,000 English, I think about 25,000 Germans, and about 17,000 Irish. And you are not going to get many of those three groups.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am saying, some of the objectors to this particular bill picture the possibility of 253,000 in this bill.

Monsignor O'GRADY. You mean, because you would get the regular quotas?

Mr. FELLOWS. That is what I am saying. Now, why not obviate that objection and stop quota immigration for the next four years and take these 400,000?

Mr. CELLER. I would like to ask Mr. Carusi, if I may, What were the number of quota immigrants in fiscal 1946?

Mr. CARUSI. About 29,000.

Mr. CELLER. So under the quota we had 29,000 last year.

What was the previous year?

Mr. CARUSI. Between 11,000 and 12,000.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is not my point. My point is that some of the objectors say there is a possibility of 253,000. Now, I am saying, why not eliminate that possibility, and stop the quota and take the 400,000? In doing that, you are eliminating about half of the objection to this bill.

What objection would you have to that? After all, you are then saying, "This is what we are doing. We will take them."

Monsignor O'GRADY. I do not like to be timid about answering questions.

Of course, I do not know the exact number. Mr. Carusi says about 29,000 have come in. Let us say between 20,000 and 30,000 will come in under the quota system. I wonder whether or not it is a serious objection.

Mr. FELLOWS. You can find a lot of objections that are not serious.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I mean, I am wondering what will come in next year. People will begin to raise questions of what number will come in next year. I realize that.

I would like to submit a statement on that. I would like to think it over. It has many implications.

You see, if I were speaking for myself this morning, that would be one matter. But I am talking in an official capacity, and I am speaking for an organization that represents a pretty large group of people. Therefore, I have to be somewhat restricted.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am asking you as an individual, aside from your official capacity, what you think of it.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I was wondering whether there would be much force to the objection if you take into account what we have had and what the probabilities are during the next year, at least. You might think about it and put it on a year's basis.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CELLER. Father, I think your argument goes back to Matthew, who said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

Monsignor O'GRADY. That is right. And I think that is the whole front. I think this is the front that we present to the world. I think we would look very hypocritical if we do not do something about this terrific problem, and I think above all when we keep on saying we are going to return these folks to Russia and to Yugoslavia.

We can cite all the Meader reports and all these superficial reports, but these who have to deal with the situation day by day know the realities that you have to face.

Mr. FELLOWS. What do you think about this priority provision?

Monsignor O'GRADY. I do not know, about the administrative discretion. We have been very rigid in immigration and equally rigid in its administration. I know Mr. Carusi is a very fine person—

Mr. FELLOWS. He is listening now, of course.

Monsignor O'GRADY. He is charged with the administration of the law. He is charged with interpreting the mind of Congress in regard to that law, too. Mr. Carusi has to read the Congressional Record once in a while, I imagine. He has to appear before the committees.

Mr. FELLOWS. You say he has to read them?

Monsignor O'GRADY. In his own interest, he has to read them. He has to find what is going on, you know. And he has to appear before an Appropriations Committee, and he knows very well that the Appropriations Committee has a good deal of force in the administration of law—the statute the administration of which he is charged with.

Frankly, my only concern about the priority is this. And this is a matter that needs serious thought.

Mr. FELLOWS. You do not have to have this on the record, if you do not want to.

Monsignor O'GRADY. No; I am not even talking about reaching a conclusion personally.

Suppose you take this as a purely humanitarian measure; that the United States is doing this as a purely humanitarian measure. Then, I say, these folks do not have money. We have the problem now, for instance, of consular fees. That has been a real problem. I have been studying that with a number of governments. It costs \$50. And I have had to pay visa charges for many people.

Now, where is the money going to come from for their transportation then? Of course, if we can get all the church groups organized—and that is our hope—and get them to interest themselves without relation to relatives or anything else in helping these folks get over here, helping this group, it would help. The whole IRO funds, if they were all used for bringing people here, would not be sufficient. You see, they have not got sufficient money.

You see, that consideration enters into how you are going to get these folks over here. That is a real problem—the shipping of 100,000 people, with the present shipping situation.

I know that does not excuse us.

Mr. FELLOWS. It does not answer my question, either.

Monsignor O'GRADY. You mean, as to priorities?

Mr. FELLOWS. That is what I asked.

Monsignor O'GRADY. I would really, frankly say that my own honest-to-goodness opinion is that in view of the situation here we would select people who meet our needs over here. We are selecting a group of people realistically that meet the needs of the people of the United States.

Mr. FELLOWS. And not confine them to those that have relatives and friends, and priority and money back them?

Monsignor O'GRADY. No; I would not.

Then you put it up to the groups to work on that business. But you do not make it so that those who have money can get here, because I have seen a good deal of that already. I have seen in the hotels too many people who have gotten in, and they were living in first-class hotels. But that is another story. I have answered your question now.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is right. Thank you very much.

Mr. CELLER. Father, you made a very splendid statement.

Monsignor O'GRADY. Thank you very much.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. McCaffrey is from out of town.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD T. McCAFFREY, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS

Mr. McCAFFREY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, as chairman of the national executive committee, I am the authorized spokesman for the Catholic War Veterans on the vitally pressing problem of long-range and planned relocation of those peoples who are unable or unwilling to return to their native lands because of feared religious or political persecution.

I am submitting as part of this statement a copy of the resolution formally adopted by the Catholic War Veterans. Copies of the Catholic War Veterans' resolution were presented last January to President Truman, the Secretary of State, and the Members of the Congress.

I also wish to state that I am representing, in addition, that esteemed organization, the Jewish War Veterans. I will submit a statement on their behalf at a later date.

I have had occasion to discuss this problem with many veterans, and I have been deeply impressed with the fact that invariably when the full facts are disclosed opposition to the proposed limited immigration has diminished or wholly vanished. Such has been my experience, and the experience of others with whom I am associated or in contact, that I believe it to be a fair surmise that those veteran organizations which are on record as opposed to immigration may well find a substantial, if not majority, change of opinion among their rank and file.

I should like to confine my presentation to matters which rightly or wrongly have caused concern among veterans. It has been said that immigration of Europeans would afford a welcome opportunity for Russia or her satellites to infiltrate America with a steady

stream of Communist personnel and ideology. As a long-time and vigorous opponent of the Communists, the Catholic War Veterans should have a prime concern if there was a danger. We know, however, that the American Red has played a more effective role in promoting communism than any of the foreign import variety. It is significant that the vast bulk of the displaced persons come from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—overrun and absorbed by Russia prior to the outbreak of World War II; Poland—dismembered by Russia for a second time within the last 200 years, and dominated by a puppet government which is persecuting the very classes of people in whom we are interested; Yugoslavia and other central European countries. These people have refused to return, because they are strongly religious—and Russia, despite her protestations, continues to persecute to the death the free exercise of religion; because they are political refugees—they will not bow before state totalitarianism, whether Nazi or Communist; they have been denied equal economic opportunity because of their race or their creed. No Christian, no Jew, no single human being who professes a belief in God will bow in fealty to the godless states of Russia, Poland, or Yugoslavia.

Are we overlooking the fact that Russia is anxious to have these poor unfortunates returned to native lands now garrisoned by Russian armies?

But assuming that the carefully planned and administered immigration which is contemplated would attract the superspies of the Kremlin as an easy means of entry within our gates, are we not forgetting that the immigration statutes already in force require a careful screening of every applicant for admission? Those laws bar from the United States any person who is a criminal, an anarchist, an advocate of overthrowing our government by violence, or likely to become a public charge. Further, each welfare agency or philanthropic group which vouches for the individual emigree must assume a continuing responsibility of sponsorship and guarantee that the emigree will not become a public charge. Unless we are prepared to denounce the integrity and devotion to duty of our consular service and of the many highly reputable agencies which have developed plans for the orderly immigration of these displaced persons, the red herring of Communist infiltration through this medium should not appeal to those acquainted with the facts. It is estimated that 100,000 migrant farm workers wander back and forth illegally across our borders annually. Would a Communist insist on entering the hard way through a barrage of questions, searching inquiry, and other tests?

The fear has also been expressed that many of these people come from lands where communism had its first growth and dominates the political thought and philosophy of the people. Such fear is founded on a historical and fundamental inaccuracy. Communism did not originate in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Yugoslavia, or the Ukraine. Where it now exists in those lands it has been imposed from above by foreign rulers supported by small cliques of home-grown but foreign-trained quislings. The peoples in whom we are interested believe in God. They have given testimony by acts, not words. Communist political thought and philosophy have no place in the life of one who worships God.

It is proposed to bring to the United States 400,000 persons over a 4-year period. The first year the number would not exceed 100,000. How would this immigration affect the problems of jobs and housing? Since 1940, largely because of the war, the expected total of immigration has fallen short by 914,762 persons. As of June 30, 1946, the war-reported deaths in the armed forces from all causes were 396,228. In other words, if the war had not occurred, our population today would be approximately 1,300,000 greater. We are asking for admission of only 400,000 over the next 4 years. Are we to congratulate ourselves that we are better off today because there has been a war? Is there a single veteran who would wish for a greater casualty list among his own comrades so as to enhance his chances for gain in wealth or creature comfort? The latest available figures for net births over deaths show in 1944 the number to be 1,383,462, a figure greatly in excess of the 100,000 asked to be admitted. To keep that allegedly preferred position resulting from the war should be we advocate race suicide? In 1 year—in 1945—there were 96,000 accidental deaths—deaths unforeseen, unplanned for. If we admit 100,000 immigrants each year for the next 4 years we would just about balance the loss through accidental death alone.

We know that as of 1940 there were 6,669 communities in the United States with a population of 1,000 or more. If each community were to harbor an equal number of immigrants, the total number of new residents in each community would be 15 persons each year.

Mr. FELLOWS. You mean by that, if the Stratton bill were passed? Is that what you refer to?

Mr. McCaffrey. That is correct.

Mr. FELLOWS. Not the immigration as a whole.

Mr. McCaffrey. No; I am referring specifically to the Stratton bill and the admission of 100,000 a year.

If each community having a population of 1,000 or more were to welcome these unfortunates there would move in each year an average of less than five families. Assuming each community accepted the same share, just how seriously would less than 5 families with not more than 15 persons—including children and other nonearners—complicate the job and the housing problem of the community?

If it is true that the proposed limited immigration will endanger the jobs of veterans, how do we explain the endorsements received from the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or the existing shortages in agricultural workers, construction workers, engineers, and certain types of medical personnel? According to an UNRRA survey of 228,000 men reporting their occupations, 60,000 were farmers, 18,000 construction workers, 18,000 skilled in mechanical and industrial trades, and among both men and women reporting there were 4,000 engineers, 3,000 physicians and dentists, 4,000 nurses, and 2,000 workers in health fields.

The above facts with one exception do not take into consideration the figures for rural areas. It is a fact that of the total number of prospective emigrees 77,000 are farmers. As of 1940 in the United States there were engaged in agriculture 30,390,000 persons. By 1944 it is estimated the number so engaged had dropped to 25,630,000, a decrease of 4,760,000.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you there?

How do you account for that, if they go to the cities?

Mr. McCaffrey. That would seem to be in line with the trend toward the cities during the past 15 or 20 years.

It has become necessary to bring in each year as migratory labor some 25,000 workers from Mexico, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Barbados; some 25,000 additional from Canada; and on the basis of a Government estimate about 100,000 Mexicans come and go illegally between Mexico and the United States. A request has just reached us to bring over from Europe 50,000 to work in South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado for permanent settlement as a solution to the migratory worker problem.

It would seem obvious from the above that our rural areas, where a demonstrated shortage exists, could absorb the greater proportion of the planned immigration. The great proportion of emigres are farm experienced. Even though each nonrural community was asked to accept its average share, the total increase per community each year would not exceed 15 persons or 5 families requiring 5 housing units. Larger communities would be capable of absorbing more than the average share, thereby reducing to a bare minimum or none at all the potential demand for jobs and housing on the smaller communities.

This is not a mass hit-or-miss migration that is being sought. Responsible agencies have developed plans which will, with full responsibility and complete sponsorship, cover the transition of these people, so many of whom have blood relations in America, from the Old World to the New World. This planning includes the location in uncrowded areas and where labor shortages exist—largely in rural sections—and will provide for the absorption within the social and economic life of the area and avoid the creation of so-called foreign neighborhoods.

Permit me to quote, "Breathes there the man with soul so dead, who never to himself hath said, this is my own, my native land."

Mr. Fellows. We have a lot in this country that do not say that.

Mr. McCaffrey. The poet has phrased in a few words one of the dominating emotions of mankind. What, then can be the overpowering reasons that compel these men and women literally without countries to refuse repatriation to their native hearths? They are the men and women who prize religious and political freedom above security. They are the men and women who fled before the Nazi or the Red invader rather than assume the yoke of serfdom. Not cattle or chattels or spoils of war, but human beings possessed of souls; and if we acknowledge our American heritage, we cannot help but recognize in each the God-given rights and dignity of individuals. The United States has affirmed that no individual shall be forced to return to his native land. Our Government was instrumental in having adopted by the United Nations the constitution of the International Relief Organization. No veteran voice was heard in opposition. Now that the obligation is clear, is it seemly at this date to oppose a program to carry out the obligation?

The obligation imposes two alternatives: Shall we insist on this individual remaining among his former enemies, resigned to earn a living in a land devastated by war, overcrowded by relocation of German nationals ousted from east Prussia and other formerly German territory, or shall we open the opportunities available for the industrious in countries among the freedom-loving and freedom-practicing

nations of the world? The first alternative should foster a continuing sore spot in central Europe which may well fester into an angry wound of a new war—certainly would not serve as a cornerstone of a just peace.

Did we believe in the four freedoms when our brothers and our sisters, our sons and our daughters, went to the four corners of the globe to fight an all-out war, or were we just shadow boxing? That extra something that enabled our armed forces to prevail over powerful enemies must have been a belief in at least some of those freedoms. Can it now be said that the returned veteran has closed his heart to the needs of those very people whose persecution and suffering he fought a war to prevent?

We Americans—and with a very few exceptions—immigrants or descendants of immigrants—have binding ties in common—the tie of religion; the tie of blood relationship; the tie of ideals. We failed in 1917 to make the world safe for democracy. It may be beyond our accomplishment to bring to the peoples of the world the “four freedoms.” But it is within our power to assure a last chance to enjoy those freedoms to the hapless victims of those very ideologies which are so repugnant to all of us. Our conscience urges us to be humane; our heart dictates that we should not be less than generous; our mind, opened to the real facts, reassures us that action now will entail no sacrifices, but in the light and experience of history will contribute to the advancement materially and the enhancement spiritually of an already great but potentially greater America.

In conclusion, may I respectfully urge that your honorable committee report favorably on the bill now under consideration.

Mr. FELLOWS. That was a fine statement, Mr. McCaffrey.

How many members has the Catholic War Veterans?

Mr. McCaffrey. We have enrolled upward of 400,000.

Mr. FELLOWS. And you represent the Jewish Veterans?

Mr. McCaffrey. I have the honor, this morning.

Mr. FELLOWS. And how many are they?

Mr. McCaffrey. I am informed that their membership is upward of 150,000.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any questions?

Mr. CHELF. No.

Thank you very kindly, sir.

Mr. McCaffrey. Gentlemen, I thank you very much for hearing me.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, this statement of Milton H. Richman, national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, with reference to the Stratton bill will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

TESTIMONY OF MILTON H. RICHMAN, NATIONAL COMMANDER, JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH REFERENCE TO STRATTON BILL, H. R. 2910

GENTLEMEN: The general views of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America on the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, have been expressed by the representative of those veterans' organizations favoring the Stratton bill, who has testified directly before your committee.

I desire to add this additional statement in the form of a memorandum to be filed with the committee with reference to the point of view of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States.

At the outset, may I make one observation. Although I represent some 750,000 Jewish veterans, who fought in the wars of the United States, I want to make it clear that I testify on behalf of all of the displaced persons who would be covered by the Stratton bill. This is decidedly not a Jewish problem. Although 20 percent of the displaced persons now in Germany are Jews, only a small percentage of this number desire to come to the United States. Most of them want to go to Palestine. So if the Stratton bill were passed, it is doubtful if more than 5 or a maximum of 10 percent of the displaced persons seeking entrance into the United States would be Jewish.

In the second place, I would like to emphasize that this does not in any way change the traditional American policy with respect to immigration. Our immigration laws will remain exactly as they are now. The Stratton bill, if passed, will merely take care of the present emergency situation, where the United States Army finds itself faced with the problem of caring for and feeding several hundred thousand displaced persons in our zone of occupation in Germany.

Third, I would like to point out another particularly cogent reason for the admission of the DP's at this time which is consistent with positions heretofore taken by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. We are interested in having the United States a strong nation. To that end, we are in favor of bills respecting universal military training which have been introduced into the Congress. One of the ways to make America strong is to see that we have a large and healthy population. Without diminishing birth rate, the opening up of our immigration to a limited number of DP's will strengthen and increase our population.

Experts on population tell us that before the end of the twentieth century, the population curve of the United States will begin to show a decrease, rather than an increase, as has been the case all throughout our history. This fact, set against the same estimates which show a rise in the population curve for Russia, indicate the importance of continued immigration to our program of national defense.

Most of the reasons for the enactment of the Stratton bill have already been given to the committee. I merely wish to add a few personal observations. I was a lieutenant colonel on the staff of General Patton in charge of a specific aspect of the care and repatriation of the displaced persons in the area overrun by the Third Army. I know from first-hand experience the type of people involved and the caliber of people who would be coming to this country if the Stratton bill was passed. They are persons who suffered the greatest beating in the war. They are persons whose relatives were killed in the German concentration camps. They are Catholics from Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia who do not want to return to Russian-dominated countries. They are Protestants from Yugoslavia and Poland. They are Jews from Germany, Poland, and other countries.

I recall a Lithuanian Catholic with whom I spoke at Dachau. Arrested by the Germans, he barely escaped with his life when the American forces took over Dachau. In Lithuania, he ran a dairy farm. He does not wish to return to Lithuania because he will not be free under the Soviet Government to practice his religion.

At Buchenwald, a Yugoslav, who was a member of a minority Protestant group in his community, did not wish to return to Yugoslavia to live under Tito's regime. He had some relatives in the United States and hoped to be able to join them. He was a worker in a cannery factory in Yugoslavia.

I recall the Jew I met at Zeilsheim, outside of Frankfurt, who had been a watchmaker in Munich. He could not remain in Germany; he couldn't bear to relive the tragedy of seeing his entire family destroyed by the Nazis. He was willing to go to Palestine, to the United States—anywhere—and as a skilled artisan he would make a contribution to his new land.

There are 800,000 such persons—farmers, skilled and unskilled workers, craftsmen, and others, who have escaped and been saved from the German terror are now faced with one of three alternatives:

1. They can remain in Germany, which is unthinkable to most of them.
2. They can return to countries under domination of the Soviet Government. This, to most of them, means giving up their religious beliefs and those ideals which they cherish almost more than life itself.
3. Some of them can come to the United States or other countries.

The Stratton bill provides that preference shall be given to relatives of veterans. Those of us who fought in Europe, whose comrades died to safeguard American

democracy, and it difficult to believe that the Congress of the United States will not permit us to bring to this country some of our relatives—men, women, and children—who are now living under the most appalling conditions in the very concentration camps in which their friends and relatives were killed. It must, indeed, be painful to thousands of American soldiers who themselves saw these camps—liberated the victims—to feel that a parent, a sister, a cousin, or an uncle must remain in those camps and could not come to the United States, even though guarantees were made that they would never become public charges, even though a relative who is a veteran would be willing to care for them, even though these displaced persons have skills and work aptitudes which would make a real contribution to the United States.

On behalf of the Jewish war veterans of the United States and on behalf of all veterans who feel as I do, I make this appeal to the Congress of the United States to enact the Stratton bill. Let it be known to the world as a whole that the United States is willing to admit its fair share of those who have been persecuted by the Nazis and who do not want to take refuge in Soviet-dominated countries. Let us tell the world that those who do not believe in the Soviet system of government, in totalitarianism of any kind, may find a haven of refuge in this country where they will be free to practice their religion. Let us announce to the world that the United States will take the leadership in admitting this small number to our shores. The number to be admitted under the Stratton bill is such an insignificant fraction—less than one-half of 1 percent of our population—that their admissions would hardly affect the political or economic problems facing our country. On the other hand, psychologically, politically, and economically such a move will do much to strengthen our position internationally and to show the nations of the world that America is still the haven of refuge for the oppressed of Europe.

Respectfully submitted.

MILTON H. RICHMAN.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection, I would like to place into the record at this point a statement by Mr. P. J. Zuris, president of the American Friends of Lithuania, and a statement by Mr. Philip Murray, president of the CIO.

(The statements referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF P. J. ZURIS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF LITHUANIA

I am president of the American Friends of Lithuania and I also speak for the League for the Liberation of Lithuania, organizations with branches in the leading cities of the United States. These organizations represent the wishes and aims of over 1,000,000 Americans of Lithuanian descent.

I came to the United States as an immigrant in 1900 and I served as a sergeant in the Chemical Warfare Division of the United States Army in World War I. In World War II my two sons, Victor and Stanley, served in the Navy and in the Army of the United States. Victor was in the Pacific and Stanley was wounded in the Battle of the Bulge.

I am sole owner of a factory where I employ over 20 men.

My background, is, perhaps, typical of that of many other Americans by adoption. As an American citizen, a veteran, the father of two veterans, and as the president of the American Friends of Lithuania, I believe that the Stratton bill should be supported by every American who subscribes to our war aims so ably expressed in the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms.

If there were no stronger arguments save those that we believe in a just peace and humaneness based on Christian teachings, this bill should be supported and passed at the earliest date possible.

Although the war has been over 2 years and most of our former enemy soldiers and civilians are in a comparative freedom, the DP's are still in ex-Army barracks, former slave labor camps, and temporary camps set up to house them. Over 850,000 of these unfortunate DP's are living on meager rations, in crowded quarters, suffering from cold, hunger, and deprived of the most elemental necessities. Many of these matters they understand and they are not complaining. But being kept in actual imprisonment with no rights and deprived of freedom is something they cannot understand.

Over 850,000 persons are in all camps—men, women, and children—victims of war and orphans of uncertainty. They are eager to start life anew, preferably

in their own countries, provided their countries are freed from the invader. If that is not possible now, they seek a new start in a New World, the greatest democracy, the United States of America.

H. R. 2910 is the first real and comprehensive step in solving the DP problem.

We are caring for them at an enormous cost, and yet we are demoralizing them by idleness, uncertainty and lack of fundamental liberty.

The arguments advanced by some sources against their admittance are many, and, in view of the emergency now existing, very poorly founded. The following are in greatest predominance:

1. We have over 1,000,000 unemployed in the United States of America and should not add an additional burden.

2. We lack living facilities even for our own ex-servicemen.

3. Our foreign-born population is too large.

4. We lack space and means to absorb such a great number as 400,000.

5. Their entry will reduce jobs and create a social and economic problem.

In reply to the arguments given above we wish to call your attention to the following facts.

There always were and are over 1,000,000 jobless in our country—not because there is no work—but because workers often do not wish to work and are seeking new employments to better themselves.

Lack of living facilities were created by our own errors for having failed to make provisions for the returning soldiers, and this condition is of temporary character, which is being rapidly solved. The new immigrants are real workers and would greatly aid in reconstruction and in solving this problem.

The foreign-born population of 1920 constituted 13.2 percent, and in 1940 only 8.8 percent. Thus there was a reduction of nearly 5 percent, or 7,000,000. Would 400,000, admitted over a period of 4 years, constitute a social and economic problem?

Seventeen States, surrounding the great dam and irrigation projects in the West lost from 1 to 8 percent of their population during the war and many of this population refuse to return to farm work. We have invested billions of dollars in dam projects and created an enormous potential for irrigation farming. If we would place these DP's on irrigation farming, they could feed 50,000,000 people and create an enormous wealth for themselves and for us. We could easily absorb over 30,000,000 people to our own advantage. How then would the admission of 400,000 people affect our economy or create a serious problem?

I wish to place great stress on the following facts: The DP's are a creation of World War II and indirectly are a result of the western democracies' appeasement policy and failure to secure assurance from the Soviets to live up to the Atlantic Charter before granting them lend-lease and other concessions. The DP's are real supporters and lovers of democracy and freedom. They sought liberation at our hands. They will fit into our ways of life, for they appreciate real democracy. The DP's consist of the best elements who chose suffering, labor camps, and death rather than to submit to a life of slavery. They need our aid and, without it, will perish. We have means and space to take care of them and their admittance will be a social and economic asset to the well-being of our country and a real contribution to the spirit of democracy and Christianity. For these reasons we ask you to support this bill and to lend your hand to those who really need your help.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF LITHUANIA

LAKEWOOD 7, OHIO

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at a concurrent executive meeting held on the 2d day of May 1947 in Cleveland, Ohio, of the American Friends of Lithuania and the League for the Liberation of Lithuania:

Whereas the United States of America and all western democracies subscribed to the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms" as a guide for postwar policies assuring all the victims of aggression a fair and humane treatment and a return of their own countries to their full independence and freedom; and

Whereas over 850,000 refugees, comprising the so-called displaced persons, are now living in American, French, and British zones of occupation in Germany

as well as in Italy, Sweden, and elsewhere, under unbearable conditions, on meager rations, in barracks and inadequate camps, and possessing no rights save those granted by military authority, are being degraded morally and physically; and

Whereas these displaced persons, deprived of their homes and all belongings, and detested by the ex-Nazis for having failed to aid them and by the Soviets, who are occupying their countries and would treat these DP's as enemies of the state should they return; and

Whereas we are spending millions each year to keep these DP's in this unenviable status, with no profit or credit to ourselves and with a great deal of harm to these victims, kept in everlasting fear and uncertainty and in actual semistarvation and idleness; and

Whereas our foreign population decreased from 13.2 to 8.5 percent in 1940, or an equivalent to 7,000,000; and

Whereas our irrigation projects are not utilized which could easily accommodate over 30,000,000 people who could feed half of the world, it is to our own advantage to allow these DP's to settle here and become useful to themselves and a real asset to our national well-being; and

Whereas there is a bill pending before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee known as the Emergency Admissions Act, bill H. R. 2910, proposed by Congressman William Stratton of Illinois, with provisos to allow 400,000 DP's to come to the United States of America outside of quotas during the next 4 years and to utilize the unused quotas of all nations from 1940 to 1947 (which could easily cover the numbers proposed) and that these unused quotas be equitably applied to the DP's proportionately to the nationals now constituting the DP's: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we lend our fullest support and that we appeal to all of our branches, to the President of the United States, to the Congress, Senate, and all civic and religious bodies to sponsor and support bill 2910 as the first realistic, humane, and practical measure offered to solve the displaced persons' problem justly and equitably.

P. J. ZURIS,

President, The American Friends of Lithuania.

Dr. M. J. COLNEY,

Secretary, The American Friends of Lithuania.

Dr. J. J. SIMS,

President, the League for the Liberation of Lithuania.

K. S. KARPIUS,

Secretary, The League for the Liberation of Lithuania.

STATEMENT OF CIO PRESIDENT PHILIP MURRAY IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2910
PRESENTED TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE BY JOHN EDELMAN, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has in the preamble to its constitution the statement that we are a nation of immigrants and the children of immigrants. This serves as a constant reminder to the 6,000,000 American workers in the CIO that we are the sons and daughters of men who came to this country to escape absolutist governments, religious persecution, and exploitation.

It is because we have kept this in mind that I am appearing today to urge enactment of H. R. 2910. The 850,000 displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy are not merely living as exiles but as uprooted human beings without a homeland. This entire army of people is being denied an opportunity to support themselves or to enjoy their human right to productive labor in a community for which they can develop loyalties, sincere civic pride, and the opportunity to assume the responsibilities that go with full and earned citizenship.

The United States must take the lead in delivering these people from the peculiarly cruel and special kind of bondage into which the strange circumstances of war has forced them.

I shall not take up the time of this committee to repeat the various arguments for enactment of H. R. 2910 which have been made by the spokesmen for the United States State Department and by the several other citizen organizations which have testified here. On behalf of the Congress of Industrial Organizations I wish to formally go on record as endorsing, emphasizing, and underlin-

ing the principal testimony made by the supporters of this legislation. Particularly I wish to identify myself with the compelling and clear-cut statement made by Gen. John H. Hilldring, Assistant Secretary of State of Occupied Areas, on behalf of H. R. 2010, who drove home the fact that unless and until the United States Congress acts for the American people in this matter it will not be possible to induce other governments and nations to act to assume their share of responsibility for solving the problem of the displaced persons.

My principal argument for this bill is not one of statecraft or political necessity, although there are compelling reasons to be offered for this bill on the ground that if our foreign policy is to succeed, we must constantly demonstrate our leadership in seeking solutions of these common problems. Obviously, this is primarily a humanitarian issue. A very definite moral issue is involved also. Every nation that claims adherence to the principles of democracy must accept responsibility for preservation of human beings, both physically and spiritually. Let me say flatly that even if the solution of this particular need should entail some slight social or economic dislocation in our society—and I do not concede that this would occur—I should still be here urging that we accept our share of displaced persons. There are times when deep and pressing human need and moral commitment must override every other consideration.

The fact of the matter is, however, that the DP's problem will be solved without interfering or encroaching on whatever prior or current obligations our total community has assumed in respect to our own needy or distressed citizens. What we will do for the displaced persons will be something extra. We will do this because Americans have become aware of and sensitive to this special need. When human sympathy and perception of need is aroused to the point where a vast number of individuals will each do just a little extra for their fellowmen, we can meet any emergency or special problem.

We in CIO have been studying this problem at close range through our trade-union representatives abroad and through our active participation in the operation of private social agencies here at home. Many of our members will be among those who will practically assist these newcomers to make the necessary adjustments to their new environment.

Let me say for the record that we in CIO can find absolutely no basis in fact or reason for the fear that admitting 100,000 immigrants a year for 4 years would jeopardize the jobs of American citizens. If substantial unemployment should arise in the next 4 years, it will not be the result of the fact that we have admitted a pitiful handful of displaced persons, but because only as a result of a wrong-headed blundering in respect to domestic economic and social policy.

It is not the presence of sturdy and willing workers such as these people are which causes unemployment. On the contrary, they stimulate employment by adding to the sum total of productive economic activity in our country. I do not think it is the true friends of labor who will argue that our economy cannot stand the addition of less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the number of our population annually for 4 years without creating unemployment. The argument is in any event fallacious on its face.

When we speak of unemployment, by any rational definition we are talking about millions of unemployed. Joblessness on this scale is clearly not related in any way to the admission of a few thousands annually for a limited period. Neither can opposition be based on the theory that these immigrants will themselves be unemployed and hence public charges. They must under the law be guaranteed against becoming such in order to be admissible, and if within some few years after entry they do in fact become public charges they may be deported.

The arguments which proceed on the assumption that labor will be injured if the Stratton bill is passed were exploded many years ago by economists and others who have made a lifetime study of the effects of immigration on the economy of the United States.

Our interest in these people is direct and concrete. Many will have skills they will contribute to our economy. They are much more important for the spiritual contribution they can make. Their first-hand experience of tyranny and exploitation will strengthen them in their vigilance against any infringements of the freedom they have sacrificed so much to retain. And that experience will in turn aid us in keeping fresh our appreciation of that freedom of the individual upon which our way of life is founded.

We of the CIO, both those in the armed services and those who remained behind to make the arms, took seriously the high ideals for which this country entered the war. We still do. And we think it is incompatible with those ideals to prolong

the plight of the very people who first and most deeply felt the oppression of the distorted doctrine we fought against. This is essentially the stand CIO has taken diplomatically in our capacity as consultants to the United Nations. We took it in our successful flight to have the International Relief Organization set up to aid these people while their resettlement was being canvassed and carried on. We are now committed, morally and practically, to follow through. Otherwise we shall be called insincere in all our assertions of idealism, our prestige will suffer and with it the ability to maintain successfully the foreign policies we think essential to permit us to live in a world at peace.

I am behind the Stratton bill. The interests of labor, in terms of employment or otherwise, are not in the least threatened by the proposal to welcome, under the right safeguards and conditions of our laws, the handful of people here concerned. As citizens at large we see every sound reason for enactment of this legislation and reject as unworthy the arguments used against.

America can and should recoup some of the quota numbers lost during the war and should admit forthwith approximately 400,000 displaced persons.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will adjourn until next Monday.

(Thereupon, at 12:50 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 10 a. m., Monday, July 14, 1947.)

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE OF THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Frank Fellows (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order.

We continue our consideration of H. R. 2910.

We are honored this morning by the Secretary of State, and former Chief of Staff, General Marshall, who will speak to us.

Mr. Secretary, we await your pleasure.

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE C. MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE

Secretary MARSHALL. I appreciate the courtesy of this committee in convening especially to hear statements by some of the Cabinet officials in support of H. R. 2910. I speak with a good deal of personal feeling on the subject of displaced persons. As Chief of Staff during the war years I naturally followed the subject very closely. I saw the first authentic and detailed reports on conditions in the concentration camps overrun by our armies. Some of you may recall that, at the request of General Eisenhower, I invited a group of representative congressional leaders to visit the concentration camps at that time. I commend their report to you as an historic document. In the realm of foreign affairs, I have also had a direct association with the problem, as I shall later describe. I believe that the outcome of the discussion on this bill will have an important bearing on our foreign policy. That is why I am here today.

There are about a million displaced persons in and around the displaced persons camps. Most of them are people who were uprooted primarily from the Baltic States, from the part of Poland east of the Curzon line, now within the the Russian borders, and from Yugoslavia. They were forcibly transferred into Germany by the Nazi armies before the end of hostilities. A much smaller group includes the remnants of the Jewish population of Germany and Austria, and also Jewish people, primarily from Poland, who fled into Germany and Austria after the close of hostilities. All of these million individuals are now under the control of the western Allied armies in the occupied areas of Germany and Austria and in Italy. It is they who present the problem we are discussing.

From 80 to 90 percent of these people now in Germany were there before the close of hostilities. The remainder were Jewish refugees who entered since that time.

I desire to emphasize at the outset that by supporting this bill, we are not asking Congress to take on a new problem. The problem of the disposition of these displaced persons is one that Congress already has on its hands. It is a problem that is ours as a result of our armies fighting their way into Germany and Austria and taking governmental control of our zones and with it the fate of these captives of the Nazis. Congress is at present the ultimate governmental authority for the 600,000 of these victims of the war now located in the American zones.

Assistant Secretary Hilldring and other witnesses have already described the character of these displaced persons, their present situation, and the four alternatives that appear to confront the Congress in determining their disposition. These alternatives are:

First, forcible repatriation;

Second, closing the camps and turning these victims of the Germans back to the Germans and the German economy;

Third, indefinite separate maintenance in Germany of these displaced persons in assembly centers; or

Fourth, their resettlement in other countries, including the United States.

I wish to make certain observations on each of these alternatives.

As to repatriation: Very speedily after the end of hostilities the western Allied armies repatriated to their countries of origin 7,000,000 persons who had been brought into Germany by the Germans. For the most part, they were western Europeans—French, Belgian, Dutch—and citizens of prewar Russia. We have aided and will continue to aid all others willing to return. A substantial but diminishing number of Poles and a small number of others have gone back to eastern Europe during the past year. But it has now become clear that practically all of the displaced persons now remaining in our hands are definitely and finally unwilling to return. We are therefore confronted with the question as to whether we should return them forcibly against their will. They are, as I have said, primarily people from the Baltic States, from that part of Poland east of the Curzon line which is now under Russian authority, and from Yugoslavia. In these areas there has been a change in the political and economic system which these displaced persons are unwilling to accept.

There is a sharp divergence of viewpoint between the Soviet Government and our own as to what course should be pursued. The Soviet viewpoint has been vigorously presented in every possible forum—the Control Councils of Germany and Austria, the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the Council of Foreign Ministers, to mention a few. The Soviet viewpoint is that those persons born in areas now subject to the Soviet governmental authority are Russian subjects and under obligation to return to such territory. They demand that we forcibly repatriate the displaced persons. Our view is that it is against American tradition for us to compel these persons, who are now under our authority, to return against their will to those areas or other areas under governments whose political and economic systems they are unwilling to accept.

I have felt that the position which we have taken is in accord with the views of Congress. I earnestly hope that the Congress will reject the alternative of forcible repatriation as a solution of this problem. But this very difference of opinion has been a constant source of international friction. It will remain such a source of conflict and friction so long as these displaced persons remain in Germany and until they can strike new roots elsewhere in friendly soil.

We could eliminate this friction by abandoning our principles. But the principles which we have been unholding are not only our own. They have been adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. To adopt the alternative of forcible repatriation would therefore be violating not only our American traditions but also standards of international conduct.

As to the second alternative—that is, abandoning the displaced persons to the German economy: There is, quite naturally, a fierce resentment between the displaced persons and Germans. The displaced persons know that the Germans are responsible for their present plight. The Germans regard the displaced persons as an uncomfortable burden and a constant source of annoyance. To turn them back to the Germans would be to perpetuate grave tensions and an ever-present threat of internal conflict. It would increase the present difficulty of our occupation and prolong the necessity for it. It would not lessen the international tension over the displaced persons. Further, from an economic standpoint this alternative is impracticable. The western zones of Germany are already overcrowded with the millions of Germans and people of German stock who have fled or have been transferred into Germany since the end of the war. If we should in addition throw these displaced persons onto the German economy, we would have to continue our contributions to their support, though indirectly, as an alternative to their starvation.

The third alternative is to continue indefinitely the segregation and maintenance of these displaced persons in Germany with a prolonged contribution from the American taxpayer for their support directly or indirectly through the International Refugee Organization. Quite apart from the dollars-and-cents burden that this country would thus saddle itself with, I feel profoundly that it is an alternative we should not adopt. So far these people have done well in making the best of their situation. They have been active in such work as it is possible for us to find for them and indeed, for them to find for themselves. They have created much which is excellent in the life of their small communities. But men and women cannot be cut off indefinitely from any opportunity to help themselves or to plan for their own lives and the lives of their children without an inevitable deterioration. That deterioration would have disastrous effects on these people. That demoralization also would have disastrous effects on the larger problem of the reconstruction of the Europe that will alone make possible a peaceful world. The fundamental American tradition as to all people under our governmental authority is the opportunity to help oneself. To continue to hold these people where there is no opportunity to help themselves and without hope of such opportunity is contrary to that American tradition.

The fourth alternative is the resettlement of these people in the various countries of the world who will be willing to receive them.

Determined efforts have been made in that direction. Helpful results have already been accomplished. Belgium is taking substantial numbers. So is France. England has assumed responsibility for the care of the several hundred thousands of the Anders Polish Army and is receiving currently substantial numbers of displaced persons. Norway has admitted some.

I might say, gentlemen, this is the root of my principal difficulty in relation to this and in relation to related matters.

The question is naturally asked: Why is it not better for these displaced persons to participate in and contribute to the reconstruction of Europe?

The answer must be: So far as this is practicable, it is desirable. However, for the reasons already outlined, the return of these people from the eastern European areas to those eastern areas for this purpose is not one we can urge. It would take force to do it and a surrender of our principles. On the other hand the western areas of Europe, which are already making arrangements for taking several hundred thousand of these displaced persons, are now densely populated. Their needs, economists tell me, are not primarily for additional manpower. Certain of these areas are on or across the border line of overpopulation. Their need is primarily to replace and bring up to date capital equipment, with the necessary working capital of raw material and subsistence and a restored fabric of trade and commerce, so that available manpower can again effectively produce and the product be effectively distributed. Some expert and experienced top-level technical assistance from the outside might be helpful to them but so far as it might be drawn from displaced persons it would not be numerically important.

I have received from a member of your committee a suggestion that in the plans now being formulated by these countries for their economic-reconstruction provision be made for increasing the number of displaced persons they have agreed to admit. As you know, we have suggested to the European countries that they initiate their own survey of their own needs and of steps which might be taken in reconstruction. These countries may well find it possible as part of these new reconstruction plans to convert a larger part of this burden into an asset by the more extensive use of this manpower than they have so far found it practicable to plan. Such efforts will certainly have our support. But the problem is of such magnitude that both we and the South American countries must also take steps to aid in its solution.

We had hoped a year ago that admission of displaced persons into Latin America and other countries outside of Europe would solve the whole problem but we now know that it will not. Shiploads have moved to Paraguay and Brazil and some are now on their way to Venezuela. Other plans are in the making. But we cannot, I feel, sit back ourselves and expect other countries to make all the positive efforts to solve this problem in which we are so directly concerned.

In our discussions with other countries we are constantly met with the question, "What is the United States, which is urging others to accept these people as useful and desirable immigrant, doing about accepting a part of them itself?" If we practice what we preach, if we admit a substantial number of these people as immigrants, then

with what others are already doing and will do we can actually bring an end to this tragic situation. In so doing, we will also confirm our moral leadership and demonstrate that we are not retreating behind the Atlantic Ocean.

If we practice what we preach, if we admit a substantial number of these people as immigrants, then with what others are already doing and will do we can actually bring an end to this tragic situation. In so doing, we will also confirm our moral leadership and demonstrate that we are not retreating behind the Atlantic Ocean.

I repeated that because it is the kernel of the whole business. You cannot assert leadership and then not exercise it.

Although we have left it to other countries to take the lead in active measures to alleviate this tragic situation, yet we are actually in a better position to receive a substantial number of these people than any other nation. We have numbers of the stock already in this country who know their language and who have the resources and interest to assume the task of fitting a relatively small number of their kinsmen into our vast economy, without expense to this Nation in their resettlement, and with a reasonable assurance that they will not become public charges.

I am, it goes without saying, deeply concerned with the readjustment of our veterans into the tasks of peace. Already it has proceeded at a pace far more rapid than anyone believed possible. I do not believe that the great rank and file of our veterans, aware of the facts, would want this relative handful of our allies and victims of the Nazi armies to be forcibly returned to areas where economic and political systems alien to our own prevail and which they are unwilling to accept. Nor do I believe that they would desire them to be turned over again to the people who uprooted them and enslaved them or kept them hopeless in these camps.

I urge prompt decision and action by Congress on this question. We must not continue these allies of ours, these captives of the Germans, indefinitely in the camps—prolonging their abnormal existence and killing their hope.

The tasks that are imposed by a declaration of war are not completed when the guns ceased fire. This is one of the tasks which we have not completed. It is for you to determine how it is to be completed.

That is the end of my statement, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you.

Are there any questions?

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Secretary, you state in your statement that from 80 to 90 percent of these people now in Germany were there before the close of hostilities.

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Many questions have been directed——

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, he did not so state.

Mr. CELLER. I am reading from his statement.

Mr. GOSSETT. I beg your pardon.

Mr. CELLER. Am I right, General?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. Is the gentleman from Texas satisfied that the general made the statement?

Mr. GOSSETT. I agree the statement is there, but I want to ask the general some questions about it. I did not catch it. I stand corrected.

Mr. CELLER. General, I just wanted to ask you a question or two on that statement that you made.

In other words, from 80 to 90 percent of the displaced persons were in the camps when the shooting stopped; is that correct?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. On what do you base that statement, General? And I ask that question because inquiries from this side of the table have been directed to witnesses seeking to indicate that those are not the facts, and I would like to get that as clearly as possible before the members of the committee.

Secretary MARSHALL. The data from which this was taken were the statistics compiled by the UNRRA organization.

Mr. CELLER. Is it based also on personal observations of members of the military staffs, like Colonel Sage, who is here in the room?

Secretary MARSHALL. That is correct, sir.

Mr. CELLER. General, the situation, as I take it, is very critical, is it not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Do you think we should act now or wait until the next session of Congress?

Secretary MARSHALL. I think we should act now.

I might say, the continuation of these camps and this wholly abnormal life each month is bad, and it grows continually worse. It is a long, long time since it started, and 6 months is seemingly almost a lifetime to these people that are incarcerated under the conditions that exist in these camps.

Mr. FELLOWS. General, under this bill, it is going to take 3 years.

Secretary MARSHALL. I beg your pardon, sir?

Mr. FELLOWS. Under the Stratton bill it is going to take 3 years.

Secretary MARSHALL. It is the beginning of hope.

Mr. FELLOWS. I have heard that many times. But, of course, there is also another thing connected with it. This Stratton bill calls for 100,000 a year only, and, of course, those who are not taken in the first year will have to wait their turn and they are going to leave 450,000 after we have operated under the Stratton bill as it is now written.

What would you say of the 450,000 in the meantime? What would their hope be?

Secretary MARSHALL. Two things would happen, I think, if you pass this bill.

In the first place, we have taken affirmative action. We have thrown out a very definite hope. We have started with a sizable number of people, and we have created a situation which would undoubtedly lead to increased numbers being received by other countries.

Mr. CELLER. General, it is interesting to note this:

I inquired from the United Nations at Lake Success as to the number of countries and their names that have already taken displaced persons and who are willing to take more, and I find these names of countries:

England, France, Belgium, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Canada, Australia, and Chile.

And I shall put a statement as to this subject into the record.

Now, is it not your opinion that if we start with 100,000, as is provided for in the Stratton bill, other countries would readily follow and take their allocated portion of these displaced persons?

Secretary MARSHALL. That is my belief, sir, and I emphasize again what I think is the importance of our taking a definite legal stand in the matter as promptly as possible, because, to revert back to my written statement, the matter of our leadership has to be considered. You have to do things affirmatively. You cannot merely act in a negative manner, by failure to act, and continue any realism in the business that we are taking a leading part in the great adjustments of the world. They all look to us for action, and they are guided very much by what we do in a positive manner.

Now, in this particular case, I think that is more clearly a controlling factor than in almost any other, because the conditions are well understood generally in Europe, and our persuasions have been frequent and our own affirmative action has not been taken.

Mr. CELLER. I might say also, General, that in reference to taking the 100,000 now and taking the balance over a 3-year period at the rate of 100,000 a year, that plan is the result of a compromise.

Mr. FELLOWS. By whom?

Mr. CELLER. A compromise by those who are interested in the legislation; and as you know, General, and I am sure the gentlemen around this table know, we have to be realistic. It might be easier to get the bill through if the rate is at 100,000 a year for 4 years than if it were 400,000 immediately. That is the basis of the bill. We have to be practical and realize that we would have more opposition to the 400,000 at once than to the 400,000 over a 4-year period.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the Secretary some questions.

Mr. Secretary, you spoke of your interest in this matter in its relation to our over-all foreign policy. I am sure that you agree that in foreign policy and in domestic policy our primary concern is what is for the best interest of this country. In other words, our own interest. We serve the world best when we serve the world best in that particular; do we not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes; if you take it in a very broad way and not in a narrow one.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is the way I am trying to approach this thing.

I know this question is superfluous, because I know the Secretary agrees with me that we have, theoretically, at least, repudiated policies of appeasement. It is not becoming of a great people to try to appease or buy friendship. That cannot be done; can it?

Secretary MARSHALL. It has not been very successful in the past.

Mr. GOSSETT. I find here a statement from General Rooks—we have heard a lot of testimony that these people, if they went back, would be liquidated. Gen. Lowell W. Rooks in June made the statement that 7,000,000 had been repatriated by the Allied forces since the war, and that he did not know of any instances where the repatriates had been persecuted.

Do you personally know of any campaigns of persecution launched against persons who have been repatriated?

Secretary MARSHALL. I do not think we have any positive data on that particular subject.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, General, apparently those now left in the DP camps, particularly in our zone, are simply unwilling to return. I notice that you use that word "unwilling" in your statement, so it largely resolves itself into a case of unwillingness rather than impossibility of return.

Secretary MARSHALL. I would not say it largely resolved itself in that. I use the term "unwilling." But there is no doubt in our own minds that fear has been a dominant factor.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, insofar as our own selfish interest goes—that is, the building up of our moral fiber and our citizenship here at home on which so largely depends our leadership in world affairs—if a person or an individual is not useful to the economy of that country, he would not be useful to our economy; would he?

Secretary MARSHALL. Presumably that is correct.

Mr. GOSSETT. So about the only real reason for our taking in any portion of these DP's, and I think the burden of the testimony of most witnesses on this subject agrees, is setting an example—the moral leadership we set; demonstrating our bigheartedness.

Now, we have no reason to believe that other nations would follow suit, do we? Have we got any positive commitments from anybody?

Secretary MARSHALL. The question is that we have no reason to believe that that leadership would influence these other nations?

Mr. GOSSETT. In other words, we have no reason to believe that if we took 100,000 or 400,000, the remaining numbers would be divided up among, say, England and France—

Secretary MARSHALL. I would say we have no more reason than I would find in my own mind of the probable reaction of the other countries.

My judgment is it would have that result, but that is a matter of opinion.

Mr. GOSSETT. I understand; but we have been greatly disappointed in the cooperation we have received on certain scores heretofore, and we might be disappointed again.

I am just saying, we might be.

Secretary MARSHALL. The implication was, I think, of their lack of utility to our economy.

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes.

Secretary MARSHALL. I do not know just what your basis is for that statement.

Mr. GOSSETT. What I mean is, the testimony has been that there are nurses there and doctors there. Europe needs nurses and doctors worse than we do. Is that not true?

Secretary MARSHALL. It probably is; yes. It undoubtedly is.

Mr. GOSSETT. I read an article not long ago of a commission of doctors from this country who voluntarily went in to Czechoslovakia at their own time and expense to teach the Czechoslovakian doctors modern techniques that we had learned in the treatment of disease. It seemed to be a very helpful and appreciated service.

Now, if we are sending technicians, as I think we should, to help those people, if there are any already there in these camps, certainly they ought to be at work in those countries.

Secretary MARSHALL. I said this in regard to that :

As to the second alternative, abandoning the DP's to the German economy: There is, quite naturally, a fierce resentment between the displaced persons and Germans. The displaced persons know that the Germans are responsible for their present plight. The Germans regard the displaced persons as an uncomfortable burden and a constant source of annoyance. To turn them back to the Germans would be to perpetuate grave tensions and an ever-present threat of internal conflict.

Mr. GOSSETT. General, on that point, I have here the Meader report. Mr. Meader went over as an expert investigator for the Senate committee, and his testimony agrees with that of other witnesses here—in speaking of the Jewish people, now, and they have been the primary victims of Nazi aggression and atrocity, and that is one of the blackest pages on the records of civilization. There are only 30,000 Jews left in Germany, according to Mr. Meader, and according to Rabbi Bernstein, who is the adviser to General Clay.

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes; I know him.

Mr. GOSSETT. There are only about 30,000 left of the German Jews, but there are some 150,000, or at least well over 100,000 Jewish persons who have come into our camps, primarily from the Russian zones since the war.

Now, that is true; is it not?

Secretary MARSHALL. It was largely Poland rather than Russia.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, we have been hearing a lot about what the Poles would do to these folks if they went back. I cannot testify to this but I have been told that at least half of the Polish officials—that is, the Cabinet officers, the heads of the Government, the present Polish Government—at least half of them are Jewish—Russian Jews—that are now running Poland.

Do you know whether or not that is true?

Secretary MARSHALL. No; I would have to confirm that. I do not know.

Mr. GOSSETT. And all witnesses agree that there is no anti-Semitism and no persecution of the Jews as such in Russia.

Secretary MARSHALL. What witnesses have you heard that know exactly what is happening in Russia?

Mr. GOSSETT. Rabbi Bernstein testified here, and he gave as his opinion—and he is the best authority on that angle that we have had. He is the adviser to General Clay.

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes; I know him personally.

Mr. GOSSETT. And he said that there was no persecution of the Jews in Russia but there was persecution of the Jews in Poland. He gave his opinion that anti-Semitism was just as bad in Poland as it was in Germany. But the thing that puzzles me is why would there be any persecution of the Jews in Poland when half of the Polish Government are Jews?

Now, this other thing, General.

We do know that thousands upon thousands, and perhaps 200,000, of those persons now in our DP camps have come out of Russian-occupied areas since the shooting stopped.

Now, it seems reasonable to me—and if it is not reasonable, I would like for you to point out to me why it is not—that Russia is not going to permit people to leave her zone unless she wants to get rid of them or unless she has some reason for sending them to our zone. They have been letting those people leave by the thousand.

Here is an article appearing in a New York paper, January 26, 1947. It said:

Army headquarters meanwhile is warily watching the actions of approximately 40,000 Polish Jews now temporarily located along the Polish-Czecho frontier.

This is January 1947.

While this group probably will not migrate in the severe winter months, it does not mean that the Russian, Polish, and Czech Governments facilitate the movement of Polish Jews from east to west. This strategy is based on the belief that the more of the Jews who become the responsibility of the western powers, the more embarrassed the western powers will become in view of the tense Palestine situation.

Mr. CELLER. What is the source of that statement?

Mr. GOSSETT. It appeared in the New York paper.

Mr. CELLER. What are you reading from, I mean?

Mr. GOSSETT. Operation Immigration.

You will not deny that that statement ran in a New York paper, would you?

Mr. CELLER. I would not deny it, but I deny many things that occur in that pamphlet from which you read. It is a tissue of lies and falsities.

Mr. GOSSETT. I do not interrupt the gentleman, and I hope he will not interrupt me.

Mr. CELLER. I thought it might be well for the general to know that.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, is it not reasonable to assume that if the Russians are permitting this great migration of persons from their zones into our camps, they are not doing it for our benefit? Apparently they do not love us too much. They are not trying to confer any benefits on us by permitting folks to go out of their zone into ours.

Is it not reasonable to assume that there is some reason why the Russians let all these folks out of their zones into ours?

Secretary MARSHALL. There are a good many assumptions you are making there that are a matter of debate.

Mr. GOSSETT. I grant you they are assumptions.

Secretary MARSHALL. I am dealing pretty largely with an existing fact and its effect on our general considerations here and abroad.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, General, in kindness to yourself—and I am one of your greatest admirers, sir, if you want to know it. I am not trying to embarrass you any at all. We cannot assume that the Russians are trying to do us any favor by letting these folks out.

Secretary MARSHALL. I think you are correct in that. We do not make this assumption.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, I have the feeling and I grant you here again, it is merely based on what people have told me—I have not been there—that there are a lot of folks in those camps who would be detrimental to us, who are hostile to America and the American way of life, and there are possibly a good many there who have subversive intentions in seeking entry into this country.

Secretary MARSHALL. I do not doubt but what that is certainly in part correct but, at the same time, we have the possibility for screening them very carefully, which, of course, we would do.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, General, that is another point that I want to ask you about and you are not responsible for this, either.

You know the President issued a directive in December 1945 in which he set aside 90 percent of the nonpreference quotas for DP's, and thereafter the consulates were instructed to facilitate the issuance of visas to displaced persons, and they were told to waive the usual requirements, that is, birth certificates, police records, showing one to be of good character, because it was said that these folks could not have those records, so we have taken just superficial evidence of those facts.

Then for the usual evidence that one will not become a public charge, we have taken corporate affidavits from charitable institutions.

Now, that certainly is waiving the more careful screening which we ordinarily would do under the immigration laws, is it not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. And again in this directive, the President stated—and I think it was a fine thing to put in the directive—

Visas should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds, and nationalities. I desire that special attention be devoted to orphaned children to whom it is hoped a majority of the visas will be issued.

Now, notwithstanding that, according to the testimony of the State Department, which I have here, even though less than 20 percent of the persons in those camps were Jewish, over 75 percent of all visas issued were issued to Jewish persons.

We asked about the orphaned children. This was a hearing in Detroit, and I believe this is Mr. Hearing's testimony:

Thus far in Europe, Germany, and Austria, and in the American zones, we found only about 600 possible orphaned cases. We have been beating the bushes in order to find them.

Now, these Jews did not bring any orphaned children. According to what evidence I have, which may or may not be correct, the only orphaned children that we brought in here were about 400, I believe, Polish orphans, from Mexico, and we had terrible difficulty in getting them in, and that was only about half the number that were located there.

So the point I am making is that the screening heretofore under the President's directive has been a farce, and the only way we can judge the future is by the past; so we just have not been screening those people.

Do you have any reason to believe we would do a better job under the Stratton bill than we have done under the President's directive?

Secretary MARSHALL. I would not wish to assume that I am going to do a very much better job than my predecessors in relation to this.

Mr. GOSSETT. You cannot do it, General. You have to trust subordinates.

Secretary MARSHALL. But I think it would be a good job.

Mr. GOSSETT. As far as you are concerned, I know it would be; but you personally cannot do that work. You have to entrust it to subordinates.

Secretary MARSHALL. I can do this: The State Department is a small institution compared to the War Department during the war, and it is a matter of the quality and integrity of your subordinates.

Mr. GOSSETT. But, General, to come down to that screening, that is another thing. We get into this moral matter that my chairman brought up the other day. If this is a humanitarian thing, what right have we got to go in there and say to this fellow that has money and influence and can get first in line for the visa, "We will take you," and leave the others there—the penniless fellows there?

Secretary MARSHALL. I do not think there would be any frequency of cases of that kind.

Mr. GOSSETT. In other words, we are caught in a dilemma. If we screen, we are getting the folks who need it most. If we do not screen, we are getting people that certainly do not help the economy.

Secretary MARSHALL. I think that is quite soluble.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, another question—and this is purely selfish—it might be called even mercenary—but cannot we assume that the cream has already been skimmed off these camps as far as useful persons are concerned?

Secretary MARSHALL. I do not think so—not from the data that we have now available.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, here is a statement, too, that worried me. In 1945 the headquarters, United States forces in European theater, recommended to the War Department that the camps be closed. In December—this was 1945—a plan was submitted to the War Department for repatriation of certain groups and the closing of the centers and the turning over to the German Army of persons not desiring repatriation.

Then, in April 1946, the War Department was notified by the State Department to abandon that plan.

Now, why did the State Department veto the War Department's plan to close those camps?

Secretary MARSHALL. I would have to check up on that particular thing. I would assume offhand it came out of the consideration of the fact that the actual closing of the camps would create a situation which was opposed to our traditional policy in relation to people who were, you might say, political outcasts.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, I believe the British have about 300,000 displaced persons at this time.

Secretary MARSHALL. I know they have taken quite a large number of Poles.

Mr. GOSSETT. And the French have about 33,000.

The Russians have no displaced-persons camps; is that true?

Secretary MARSHALL. I think that is true. They have camps, but I do not believe they call them displaced-persons camps.

Mr. GOSSETT. Therefore this boils down to a question of asserting American leadership in hopes that other countries will follow suit on taking their part of those DP's; that is about it, is it not?

Secretary MARSHALL. The tentative agreements, I understand here—and I have not analyzed these figures myself carefully—are that about 357,000 would be taken by Belgium, England, France, Netherlands, Norway, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela, and Canada, in addition to what has already been taken.

Mr. GOSSETT. General, if our spending \$350,000,000,000 and a million casualties in the war, and our spending \$20,000,000,000 since, and sending over all of the personnel to help these people, and our plan, which is idealistic and practical, and which we hope will work—if that will not convince the world of our moral leadership, taking these DP's would not do the job, would it?

Secretary MARSHALL. I would make this comment:

In the first place, we are remote from the area of these difficulties. We did not suffer in physical destruction of property and the horrors of occupation suffered there.

We suffered in the casualties to our soldiers, and we suffered in billions that had to be appropriated to operate in the war, but from the family destruction, from the material destruction of our civilization, our homes, cities, and villages, and our countryside, and from the destruction of our fiber to the extent that we were being ruled in an arbitrary manner by our enemies, we escaped entirely.

Therefore, there is always the strong and inevitable feeling that we held ourselves aloof from actually taking the heavy burdens of making the adjustments that are necessary, in the opinion of many, to the rehabilitation of Europe.

I repeat again, we have produced these billions, and freely employed them in the conduct of the war. We have freely contributed billions since the war.

Mr. GOSSETT. And we are going to continue to do that?

Secretary MARSHALL. We have freely contributed billions since the war, but we have not as a nation suffered as the nations of Europe concerned in these areas have suffered and despite these two factors that I mentioned, there is the feeling that we hold ourselves remote from the actual participation in accepting physical contact, you might say, with the burdens of the problem.

Now that, I think, is a very real reaction, and it operates in connection with this matter very effectively, and unfortunately.

Mr. GOSSETT. General, this one further question.

I do not mean to detain you.

We get now, I judge, and again the statistics are not very accurate, several hundred thousand persons a year, both legally and illegally, through immigration.

Now, would you be agreeable——

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I did not hear that. Would the gentleman repeat that?

Mr. GOSSETT. I said we get 200,000 people a year legally and illegally through immigration coming into the country.

Mr. CELLER. Of course, the gentleman will admit, Mr. Carusi, who is Commissioner of Immigration, challenged that statement.

Mr. GOSSETT. I do not recall that but I have heard it placed at 800,000. I am just trying to strike a happy medium. Nobody knows.

Mr. FELLOWS. He did say that there were 3,500,000 aliens in the country today legally and illegally, or thereabouts.

Mr. CELLER. He did say also that most of those who were in the country illegally crossed the Mexican border into Texas, the gentleman's own State, for seasonal occupation and forget to go back to Mexico, and that when the Commissioner tries to return those men, many of the Representatives from Texas object and want to keep them in Texas.

Mr. GOSSETT. I think the testimony shows that several million a year crossed the border in Detroit, and I know your people in New York complain that they are getting 100,000 Puerto Ricans a year. Of course, they are Americans, and we cannot do anything about that—

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt you gentlemen to say this, please?

The time is getting short and we have before us the Secretary of War.

Mr. GOSSETT. I have just one more question.

Mr. CELLER. Except we cannot let that statement unchallenged dangle in the air, about a million going in and out of Detroit. Of course, several million a year go and return daily because they work on both sides of the border. They daily cross, and you multiply those daily crossings, and you get millions of illegal entrants if you do not examine the facts.

Mr. GOSSETT. The point I am trying to make is that we have no way of knowing how many people come in here or how many stay.

Mr. FELLOWS. We do know that, according to the record, last year 57,000,000 aliens crossed our border.

Mr. CELLER. Tourists and visitors and students and ministers and American citizens going in and out.

Secretary MARSHALL. I believe Mr. Carusi states here in his statement that the largest estimate of illegal entries which can be made from the number of apprehensions clearly shows that the figure of 1,540,000 is about 800 percent too high.

Mr. GOSSETT. General, if we should agree to take 100,000 or 200,000 or any other number of DP's do you not think we should correspondingly reduce our normal immigration; in other words, charge them to future quotas, so that the sum total of immigrants to this country will be unchanged?

Secretary MARSHALL. You are getting into a technical matter regarding the general immigration quotas which I would not be prepared to make an immediate answer on. I am sorry I cannot reply to it.

Mr. GOSSETT. I believe the facts will show that we have a larger percentage of aliens and of foreign-born citizens, many of whom are leaders in this country, than any other nation in the world.

Secretary MARSHALL. That is the significance of the Statue of Liberty.

Mr. GOSSETT. And we are proud of the immigrants who came here in the last century, at least, and we want those who will help to build up the country. That is true, is it not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. And we do not want those who will not be assets to us; that is equally true, is it not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. So assuming that we are going to have to take any number of these DP's, and assuming that our housing and our employment problems are heavy, as I think will be agreed, then would it not be reasonable to charge them at least to future quotas and not to increase our over-all immigration?

Secretary MARSHALL. As I say, you are getting into a technical consideration of the entire immigration policy in relation to the United States and our change in policy which has come through later years

here from complete freedom of entry to a controlled allotment, and the basis of those allotments, which is a very intricate matter; and I would not attempt to answer that offhand. I would have to have considerable education on that particular subject before I could answer that.

Mr. GOSSETT. You would not want to say whether you believe or disbelieve in our immigration policies, would you?

Secretary MARSHALL. I would say offhand that I do believe in it. I think the unrestricted, unchecked, unqualified immigration that went on through the years there was a little too broad in its application.

Mr. GOSSETT. I believe that is all.

Mr. ROBSION. I would like to ask the general a question.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Secretary, you replied in answer to the question of Mr. Gossett of Texas, which was that the persons in these DP camps would likely be more needed in Europe than in the United States—

Secretary MARSHALL. Would you mind repeating that a little louder, sir?

Mr. ROBSION. I say, in answer to a question of Mr. Gossett of Texas, you stated that the nurses, in these DP camps, are more needed in Europe than in the United States.

Secretary MARSHALL. I think I said there were probably more nurses needed in Europe than in the United States.

Mr. ROBSION. More needed.

Now, it has also been stated before our committee here that there are many technicians, carpenters, mechanics—skilled mechanics, machinists, and other craftsmen among the DP's, in the DP camps.

I think we all agree that Europe must be rebuilt.

Would there not be more need for those persons, nurses, doctors, technicians, craftsmen, mechanics, and carpenters, in Europe, than in the United States?

Secretary MARSHALL. Possibly that is so; but I think you have to take into consideration whether or not the man can find a job in Europe; whether or not he will be accepted, and can find any reasonable happiness in the occupation.

I have in mind now these people who have reason to feel in a way that is hardly comprehensive to us, an extreme bitterness for their wretched plight of the last 6 or 7 years, more accentuated now, almost, than then, by the fact that the war is over and still no help has come to them, of finding a useful occupation with their talents among the people who are responsible for their plight.

Mr. ROBSION. Of course, I am not suggesting that these people be retained and employed in Germany but the high purpose of the Secretary, and I think all of us, is that Europe be rehabilitated and rebuilt.

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROBSION. And what concerns me quite a lot is that we plan to send them money and equipment and materials, and of course somebody will have to be there to use those materials to rebuild Europe.

Secretary MARSHALL. Might I answer that question in this way?

Here is Belgium that is proposing to take 110,000, considering it; Great Britain quite a large number, in addition to those they already

have; France is contemplating 100,000; Netherlands, 16,000; and Norway, 800.

That, in part, supplies the answer to your question, it seems to me.

Mr. ROBSON. Yes, but there are other countries.

Mr. GOSSETT. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. ROBSON. Just a minute.

Yes; you may proceed.

Mr. GOSSETT. Had we better not have them sign up on the dotted line, General, before we move in that particular?

Secretary MARSHALL. I think it is exactly the reverse, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I have a question.

If you were a carpenter or a nurse, general, and your native land was Yugoslavia, would you be willing to go back if you would be purged upon your return?

Secretary MARSHALL. I do not imagine I would, sir.

Mr. ROBSON. My question was not directed to the countries where there is purging at all but to countries where there is no purging.

Mr. CELLER. Let us assume that many of these displaced persons are nurses and carpenters and doctors, like the Calvinists and the Pilgrims—

Mr. GRAHAM. And the Democrats— don't forget those.

Mr. CELLER. I am sure that many of these carpenters and nurses, like the Pilgrims and the Calvinists and the Puritans who came to this country to escape religious persecution, feared to go back to their native lands because of religious persecution. Is not that so, General?

Secretary MARSHALL. I think that history proves that.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Graham would like to ask one question.

Mr. GRAHAM. General Marshall, I have a \$64 question I would like to ask you.

May I say at the outset I appreciate that both you and Judge Patterson are very busy men and you have come here at a sacrifice. I will confine my question entirely to the bill.

Some of us are very much concerned about section 3, which gives priority to relatives of American citizens and war veterans. I do not know whether you are familiar with that or not. I will read it, if you will pardon me.

SEC. 3. Priority under this act shall be given to the widow, parents, children, and other relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity of citizens of the United States or of persons who served honorably in the armed services of the United States during World War II and World War I.

Do you have any reason to be apprehensive that by reason of the terms of this provision, that special coverages, privileges, or priorities will be granted any racial or nationalistic group under the terms of that section?

Secretary MARSHALL. No, sir.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you.

Secretary MARSHALL. I would say this: That the vital point in the bill is that it should make provision for admitting displaced persons. The question of whether or not there should be any priorities or what they should be is somewhat secondary. It is one which I am sure everyone would be willing to accept the judgment of the committee on.

The priority provision, just referred to, applies to those persons who have relatives in the United States or relatives who served honorably in the United States' armed forces. The fact that the displaced per-

sons may have relatives in the United States and that these relatives may have money does not make them any better off as long as they are in camps in Germany than those persons who do not have relatives in the United States.

It might make it easier for them to find work and to fit into the economic life of this country if they were admitted here.

For that reason, it would seem more sensible for the displaced person who has relatives in the United States to come here rather than to go to France where he has no relatives and for a displaced person who has relatives in France to go there, rather than here.

I am informed that among other nations in admitting displaced persons, they recognize this practical aspect of the question. Probably the number who have relatives is in any event a small proportion of the total. If priorities were given those with relatives in the United States, the major portion of those who came here still would be persons without relatives and who would have to look primarily to the organizations which are interested in the matter, for guidance, as to where they would settle in the United States, and their placement in the economic picture.

I repeat again my answer to your general question. I do not think that that would be cause for fear.

Mr. CHELF. General Marshall, inasmuch as the sands of the present legislative hourglass have about run out, and there will be no doubt great difficulty in reporting favorably on this bill to the extent, at least, time being the essence, and especially due to the violent opposition to the Stratton bill as such, in your opinion, do you think that if we could get together here in subcommittee and amend this bill to, say, receiving 100,000, in your opinion, sir, would that help you in your problem?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, do you believe that would show good faith and be a step in the right direction?

Secretary MARSHALL. I will put it this way: It would be a lot better than nothing.

Mr. GRAHAM. It would be a token gesture would it not?

Mr. CELLER. But you would prefer the 400,000?

Secretary MARSHALL. Oh, yes; I would much prefer that.

Mr. CELLER. Have you finished?

Mr. CHELF. I might say this to you, General: I was one of the some 10,000,000 that followed your leadership. Through your matchless ability and your leadership we were able to win an honorable conflict. I for one would be willing to follow your advice and your leadership and your counsel now, and I will seek to amend this bill to admit 100,000.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Secretary, you have confidence, I am sure, in Rabbi Bernstein, have you not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CELLER. The statement has been made in the form of a question that there was no evidence of any persecution of the displaced persons that returned to their native lands. Rabbi Bernstein countered by saying specifically that a group had returned to Poland. They were Jews. They returned to the city of Kielce, and 40 of them in a pogrom were killed and several hundred were wounded. There were many casualties, I understand.

Would you say that that is persecution?

Secretary MARSHALL. I would say that that was persecution. I will go a little further than that. The extreme of purging or persecution would be torture and death or imprisonment under very cruel circumstances but there are many ways of persecution that do not take the form of, we will say, physical violence, and yet are tragically effective.

You can be a pariah in your community. You can be made a failure in any business effort. You can be made completely unhappy and desperate in your family life, and yet you will not be purged in the popular conception, which is being shot or made away with.

So there are many ways to effect a practical as well as a spiritual control of the individual and make his life almost unbearable or make him break completely with every belief he has in order to live in a reasonable degree of peace.

That is part of the process.

Mr. CELLER. General, the statement has been made that the cream of these people has been skimmed off as to their capabilities and their possibilities of assimilation in the citizenship.

You know, of course, of Director General Rowell W. Rooks, of UNRRA, do you not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes; I know him personally.

Mr. CELLER. And you have confidence in him, have you not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Very great confidence.

Mr. CELLER. In a letter that he sent to Governor Lehman under date of June 28, 1947, in the last paragraph, he says the following:

My information is that in the main these displaced persons—

He used the word “they”—

they consist of honest and potentially useful members of society, comprising farmers, laborers, skilled artisans, and representatives of many of the arts and sciences. With a careful selection to eliminate the small percentage of undersirables, it would be possible to fill large quotas with good material for future American citizens.

Do you subscribe to that statement, General?

Secretary MARSHALL. If General Rooks says that, my feeling would be that it is probably correct.

Mr. CELLER. Now, the statement has also been made that these displaced persons, not being useful for the European economy, would not be useful to our own economy.

Would you not say that they are not useful to their own economy because of that fear of religious or racial persecution and their unwillingness to go back? That does not militate against the idea that they would be useful to our own economy, since they are carpenters and farmers and nurses and agricultural workers and so forth, employables whom we need?

What is your comment on that, General?

Secretary MARSHALL. I think that the conditions over there are so abnormal that the mere statement that they are not useful to the European economy is not answered, but endorsed, by the fact that it is not practical to utilize their services there under the conditions that now exist, whereas I am of the opinion, and I am so advised by people who are supposed to understand these things very thoroughly, that they would be absorbed in this country with great ease and dispatch.

Mr. CELLER. General, you have no information, have you, that half of the members of the Government of Poland are Jews?

Have you any such information?

Secretary MARSHALL. No, sir; I just heard it today.

Mr. CELLER. And I will say with an assurance equal to the gentleman from Texas that that is not the case.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is an issue between you and Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. How many of them are Jewish, I would like to ask the gentleman?

Mr. CELLER. Two or three of the entirety.

Mr. GOSSETT. I hate to keep butting in here, but I have studied this thing a long while and the question keeps recurring to me.

General, as a matter of fact, the DP's that we have been taking care of are better fed than the civilian population is in the surrounding area, are they not?

Secretary MARSHALL. Probably so.

Mr. GOSSETT. And I am not complaining at that. We should do a good job on that. But we have maintained and run those camps in a way that to be in the camp is better than to be out, if you did not have a job. Is not that true?

Secretary MARSHALL. If you did not have a job, I think that would be true; but I do not think that is the basis of the urge at all. It is the completely abnormal conditions under which they have to live and the conditions of control, and things of that kind.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, we offered a food bonus last year to persons who would voluntarily repatriate themselves.

Secretary MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. And how many accepted that bonus, if you know?

Secretary MARSHALL. Forty-five thousand, they tell me.

Mr. GOSSETT. And did we not reinstate that bonus again this year?

Secretary MARSHALL. For about 9,000 or 10,000, I am told.

Mr. GOSSETT. As a general thing, the thing that I cannot get through my mind is that if 7,000,000 could be repatriated, why could not the 800,000 remaining be repatriated?

Secretary MARSHALL. The 7,000,000 included masses of people out of France, Belgium, Holland and all those countries. It was just a question of transportation to get them in motion and get them back to these countries. There was very little problem there.

Mr. GOSSETT. Why have we been taking these folks, letting them come out of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, and Hungary, into our American camps?

Secretary MARSHALL. Some of these have been fleeing. Some of these have just been getting into what they thought was a better future for them. There is no question about that. We have reports right now of people fleeing across the border out of the Soviet zone.

Mr. GOSSETT. Have we closed those camps now or are we still letting people come in?

Secretary MARSHALL. They are closed.

Mr. GOSSETT. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

(No response.)

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Secretary MARSHALL. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Mr. FELLOWS. We are further honored by the Secretary of War, Mr. Patterson.

We will be glad to hear you, Judge Patterson.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT P. PATTERSON, SECRETARY OF WAR

Secretary PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I have a prepared statement.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you have copies?

Secretary PATTERSON. Yes; there are copies.

By your leave, Mr. Chairman, I will not read the statement, but I will leave it available, and I will just more briefly outline the same material that is covered in the statement.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT P. PATTERSON, SECRETARY OF WAR, BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, ON H. R. 2910, WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1947

I hope that the bill before you, providing for admission of 400,000 displaced persons for permanent residence in the United States in the next 4 years, will be reported favorably.

It is my belief that the only sound solution of the displaced persons problem is by resettlement in new homes. It is also my belief that the United States should exert leadership in the resettlement program by accepting a substantial number of displaced persons.

What are the alternatives? The members of the United Nations should not permit them to remain year after year where they are, the wards of the occupying powers—a mass of humanity without hope, without a future—and a burden on the resources of the United States. It will not do to turn them out on the stricken economies of Germany and Austria, to fend for themselves in the midst of impoverished, overcrowded, and unfriendly peoples. To return them to the countries they came from would call for compulsion utterly repugnant to American principles.

Resettlement, in my opinion, is the decent and rational solution. And without United States participation and leadership I do not see how other countries can be expected to absorb the displaced persons who remain in the western zones of Germany and Austria and in Italy.

Of the millions of displaced persons found by the American armies during combat, 600,000 now are a United States responsibility. Our military commanders have encouraged voluntary repatriation of displaced persons of United Nations nationalities. They have made military facilities available to those displaced persons who wished to return home, whether to eastern European or western European countries. Yet in the course of the recent repatriation effort, only 15,000 chose to go home. It is clear that we have reached the so-called hard core of nonrepatriables, and that little additional repatriation may be expected.

The burden on the War Department in looking after the care and maintenance of the displaced persons in the United States zones in Germany and Austria has been tremendous. During the fiscal year 1947, Congress has granted \$45,000,000 of appropriated funds to the War Department for DP purposes, while overhead costs and surplus military stocks transferred have raised the total cost of displaced persons to the War Department to \$100,000,000 for the year. Thousands of soldiers have been engaged in caring for displaced persons. Yet all this is a nonmilitary task that the War Department performs simply because it is a job that has to be done.

The Congress has given approval to the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations. As an over-all international agency it will give assistance in looking after the displaced persons in our zones as well as in the zones of the British and French. It will also aid in such repatriation as may still be practicable. Further, it will administer resettlement of such displaced persons as the various countries of the world are willing to admit within their borders. But its efforts at resettlement are dependent on the action of this and of other countries. If we and others do not receive them, they will still be on our hands. The United States taxpayer will still be confronted with at least sharing in the burden of their care. IRO by itself certainly affords no final answer. Even pending resettlement, it is clear that the IRO will not relieve our Army commanders of the ultimate responsibility for the DP's. As long as our military occupation of zones in Germany and Austria exists, our theater commanders must assure that the IRO and the indigenous economies provide adequate care and maintenance for the displaced persons who remain there, and that law, order, and security are maintained. That task is made most difficult by the

hostility between the displaced persons and the Germans and the additional obstacle their presence constitutes to efforts to make the German economy self-sustaining.

Between January 1 and May 31, 1947, although there was almost no infiltration of displaced persons, and despite some assimilation, some repatriation, and some resettlement, the number of United Nations DP's in the United States zone of Germany decreased from 518,350 to 516,108—a mere 2,000, less than 1 percent. Our load thus seems to be stabilized.

We come back to the proposition that only large-scale resettlement will solve the displaced persons problem. A start has been made. Other members of the United Nations, many of them with no present responsibility for any large numbers of displaced persons or refugees, have begun to contribute to the solution of the problem by accepting displaced persons for resettlement. It is not too much to expect the United States, with its great resources, its many opportunities, its organizations of the kind of the various peoples already in the United States and ready to assist, to accept a substantial number of displaced persons for resettlement. This it cannot do under present immigration law. This the Stratton bill would make possible. We certainly cannot look to other nations to solve this problem for us by taking all the displaced persons off our hands in resettlement, while we ourselves balk at taking any substantial number.

The United States Government, through the War Department, now is responsible for the care and maintenance of 60 percent of the displaced persons of Europe. The Stratton bill proposes that 40 percent, or 400,000, be admitted to this country, where they may become self-sustaining and productive members of our society as have so many millions of immigrants before them. They are of the same stock as thousands of our soldiers of the two World Wars. Surely this much our country can do, and should do.

The case for this bill is a strong one, on grounds of humanity and in line with the traditions of the American people. It is also a strong one on other grounds. I have already pointed out why resettlement of the displaced persons will be a measure of economy to United States taxpayers, eliminating an expense that through our contribution to the International Refugee Organization will come to \$73,000,000 for the present fiscal year. Resettlement would mean that their energies and their skills would be put to productive use and would provide the means of their support.

I am also convinced that resettlement will be a significant factor in promotion of lasting world peace. I say this because the continued existence of 1,000,000 displaced persons in lands already overcrowded and devastated by the ravages of war, is an impediment to the efforts being made to restore the nations of Europe to a self-sustaining basis.

I recommend that this committee favorably consider House Resolution 2910.

Secretary PATTERSON. I hope that bill 2910 will be favorably considered by the committee. As I see it, the resettlement program that bill 2910 forms the United States portion of is the only sound solution for an extremely difficult and pressing problem, the problem of the displaced persons.

My familiarity with this subject is due to the fact that for over 2 years, the War Department has had the responsibility for the care of the displaced persons in the United States zones of Germany and Austria. As Secretary of War, it has been a matter for my constant attention.

Mr. FELLOWS. May I interrupt at that point?

Do you know who decided that 400,000 was our fair share?

Secretary PATTERSON. No, sir; I have no idea.

Mr. CELLER. May I say this?

Mr. FELLOWS. Just a moment; I would like to finish.

Did you have any part in determining that 400,000 was our fair share of the displaced persons?

Secretary PATTERSON. No, sir; and I had nothing at all to do with the drafting of the Stratton bill, nothing at all.

Mr. CELLER. Will you yield now, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FELLOWS. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. I think, Judge, that General Hilldring—and I may be corrected if I am wrong—General Hilldring of the State Department, in answer to a similar question, stated that it was based upon our money contribution to UNRRA. That was our proportion.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is not what I was seeking for.

I am thanking you for the suggestion.

Secretary PATTERSON. I cannot contribute any light on that, Mr. Chairman, how the number of 400,000 was selected. However, I approve of the bill.

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Secretary, may I say that the House may be called any minute together, and they are already in session, and we may be called over there, and I would like Secretary of War Patterson to complete his statement.

Secretary PATTERSON. I just said that my acquaintance with the subject was due to the fact that for 2 years the Army has had the care and treatment and maintenance of these displaced persons, whose numbers are now in the neighborhood under our stewardship of 600,000.

I was in Germany just prior to the German surrender, with the Army, and I saw thousands and hundreds of thousands of displaced persons at that time, in April 1945 and May 1945. The roads were full of them, milling around, trying to find their way back to their countries of origin.

Every German farmer then had his Pole or two Poles, and his wife, who had never dreamed of having any help in the kitchen before, had a Polish girl doing her work. They were uprooted from their country and brought as slave labor to Germany, and the German Government alone was not in this. The whole German people were in this, and they thought at that time that it was a wonderful system, with the Poles to do their hard work and people from other countries, too, while they did work that was not as tedious.

There were 7,000,000 of them. They came from all over. I do not need to tell you what countries they came from, all over western and eastern Europe, and by July or August of 1945, most of them had been returned. They were still coming back in France in large numbers in January of 1946.

Well, the number has shaken down now to something under 1,000,000, of whom we have about 600,000 in the United States zones. The Army all that time has had the care of them.

Mr. CELLER. Judge, the statements have been made by General Hilldring and Colonel Sage and others, if I may be so bold as to say so, the number in our zone is over 800,000.

Secretary PATTERSON. In our zone?

Mr. CELLER. In our zone.

Secretary PATTERSON. My impression was it was around 650,000. I may be in error as to the number.

The Army has had the care and the maintenance of them, housing, shelter, and food.

The UNRRA representatives act as local managers at the camps but the Army has had the burden all the time of taking care of them, supplying them with the essentials of life.

There has been some comment about how many of these people were there as war refugees in 1945 and how many have come since. Of those in our zone, the great bulk of them were there at the conclusion of the war, were washed up by the war. Around 100,000 came in in 1946 from Poland, on account of pogroms that had taken place in Poland, and there was a stream of traffic going through Czechoslovakia and Vienna and into our zone. It created a very critical problem for us on account of overcrowding, and they had to be settled in temporary shelters.

Last April we decided that the camps were full to the point of saturation and that if any more came they could not be accommodated in camps in our zone. So far as I know, the situation has been stabilized in flow of people since about last October and is stabilized now.

As solutions for the problem, as I see it, you have four possible courses:

They can be left as they are now in the camps. In the last fiscal year it cost us around \$100,000,000, of United States taxpayers' money, to keep them there in the camps, and there is no question of the fact that there is a steady deterioration of their condition. I think we can all understand that. They are uprooted and living at best an institutional life, and there is a great amount of idleness in the camps. I am sure we will all agree that idleness is not very good for anybody.

The second is that they can be returned to their countries of origin, the countries they came from. We have done our best on that by persuasion, not force, by persuasion to induce them to go back. There was a special program put on last fall wherein we gave them 60 days' rations after arriving so as to tide them over the period of time when they were not settled at all. That netted around 40,000 who elected to return, principally to Poland. It had very little effect, that appeal, on the Balts, who are the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, and none on the Yugoslavs. That offer is still open; about 15,000 have gone back this year. I myself am thoroughly convinced that it is fear that keeps the others from going back—fear of violence, fear of concentration camps, and the other methods that have become so familiar in the last 10 years over in Europe. I think it is a genuine fear. I am sure that in certain cases, the fear of liquidation is well founded. These people know what has happened to many of their relatives and their kin in their countries of origin.

The third thing that you could do would be to scatter them out on the German people. Some of these people already are living outside the camps, around 100,000, I believe, in our zone, but I can see strong reasons why that policy would not succeed. The German economy is devastated and impoverished. They have over 3,000,000 people in our zone, Germans, who were expelled from Czechoslovakian areas of Poland. That is almost 20 percent of the population of that zone, and there they are, pushed on a nation, with housing that is ripped to pieces, and they are living under conditions of crowding and squalor that are extremely abnormal, to say the least.

The dispersion or attempted dispersion of another 1,000,000 people on them simply would not work. It would not work either from the point of view of the Germans or from the point of view of the displaced persons.

We come to the fourth alternative, and that is the one that is framed in the Stratton bill, resettlement in new countries and new homes. I think it important, and I want to second what Secretary Marshall said about the importance of leadership by the United States in the over-all resettlement program.

The present burden on us, on the War Department, is a heavy one. The present burden on the United States taxpayers is a heavy one, maintaining them under rather minimum conditions but still in idleness, and therefore expensive.

We have several thousand soldiers that do nothing else except take care of the supply of these unfortunate people. I believe that they have assets that would be of value to us. I believe that they are decent, productive people who have lived under the most unfortunate conditions for years. They would bring productive skills to this country, in the numbers and in the volume proposed by the Stratton bill. There would be no burden felt, no dislocation on our part felt.

We must bear in mind, I believe, that they are consumers as well as producers, and fears of the causing of unemployment in this country, I think, have no foundation. They create markets as well as satisfy markets. They wear clothes; they eat; they need shelter; and they cause employment on the part of others just as all the rest of us do, as well as contribute to the production load of the country.

We have the International Refugee Organization that is taking the place of UNRRA now in the picture under the guidance of Mr. Tuck, and I believe that to be very able guidance, but they will not relieve the Army of the care, of the maintenance, shelter, and clothing of these people. They will simply do the work in the camps that UNRRA was in the habit of doing.

The more important branch of the work of the International Refugee Organization will be the resettlement projects. We have some promising beginnings. I will not go over them because I heard Secretary Marshall do that, but we have some promising beginnings, and I think the stimulation that the acceptance of a substantial quota by the United States would give to the resettlement program would be of enormous value.

I will sum it up simply by saying that as I see it the case for this bill is a very strong one, a strong one on the grounds of humanity, a strong one on the grounds of economy, economy of our own Nation. It will stop the expenditure of, say \$100,000,000 a year, which it costs to support people in idleness, and their abilities and skills are such that by admission to this country they would not be a burden on anybody but would contribute instead. I think they are eager and zealous to work.

Also the case for the bill is a strong one on the grounds of world peace. It would unquestionably further and promote the cause of world peace to get this unsettled problem settled in a sound way. It will be a great aid to world peace to get western Europe back on a stable condition, and the presence of nearly 1,000,000 people there under the most unusual conditions is not an element that contributes to the stability of western Europe. They are quite a drain on the economy right now of those countries.

Of the 2,000 calories a day that is provided for them about 1,000 calories comes out of the German economy, and the German economy

is a bankrupt economy, an economy of shortages, substitutes, filled in to what degree we can do it by subsidies from our own taxpayers.

For those reasons, I favor the adoption of a favorable report, and adoption of the Stratton bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have studied the bill, Secretary Patterson?

Secretary PATTERSON. I have, sir.

Mr. FELLOWS. Have you studied that priority section which has been referred to?

Secretary PATTERSON. I read that. I have nothing to say about that, except that I understand it is rather traditional in matters having to do with immigration to have such a clause in it. It would suit me just as well if you had a pro rata clause.

Mr. FELLOWS. Why I speak of that is that my own Legislature in Maine passed a resolution inviting to Maine the Balts, to which you have referred, the Estonians, the Latvians, and Lithuanians and a man here who has been there in Europe in these camps told us that under this priority there were 82,000 Balts in the camps and only 1,000 would qualify and be able to take advantage of that priority.

And when you talk of humanity, I think it is very difficult in relation to a bill which has in it that section, which recognizes that the persons who are in good health with money and friends may come and those who need it the most will stay, and perhaps will be screened because of reasons of good health and some other reason, they need it most, and they will remain—but I do not think much of this humanity proposition as long as the bill is drawn in this way. I do not think that you can call it a humane bill.

They are going to take those who need it least in preference to those who need it the most. I do not think that priority should be in there, sir.

Secretary PATTERSON. I think that if quotas among that group were arranged by ethnic origins proportionately, we would be doing our fair share.

Mr. FELLOWS. I have heard that expression in 15,000 cards and letters. Somebody has suggested that they write us about "fair share" and that is why I asked about it.

Mr. CELLER. You would take the bill with or without section 3, would you?

Secretary PATTERSON. Oh, yes. I hold no particular brief for section 3. As a matter of fact, if you get fourth degree of consanguinity, if that is what they name it, you have all kinds of opportunity there for trickery and so on, I suppose. I should think it would be just as well if you took them pro rata according to the ethnic origins. No one could complain then. That is fair.

These people, Mr. Chairman, from my observation, in the displaced persons camps, are valuable people, industrious people. The impression should not be created that they are nothing but scum. That is entirely wrong.

Mr. FELLOWS. But the sustained idleness, staying there, with nothing to do, they would deteriorate in every way, moral and otherwise.

Secretary PATTERSON. That is true.

Mr. FELLOWS. And is it not true that under this bill, three-fourths of them will have to wait 1, 2, and 3 years, and this will go on while we are waiting for the other part of the Stratton bill to take effect?

Secretary PATTERSON. Yes. But, of course, the dreadful doubts

their future is a discouraging factor that contributes now to deterioration and the passage of the bill would give them a hope.

Mr. FELLOWS. Is not this true, Judge, that there are 20,000,000 people in Europe without hope and without food and without good places in which to live?

Secretary PATTERSON. Yes, but they are in their own homes—about their future is a discouraging factor that contributes now to deterioration and the passage of the bill would give them a hope.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is better—a location.

Mr. CELLER. Judge, you would be practically willing to take the 400,000 in now, would you not, but for the purpose of being realistic and getting something done, you would be willing to take these 400,000 at the rate of 100,000 a year; is not that the situation?

Secretary PATTERSON. Yes; that is right.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Secretary, you used this expression “useful persons” several times.

Now, on the last Sunday in June, a New York Times article quotes Mr. Arthur Caldwell, Minister of Immigration for Australia, saying that they needed 200,000 adult and junior workers here tomorrow. Australia would give them all work within a week.

Then Mr. Robert Pringent, who at the time he made the statement was Minister of Population in France, stated:

Unless we import 3,000,000 workers within the next 10 years, France cannot survive.

Now, if these people are useful, why cannot they go to France or why cannot they go to Australia or why can they not go to work in Europe itself, where there is so much devastation and destruction?

Secretary PATTERSON. Those are very fine, broad statements. That is great. But let them do it.

Mr. GOSSETT. That is what I say. Let them do it.

Secretary PATTERSON. There are 1,000,000 people. I think we will all agree that we would like to see them all settled in homes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Whose homes?

Secretary PATTERSON. Well, homes.

Now, the question is, where?

There is no doubt in my mind at all that the best solution would be in those countries where the population densities are smaller and not where they are already overcrowded.

Mr. GOSSETT. All right, so that subject——

Mr. CELLER. Wait a minute. Let the Secretary finish.

Secretary PATTERSON. To get it done, each one will have to take part of the load, a certain share of it.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, Judge, you say where the population is smallest. Australia has 2.5 persons per square mile; Africa, 14.7; Canada, 3.1; South America, 14.1; while we have 43.7. In other words, half the earth is less densely populated than this country.

Secretary PATTERSON. I am told that Belgium has 800.

Mr. GOSSETT. Maybe they want people.

Secretary PATTERSON. But, of course, you have to take into account, Mr. Gossett, that the whole of the interior of Australia is uninhabitable.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, these people are free to leave the camps, are they not? They can go if they want to?

Secretary PATTERSON. Oh, yes; they are free to leave.

Mr. ROBSION. With 60 days' rations? That proposition still holds, does it not?

Secretary PATTERSON. I beg your pardon?

Mr. ROBSION. The proposition of 60 days' rations still holds?

Secretary PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, you spoke again of their usefulness. The figures show that of those who came here last year not over 1 percent went to the farms. We have been talking about the need of agricultural workers. Do you have any idea that as much as 5 percent of these people would go to farms?

Secretary PATTERSON. I think over 25 percent of them are agricultural workers. I would estimate that some figure corresponding to that would go, yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. But only 1 percent have gone.

Secretary PATTERSON. I do not know anything about this movement you speak of.

Mr. GOSSETT. I received a newspaper this morning, set me from Dallas, which reported a certain number of refugees recently come there and they all stayed in Dallas. Not one of them went out to a farm.

Secretary PATTERSON. I do not know anything of the experience under the program you speak of. It is a very small program, indeed, and I do not think it can be taken as representative.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. GOSSETT. I have not finished yet.

Mr. CELLER. I yielded previously to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. GOSSETT. Very well.

Mr. CELLER. In connection with settling these persons in rural communities, we have had testimony of the various religious denominations—Catholics, Protestants, all classes of Protestants—but also particularly as to the Catholics, Bishop Mulloy of the Diocese of Kentucky, speaking for the entire faith of the Catholics, said that every effort would be made by his organization and by the Catholic bishops of the country to settle them in rural communities, first as hired help, and then as owners of the land.

To the same effect was the testimony of Dr. Cavert, representing various Protestant denominations, that efforts would be made by them likewise to settle these displaced persons on farms.

Secretary PATTERSON. We realize the fact that many of the Poles and so-called Balts are accustomed to farm work.

Mr. GOSSETT. But, Judge, they have not been coming in under the President's directive for DP's.

Secretary PATTERSON. I do not know anything about this present program that you speak of. It is a very small one, indeed, and as I said, I do not think it is a fair sample of what would happen under this bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. Judge Patterson, my colleague on my left, Mr. Celler, does not agree with the Honorable Adolf Berle, who stated on the radio the other night that few of these displaced persons would get by Brooklyn.

Mr. CELLER. I would say that we would love to have them in Brooklyn but I think it is unfair to take out of its context a simple statement that Adolf Berle, for whom I have the highest regard, may have

made over the radio. I think if Mr. Berle had an opportunity to express himself, he would express himself at length and probably would make a different or qualifying statement.

Mr. GOSSETT. There is no doubt but what he would express himself at length.

I have not finished, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FELLOWS. Go ahead.

Mr. GOSSETT. Judge, in 1945, the War Department did make a recommendation that these camps be closed up, did it not?

Secretary PATTERSON. I do not think so. I think a recommendation came from the theater in early 1946. If my memory is right, it was about March, or something, of 1946.

Mr. GOSSETT. Now, if that recommendation had been followed, we would already be rid of those camps, would we not?

Secretary PATTERSON. I am trying to think back. I was familiar with the incident you refer to. I think in March 1946, somewhere in the level of command in the European theater the recommendation was made that a notice be given to the people in displaced persons' camps that by August 1, or some such date, it would be necessary to close the camps. That recommendation was not followed.

I discussed it with the Secretary of State at the time. I am not sure whether we discussed it with the President, but I think we did, and we sent back word to them to hold that order in abeyance. That is what you mean, I think.

Mr. GOSSETT. You mentioned a bit ago that we were furnishing 2,000 calories, which I have understood from other testimony was the amount of ration.

Now, the people in our DP camps are by and large the best-fed people in Europe, are they not?

Secretary PATTERSON. I could not say as to that. I will only tell you this: that the normal ration in the DP camps is 2,000 calories. The normal ration in the United States zone in Germany is 1,550 calories.

Mr. GOSSETT. 1,550.

Secretary PATTERSON. The normal ration. That is the normal official ration.

Mr. GOSSETT. So have we not more or less invited people to come into those camps and stay by giving them nearly a fourth more ration?

Secretary PATTERSON. If they can make a good living outside, they will not come to the camps. I will guarantee you that.

Mr. GOSSETT. Have there not been a lot of them engaged in black-market operations in our camps?

Secretary PATTERSON. Not a lot. There has been black marketing all over Germany, in and out of the camps. There was plenty in this country, too. There used to be.

Mr. GOSSETT. Speaking of the humanity now, there is at least 100,000,000 in the world who are getting less food and who are in as bad circumstances as those in the DP camps, would you say?

Secretary PATTERSON. I do not know where you get your figures.

Mr. GOSSETT. Well, in India, China, and even in Germany itself?

Secretary PATTERSON. Well—

Mr. GOSSETT. In other words, if we are going to go into the charity business, we would have a hard time stopping, would we not?

Secretary PATTERSON. I do not put the support of this bill purely on the grounds of humanity. I think the bill, if passed, would be a strengthening of the country.

Mr. GOSSETT. Is this tied in with the Palestine question, in your mind?

Secretary PATTERSON. Not a bit.

Mr. GOSSETT. I believe Senator Gillette—did he testify that it was or was not?

Mr. CELLER. He did, but to my mind most erroneously.

Mr. FELLOWS. He testified that this would not solve the question, that it was a question over all for the United Nations, and when we passed the IRO in the House we had taken a step in the right direction but this was inextricably interwoven with the Palestine question.

Mr. GOSSETT. I believe so.

Judge, you would agree, I am sure, that only such persons should be admitted to this country who would be an asset to the country?

Secretary PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. Thank you, sir.

Mr. CELLER. Judge, I have just one question.

It has been said that some of the other countries, like Australia and Canada, and so forth, could take a fair portion of these displaced persons and therefore until they act we should not act.

Well, that is like having the displaced persons fall between two stools. Somebody must take a wise and humane leadership and it may as well be us; is that correct?

Secretary PATTERSON. That is something like this:

I remember when I first did some soldiering down in Texas, when I was in the National Guard, and they had to carry a squad tent; they had three of them there to carry it, and everybody wanted the other fellow to pick up the tent first.

The tent did not get moved until they all three grabbed the tent.

Mr. FELLOWS. Are there any further questions?

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Chairman, if the judge will pardon me, I want to place in the record a petition signed by 450 members of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. This is not the complete petition. The complete petition is very voluminous.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is for the record?

Mr. ROBSION. That is for the record, in opposition to H. R. 2910.

Mr. FELLOWS. Very well.

(The petition referred to is as follows:)

A PETITION TO REDUCE AND RESTRICT FOREIGN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

Attention Mr. and Mrs. America :

1. This petition is for the defeat of the notorious Stratton bill, No. 2910. We are asking all Americans to affix their signatures to this petition and help us defeat this bill.

2. This bill would permit the flooding of this country with 400,000 so-called displaced persons of Europe in 4 years. This amount of immigrants will be in addition to our present quotas.

3. These people could enter Great Britain, France, and some of the other countries and help rebuild Europe, but have refused to enter these countries in the hope that the American people will be foolish enough to permit them to come into this country and take homes and employment from our veterans and

other Americans. Mr. and Mrs. America, the answer is up to you. Will you affix your signature to this document?

This petition is sponsored by the legislative committee of Garfield Council, No. 34, Junior Order of United American Mechanics, Bellevue, Ky.

CARL W. WITTE, *Chairman.*
WILLIAM E. SMITH.
EDWARD W. FAUSZ.
FRED FLANNERY.
FRANK SCHMITT.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to place in the record a communication from the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, Inc., which says that they would welcome the opportunity for coming into this country of the nurses, and that they are needed by this country.

I offer a letter by Director General Lowell W. Rooks, Director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, sent to Governor Lehman under date of June 28, 1947, in support of this bill. (The communications referred to are as follows:)

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, INC.,
New York 19, N. Y., July 7, 1947.

HON. EMANUEL CELLER,
*Subcommittee on Immigration of the Judiciary Committee,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN CELLER: The executive committee of the board of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing during a meeting held on May 16 discussed bill H. R. 2910 concerning admission of displaced persons to this country. Sympathy was expressed for the plight of these unfortunate people.

The committee was informed that about 1,000 of the displaced persons who would come to this country under provisions of the bill might be nurses. Since this is the group for whom the NOPHN would be in a position to give help, they passed the following resolution:

"This organization will welcome to the United States the group of approximately 1,000 nurses from the displaced persons, and will, within the limits of organization capacity, assist them in making the adjustment of transfer to life in the United States."

Sincerely yours,

RUTH W. HUBBARD, *President.*

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION,
Washington 25, D. C., 28 June 1947.

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR GOVERNOR LEHMAN: In a recent statement to the press I sought to explain UNRRA's policy in respect of the repatriation of displaced persons as well as the reasons behind that policy. I reiterate my firm belief that for those who are not in political conflict with the Government of their native country, for those who have no valid cause to fear persecution, repatriation offers the best, and certainly the most immediate, chance of rehabilitation.

This statement should not be interpreted to mean that I am in any way opposed to the Stratton bill, however. Quite the contrary. I favor the Stratton bill as well as any other resettlement plan. I favor any measure that will get these million unfortunates out of camps and fitted into society as useful and happy citizens. I believe efforts should be continued to induce those who are in a position to do so to accept repatriation. But I feel that there are probably many thousands who have valid cause to fear returning to their homelands and, in my opinion, there are hundreds of thousands more who are determined never to return. The fact that after 2 years of intensive effort to encourage repatriation there are still about a million living in the most unhappy conditions as wards of the world's taxpayers supports this opinion. So I favor both solutions—repatriation and resettlement.

There is a tendency to forget the Nazi brutality which brought these people to their present state, to forget the near annihilation by mass murder and starvation which was inflicted upon them as a matter of cold, calculated policy. But they don't forget and we should not. They deserve our pity and our help.

My information is that in the main they consist of honest and potentially useful members of society, comprising farmers, laborers, skilled artisans, and representatives of many of the arts and sciences. By careful selection to eliminate the small percentages of undesirables, it would be possible to fill large quotas with good material for future American citizens.

Sincerely yours,

LOWELL W. ROOKS,
Director General.

Mr. FELLOWS. I have some material for the record, too.

I am submitting for the record a statement by the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Harriman.

At the request of our colleague Mr. Lane of Massachusetts, I am submitting for the record what purports to be a resolution of the legislative department of the city of Chelsea, Mass.

I am also submitting a statement of William F. Laukaitis, supreme president of the Lithuanian Alliance of America, on H. R. 2910.

I have also a statement of the Russian Bible Society, Inc., submitted by the Reverend Basil A. Malof for the record.

(The statements referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, SUBMITTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, CONCERNING H. R. 2910, JULY 16, 1947

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Congressman Stratton's bill, H. R. 2910, proposes to admit into the United States as nonquota immigrants, provided they are qualified under all immigration laws of the United States for admission for permanent residence, not more than 100,000 displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, each year for a period of 4 years. I am wholeheartedly in favor of such a program, and I wish to stress not only my favor for this bill, but also the urgency of final action by both Houses of Congress on the proposal. The procrastination which has so far characterized our national conduct on this problem reflects little credit upon ourselves and suggests a callous neglect of the desperate need for assistance of these victims of the war.

In terms of simple Christian responsibility, I believe we have a compelling moral obligation to do something to help them, and to do it now. In economic terms, I believe that giving haven to our share of these refugees will be to our ultimate national advantage. In terms of our hopes for peace, I believe that the United States because of its position among nations must take leadership in all matters in emphasizing the dignity of the individual and his rights to freedom.

Prior to my work in the Department of Commerce, I spent 6 years overseas, and I have seen first-hand the hardships of these unfortunate people whom Congressman Stratton proposes to help.

We Americans cannot neglect the suffering of these pathetic refugees. If we, our wives and families could see them in their misery and suffering there would soon be such an outcry and sense of moral outrage in the country that we would take action immediately to alleviate their condition. We have the means to give help to these unfortunates, and if we do not, our failure must surely rest uncomfortably upon our consciences.

I know that some critics of the proposal to admit displaced persons to this country—having consideration for our veterans, our workers, and our national institutions—have expressed fears about the consequences of such action.

I have the deepest concern for the health and vigor of our own country. As I have repeatedly said on other occasions, I am convinced that the hope of the world to extricate itself from its present difficulties depends upon the continued economic and spiritual strength of the United States. Our immense productivity, plus our national traditions of freedom, have given us the initiative in world

affairs. The most disastrous thing which could happen not only to us but to all free men everywhere would be economic exhaustion or idleness in this country. My experience abroad has deepened my determination that our American way of life must be preserved. Because of what I have personally lived through, I am keenly aware of the dangers inherent in any proposal or scheme which might weaken us. I would, therefore, approve of no plan which I felt contained any real possibility of harm to us. Conversely, I think it particularly important at this critical stage in world affairs to take whatever steps are possible to strengthen our economy and our position in the world. It is on this ground that I favor admitting displaced persons to this country according to Congressman Stratton's plan; giving them haven will strengthen us and will raise the United States in the esteem of the world.

There are many causes for fear nowadays, but we can overcome our fears only by positive action. So long as fear guides whatever we do, I believe we will never be free of it. Most of the arguments which have been raised in opposition to American leadership in providing asylum for European refugees appear to be rooted basically in fear.

Opponents point out our housing shortage, emphasize the potential competition of immigrants for jobs, and stress the danger of unemployment. Each of these points can be, and doubtless already has been, answered by other witnesses before your committee in terms of statistical and historical evidence. In order to avoid duplication of the factual presentations already accumulated in this hearing, I will confine myself to a general statement.

If immigrants use houses, they also help build them; if they hold jobs, they also provide markets. The whole history of the United States testifies that our prosperity and standard of living depend not upon shrinking down our labor force nor eliminating competition wherever possible, but rather upon the talents, energy, and skills of our people and the existence of healthy competition. We have seen on innumerable occasions the tireless efforts of immigrants to work and build in order to repay this country for its gift of freedom, and we have all benefited from their effects.

These truths are self-evident. If the lessons of our own history and the facts of our everyday experience have not already proven the fallacy of the defensive arguments which have been raised against further immigration, then further collection of mere facts and figures will be of little avail. In reality, the answer to these arguments probably lies deeper than facts and figures can reach. They are symptoms of an underlying lack of confidence in our national political principles and a pessimism regarding the capacity of our economic system to continue to expand and prosper.

A basic tenet of the Marxist philosophy is that capitalistic countries must inevitably break down, that they in time must become stagnant and decadent. Believers in the prescience of Marx are pessimistic about our chances for survival, and they are waiting expectantly for our downfall.

Personally, I categorically reject their assumption. I have complete confidence that we are going to straighten out whatever difficulties we may have and move ahead to ever-increasing levels of productivity and stability. The principles upon which our way of life is built are as relevant and as meaningful for the twentieth century as they were useful and creative in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

I am not unmindful of the immense tasks we face in solving our problems, but I am not fearful. Having confidence in America, I am not afraid of immigration, and I am especially not afraid of immigration in such a trifling volume as that which would result from the passage of Mr. Stratton's bill. America will be better off the more and better citizens she contains in her population, and many of our finest citizens have always come from the ranks of our immigrants.

In formulating our national policies we never have taken a defensive position, nor do I think we ever should. Fundamentally, the decision we face in giving help to European refugees is one of American spirit. We must meet it with characteristic American courage and not with timidity and misgiving. What we do about refugees will be symbolic to people not only in other countries, but also to our own people. It is a choice between courage and fear.

I have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this statement to your committee.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., July 10, 1947.

HON FRANK FELLOWS,
House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I am inclosing herein copy of a resolution adopted by the board of aldermen of the city of Chelsea, Mass., urging favorable consideration of H. R. 2910.

I shall appreciate it if you will bring this resolution to the attention of your Subcommittee on Immigration.

Thanking you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. LANE.

CITY OF CHELSEA, MASS.,
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT, BOARD OF ALDERMEN,
City Hall, June 30, 1947.

Whereas in Europe today there are thousands of persons, innocent victims of the holocaust which has enveloped their country and swept the world, who cannot return to the country of their origin; and

Whereas these displaced persons are fugitives from religious and political persecutions, and, in certain cases, subjected to indirect coercive methods of repatriation; and

Whereas the United States has endorsed the principle that compulsion should not be used on homeless persons, victims of war and power politics; and

Whereas House bill 2910, is designed to use immigration quotas not exhausted during the war for the purpose of admitting persons in accordance with the usual safeguard of immigration requirements; and

Whereas these people, many of them of Polish origin, are thoroughly imbued with democratic ideals and are opposed to totalitarianism, would make good law-abiding citizens: Therefore

Resolved, That the board of aldermen of the city of Chelsea urge the passage of House bill 2910;

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Massachusetts Members of Congress, to the chairman of House Subcommittee on Immigration, and to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

In board of aldermen, June 30, 1947:

Adopted.

Approved July 2, 1947.

DAVID NEWMAN, *President*.
BERNARD L. SULLIVAN, *Mayor*.
JOSEPH A. TYRRELL, *City Clerk*.

A true copy.

Attest:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM F. LAUKAITIS, SUPREME PRESIDENT OF THE LITHUANIAN ALLIANCE OF AMERICA, ON H. R. 2910

Among the displaced persons now living in the DP camps are thousands of Baltics—people from the formerly independent Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. They have suffered untold misery, oppression, exploitation, racial persecution, and brutalities, not only under the Nazis, but also under the Communists. These people have been filled with abhorrence for all foreign domination and for all totalitarian systems.

They refuse to return to their former homelands because of the communistic system now in force there. This system they consider totalitarian, imperialistic, antidemocratic, and totally lacking in intellectual, spiritual, and economic freedoms.

These Baltic people cannot forget their tragic experiences under Soviet occupation of their respective countries, with its deportations, imprisonments, and executions. They cannot forget the suppression under the Soviets of civil liberty, of religion, and religious worship. These experiences and sufferings

have deepened their devotion to liberty, independence, freedom, and the democratic way of life. These are the type of people who would worship at the shrine of democracy. They yearn for the American way of life, and the blessings afforded by this, our great Republic of the United States of America.

What I have just stated about the Baltic displaced persons is, of course, applicable to the other national groups who find themselves in the displaced camps of Europe. These are the type of people who would be admitted to our shores under the provisions of the Stratton bill if it becomes the law of the land. This bill would give asylum to thousands of brave souls who have steadfastly refused to be assimilated into the Soviet system.

This is my answer to those who make the assertion and argument against the bill that aliens are unassimilable and have undesirable political ideas. People who oppose totalitarianism do not possess undesirable political ideas. People who desire the "four freedoms" do not possess undesirable political ideas. These are the ideals for which we fought two world wars. These are the ideals for which thousands of the flower of our manhood made the supreme sacrifice.

The history of the United States is the best evidence of the assimilability of our aliens in the past. Their contributions to the great American melting pot needs no comment. I do beg leave to bring to the attention of this committee this fact. The provisions of H. R. 2910, the Stratton bill, provide for a thorough screening of the displaced persons before they could enter this country. Nowhere in the history of our past immigration was such a screening provided for or established by law. There can be no doubt but that practically all unassimilable person or persons possessing undesirable political ideas would be screened out under the Stratton bill.

It has been argued by the opponents of this bill that its passage would aggravate the housing and unemployment problems. Based upon some personal experience and observations with such DP's as have already entered this country, it is my opinion that the displaced persons, given an opportunity to work as free men in a free country, will make excellent citizens. Those who have thus far entered the country are gainfully and usefully employed.

Displaced persons comprise not only professional people, but farm hands and domestics as well. These farm hands and domestic servants could readily relieve a great shortage of farm labor and domestic servants existing in the United States at this time, and their admission should cause no labor problem. The truth of this statement is evidenced by the fact that William Green and Phillip Murray, the presidents of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have given their support to the proposition of the admission of a fair share of displaced persons to the United States.

The displaced persons who would come to our shores under H. R. 2910 would find sanctuary in the homes of friends and relatives. No serious burden to the housing problem would result, in my opinion. Rural settlement of displaced persons could very readily be brought about by persons interested in the problem. The fraternal societies and orders in the United States whose membership is composed of people who either originally or whose ancestors originally came from countries in Europe from which the displaced persons have fled would, I feel certain, take up the problem and task of aiding in the housing and employment problems that might be presented, if any such problems did arise. I am certain that Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish organizations, fraternal, charitable, and benevolent in their nature and scope, not only are willing but are able to house displaced persons, and thus prevent their becoming a burden on our economy. The Lithuanian Alliance of America, of which I am the national president, has already taken steps in this direction by rejuvenating one of its fraternal benefit funds, known as the immigrant fund. I feel sure that the same step is either being taken or will be taken by other societies, fraternal organizations, and groups interested in these displaced persons.

The displaced persons problem is, in part, an opportunity for our national growth. It is in the soundest American national interest to take steps to enlarge our productive population. (We are, in population, comparatively the smallest of the great powers of the world. We need, as our history has shown, the brain and muscle of immigrants. The rate of our population growth is declining.) Opening the doors of the United States to our fair share of the displaced persons would constitute an addition to the greatest resources that our country or any country can have—that of human beings willing to work in the interest of our economy.

The displaced-persons problem now constitutes a drain of millions of dollars a year on the American taxpayer. A substantial part of the cost of American

occupation in central Europe calls for the maintenance of displaced persons in camps. The solution of the displaced-persons problem, with the United States accepting a fair share of the responsibility, will be a substantial relief to the American taxpayer, and will bring to this country people who would eventually share our tax burden.

The Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France officially declared that no people would be forced to return to their homes against their will. This principle has been endorsed by the United Nations. The United States of America, as a leader in international affairs, should take the first step in the direction of practically confirming these principles. The rest of the world will then follow, as day follows night.

"Send These Homeless, Tempest-Tossed to Me"—The Statute of Liberty

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN SUPPORT OF THE EMERGENCY TEMPORARY DISPLACED PERSONS ADMISSION ACT, H. R. 2910, BY REV. BASIL A. MALOF, PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN BIBLE SOCIETY, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 16, 1947

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY APPEALS TO US

The heading of my testimony is from the immortal inscription on the famous Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. This inscription is so humane, breathing forth the God-approved spirit of the Good Samaritan, that next to Abraham Lincoln's speech of Gettysburg, it should be learned by heart by every American child.

Let me quote in full this inscription on the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden shore."

Never has this wonderful symbolism of free America been more applicable to the homeless and tempest-tossed peoples of war-torn Europe than at the present time. While not a single bomb has fallen upon this land of the free, not a country in Europe has been left untouched by the ravages of the last war. For the rich man to live in luxury is bad. For him not to sympathize with the poor Lazarus at his gate is worse. There was one scrooge in the story of Charles Dickens. We must beware lest a number of hard-hearted scrooges by their selfish actions erase the inscription on the Statue of Liberty.

There is every just and commendable reason why the proposition of President Truman to admit 100,000 refugees for 4 years should be heartily adopted by the Congress. There is no justifiable, humane reason to close the doors to these unfortunate displaced persons.

I am sure that if the true and sad facts of the plight of these displaced persons will be placed before the legislators, that practically every Senator and Congressman will vote for the admission of these our homeless neighbors, whose only fault is that they do not want to return to life-long slavery, but are longing to taste a drop of that liberty which every American can drink in buckets.

THE ADVANTAGE TO AMERICA FROM ADMISSION OF THESE REFUGEES FROM SOVIETISM TO THE UNITED STATES

The loss is minimum and the advantages are manifold.

First of all, these refugees, who have personally suffered from the evils of communism, will be a great help in telling the people of America what they have gone through and why. The American people need to know the real truth about communism. There has been too much Soviet propaganda in America. It is time to put a stop to it, and everyone of these 400,000 refugees will help to do it. There is no danger of any of them joining the Communist Party in America.

Many of them are people of education and experience, and they will be able to invest their own talent in the further strengthening and upbuilding of their new fatherland.

MY OWN FAMILY IS AN ILLUSTRATION

If it may not be presumptuous, my own case and that of my own family may illustrate this point. Over 7 years ago I also arrived in America in the position of a refugee. By this time the whole of my family with myself have become naturalized. I have become an American citizen not because of profit, but on account of my deep conviction. I believe in the wonderful Constitution of 1776. I admire the motto on the American coins: In God We Trust. During the last war four of my sons were drafted in the American Army. One of the sons was sent to West Point, from which he graduated as an officer in the American Air Force. From a temporary service, he has just now become a member of the permanent American armed forces as an officer. One of my sons received his doctor of philosophy and master of music degrees, and is now professor of music in a western university. Every member of my family is endeavoring to be a worthy citizen of this most worthy country and to be not a burden but a blessing to the land of our adoption.

In the same way, every one of the 400,000 displaced persons in Europe will find his place of usefulness in America. But to force them to return against their will to countries where democracy is only on paper, and where real freedom of speech or press or religion does not exist would be a crime against humanity and against those very foundation principles which have made America great.

I am bold to assert that the American people, who are enjoying such wonderful privileges in the land of the free, need not to be afraid of admitting a million of their suffering fellow-men and women in Europe. After all, the question of the quota is a very questionable idea in its very principle, and the final decision must be made not what a man thinks but what the Almighty God thinks who has proclaimed that all Christians should love their neighbors as themselves. No earthly law can, in the final reckoning, be higher than this law of God, legislating once forever the social and economical relationship of all human beings.

THE QUOTA IS QUESTIONABLE IN PRINCIPLE

The very small number of the limited quota was passed by the Congress during the years of very severe depression. That depression is no more, and this quota therefore must be considered not as an abiding, but a temporary measure. Up to a very few years ago, the doors of America were open wide for large numbers of the homeless and oppressed people. There was no iron curtain of the quota then. Because of that many waste places of Central and Western States have become inhabited and civilized. What would Minnesota be today without the thousands of Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish immigrants? If these immigrants have not given as much to America as American has given to them, then people might have some right to complain. But multitudes of these immigrants all over the country have become a blessing to America as America has been a blessing to them. And I am confident indeed, that the 400,000 refugees, seeking shelter in America, when admitted, will likewise not only be blest but also become a blessing. These displaced persons seek a new fatherland, they look for a new nation, where liberty is on the throne, where worship of God is not obstructed by godless blasphemies and sarcastic ridicule; but where instead of the communistic slogan, "Religion is the opium of the people," the motto of the Nation is engraved upon their silver commodity: "In God we trust."

Such a country is America, the flag of which is the Stars and Stripes, and not the hammer which hits human liberty hard, nor the sickle which cuts off millions of lives prematurely.

THE RUSTY QUOTA KEY MUST BE REPLACED BY SYMPATHY

The gates of this wonderful country for a number of years have been locked by the key called quota. But this key has become rusty, and its use has been misunderstood. There was a time when there was no such key in America, and when its gates were wide open, welcoming all who needed asylum and the beginning of a new life. If some bad people came among the good, but then also many more came who were good and useful to help build up and make America great.

Let the rusty key of the quota be replaced by a new and shining key called sympathy. Let the doors be opened wide once more. God's own smile will rest upon the American Nation when it will say through its legislators and the press to the miserable ones and refugees, "You have fled from the thralldom of godless communism—you are longing for the blessings of democracy and freedom of

conscience and religion. Come to our bosoms, for you will find here in America what is denied to many countries in Europe."

I. THE PLIGHT OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS

To understand their plight, we must ask, here or there, the ill-fed and insecure refugees themselves. We must listen to them sympathetically, and believe that these refugees know better what is good for them than the foreign-speaking members of certain organizations.

To accept what someone has charged that "Europe's camps are full of Communists and crackpots" would be putting the cart before the horse. A Communist is a person to whom communism is his religion and Soviet Russia his paradise. For two full years now all such true Communists have had ample opportunity to return to their beloved fatherland—Soviet Russia. Those who belong there have long ago returned. Those who have remained in the camps of Europe are not those who cannot return to their Bolshevik-ridden countries, but because they do not want to return.

Here I desire to assert in the name of true democracy and individual liberty that no single individual or official has any moral or other human right to try to force these refugees to return to Communist-dominated countries, by various cruel "screenings" depriving them of their relief portion or by many other mental and physical torture.

Yet such methods of oppression against these helpless and innocent victims have taken place by men who themselves were born in a free country, but who want to compel our European fellow men and women to live under governments where such freedom is not known.

To answer one of these critics, those who still have remained in the camps of Europe are not Communists nor crackpots. Many of them are highly educated people—medical doctors and lawyers, clergymen and businessmen, teachers and professors, writers and artists. Many of these people I know personally, and a large number of them have written to me about their unbearable plight—a dark past and still darker future—and about their one great and only hope left that the kindly American good Samaritan—through its Congress and President—will have pity on them and will act in the spirit of the Divine Master who said, "I was a stranger and ye took me in. * * * Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of these My brethren, that have you done it unto Me."

All these men and women in years gone by have also known something in their former countries of individual and national liberty, and had worked under democratic governments, but now when as the righteous Lot they were compelled to flee from the burning communistic Sodom and Gomorrha; when with the great American patriot, Patrick Henry, they are also exclaiming, "Give us liberty or death"; when to return to the Bolshevized countries of their birth for many of them will mean concentration and hard-labor camps, and life under constant fear of secret denunciation and sudden arrest—as in the case of millions of human being already—yet there are some men who would force them to such a life by refusing to admit them to America.

"The Balts should return" to what?

"The Balts should return," indignantly asserts one of these critics. Return to what? That he and all others may know to what kind of life he advocates these refugees to return, I will quote from a letter from a missionary in Sweden who has never been a counterrevolutionary, whose only crime against the Soviets is that he has preached the Gospel, and that he places God and Jesus Christ above Stalin and Molotov. This missionary was compelled at the risk of his life, with his wife and two children, to flee in a small boat across the Baltic Sea, to Sweden, when the Red army was invading the peaceful and beautiful independent Republic of Latvia. He succeeded in fleeing, but his aged mother and his sister were compelled to remain in Latvia under the Soviets. Let his letter testify to what kind of life this critic desires the refugee Balts to return.

"What concerns any correspondence with Latvia (the country from which he fled when the Soviets came in), then I must say that I have personally written several letters, but to none have I received any reply, except from my old mother, 80 years of age. What she has written to me in a few lines has made me tremble. She writes that in the month of February, last year, the Russians broke into the little house in S. where my parents were living, and there committed terrible crimes against my sister Lydia, who was in the house with her three children.

My old mother also had to be hospitalized a long time, so either she had been wounded or beaten up. The little house was destroyed, and everything in the house was plundered.

"Such is the revelation," the pastor continues in his letter, "which was told to me in broken words, but what can be done; thus suffers and agonizes the whole of our nation, both they who remained in the homeland, and those who were scattered abroad, bending under the heavy burden which was imposed by tyranny."

Letter from a Russian emigrant

Let me turn to another document, published in Europe by friends of human liberty. This letter is written by one of the Russian emigrants. He was an eye witness of what he describes. He says:

"I do not undertake to affirm that life of the displaced persons in one zone of occupied Germany is better than in another. Each zone has the so-called bloody parish, the reason for which is everywhere the same. With us it is Kempten, where a year ago there was an attempt of forced repatriation of men, women, and children against the will of these refugees. Then there are the well-known camps of displaced persons in Dachau, Platling, and Bad-Aibling, from which camps thousands of Russians were sent back to their home countries by force, against their desire and will. I cannot think of any other description of what happened in these camps as "man hunt on innocents in central Europe."

Soviet man hunt in displaced-persons camps

The chekists (Russian secret police), under the disguise of members of the Repatriation Commissions, broke into houses, captured the people, forced them into automobiles, and carried them away; this man hunt sometimes took place in bright daytime with shooting in the streets of the camp. This took place in the French zone of occupation. As far as I know, neither in the American, nor British zone, were the chekists allowed to act in such a brutal way as if they were at home in their own land. But from the French zone in the beginning of occupation trains were filled with forced Russian repatriates, men, women, and children. The platforms of Europe railway stations were colored crimson with blood of innocent Russian refugee women, who were shot dead because they preferred death to the wicked embraces of the Russian chekists, while other women were jumping off from the moving trains to escape the same fate. And this was the four freedoms—including the freedom from fear, for which the Allies fought in this war. Instead of fighting the German Nazis, the Russian chekists were fighting their own countrymen and women, even unto death.

Memorandum to the United Nations

But that is not enough. The best proof of what has happened is the memorandum which was sent in the spring of 1946 from one of the largest displaced-persons camps in the American zone, the camp of Fussen. With the signatures of all those who were in that camp, this memorandum was forwarded to the UN. In this memorandum we read:

On the 12th of May 1946, from our Russian-Ukrainian-Latvian-Lithuanian camp of displaced persons, containing 4,300 persons, a flight began. Men, women, and children, old and young, common people and educated, began to run away. Hundreds of them are hiding in German forests, under the open skies, sleeping on cold ground and under unceasing rain. Mass sickness is unavoidable. The reason of this mass flight is the following. One-half of our "Stateless" refugees arrived in the camp of Fussen from Kempten. There on August 12, 1945, an attempt was made to use force in repatriation of these people. As result of the fight the camp church was destroyed (where the displaced persons had run for shelter) many of them were wounded and beaten. The fact is, that this was done in spite of the fact that the majority of these refugees had been acknowledged by the joint American-Soviet commission as not subject to repatriation, as old emigrants, according to the agreement between President Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin in Yalta, in February of 1945. This fact was described in the Swiss daily paper, Basler Nachrichten, No. 415, October 20, 1945.

American patrol arrests 126 innocent persons

But a month and half ago there arrived into our camp some Soviet officers. After they had inspected the card index of our camp, they invited individual residents of our camp for conversation. Nobody knew the reason for this their action in the American zone. As no one from the Ukrainian camp responded to this summons by the Soviet officers, the Soviet officer threatened the leader of the Ukrainian group with unpleasant happenings. After this threat the Soviet officer

departed. But shortly afterwards it became known what had happened in the Ukrainian camp of Hershfeld. There also at first had arrived the representatives of the Soviet authorities, for the supposed purpose of finding war criminals. A month later, according to the news which reached our camp, an American military patrol, not finding in that camp the persons whom the Soviet had earmarked, arrested the first 126 persons in the camp and carried them away. Several days later these 126 persons were brought back, but because they had withstood being carried away, they had been beaten. This episode in the camp of Hershfeld, connected with the preceding visit to the camp of the Soviet officers, caused great disturbance of minds in our own camp.

On the 9th of May to our camp again arrived the Soviet men, but not finding the director of the UNRRA, departed.

On the 10th of May it became known that not far from us there is a Polish battalion, some members of which related that they are occupied with repatriation of the displaced persons. All this was enough in order to fill the whole camp with a wave of panic-filled rumors. One told another, that in the coming few days there will arrive in our camp a Soviet-American commission who will surround the whole camp, and will call out from the camp military criminals, under which name the Soviets registered all those who did not want to return to their cruel regime from which they had escaped. The whole of their war crimes consisted in their desire to be left in peace, and not to be forced to go back to a country where communism reigns. Their crime was that they preferred to remain this side of the iron curtain. In view of this the nerves of the displaced persons did not hold out, and a mass flight from the camp into the forests began.

What is the UN doing with the petition?

In their petition to the UN these tortured and frightened people begged the United Nations:

(1) To discontinue the unbearable torture of unceasing fear of uncertainty of hundreds of thousands of morally and mentally exhausted miserable people, who do not see behind them any guilt whatever.

(2) To recognize that people who have suffered the torture of a regime of dictatorship, never mind what ideological aspect any dictatorship may assume, passionately desire to feel themselves to be not inanimate things, but living people, who desire also to come under the regime of real democracy, where we may enjoy our inalienable human rights.

(3) To explain authoritatively that people who do not want to return to Soviet Russia should not be forced to do so against their will by the Americans, British, or French military commands.

(4) To establish the important fact that war which was waged for the victory of democratic principles all over the world should not be allowed to end by the destruction of one of the most sacred of human rights; namely, the sacred rights of refuge from terror and fear and need.

(5) To establish, that if for some reason some of us, refugees, may be found undeserving the support from UNRRA, then not to persecute us, just to please the Soviet dictators, but to give us the opportunity to leave the camps of displaced persons of our own will, to proceed to lands beyond the ocean, and to give us thus an opportunity to earn our own daily bread by honest work.

(6) And that the UN, and the true democratic government of the whole world should come to understand our truly impossible state in the camps of Europe, to realize our unspeakable moral and mental sufferings, and to hasten, by legal methods of congresses and parliaments, a speedy alleviation of our conditions, and to provide us opportunities to enter these democratic countries as legal immigrants, so that we may prove to those countries and governments that we also are and can be loyal and honest citizens of these countries where freedom reigns.

Listen, O World! Harken, Parliaments of Men

Thus far this letter from the refugee emigrant in Europe. Listen, O World, hearken ye, Parliaments of men! Will all this be the voice of one crying in the wilderness? Must they forever remain wounded by the roadside on the way from ritualistic Jerusalem to communistic Jericho? Is there no democratic balm in Gilead? Will the legislators and statesmen pass by this crying, bleeding need as the Levite and the priest?

Will not the United States Congress become the good Samaritan to these people?

In his speech before the United Nations, the Soviet representative, Mr. Vishinsky, stated how eagerly the displaced persons desire to return to their Soviet fatherland, but that the American and British officials prevent them from doing so. What a twisting of the true facts of the case!

Refugees in Sweden forbidden to cable to Mr. Truman

How "eagerly" many of the refugees desire to go back to the Soviet regime may be seen from the following letters sent to us by a Christian minister in Sweden, himself a refugee. He writes:

"What concerns those of our Baltic refugees who are in immediate danger to be handed over to the Soviets, everything possible has been done, but nothing will help. Today is the twenty-third day since they started the hunger strike. They are all living in different hospitals and some are dying. The Swedish Government has imposed an absolute curfew and blackout on this question (out of fear of the neighboring Soviets). The refugees are hermetically locked in and nobody knows what is going on. The last announcement by the Swedish Government was that they will be handed over. We tried to send a telegram to the President of the United States, but we were forbidden. We tried to do it from Norway and from Denmark, but with the same results. At last we succeeded to send it from England. In this telegram to the President of the United States we said:

"One hundred and fifty-seven citizens of the Baltic States, including 56 minors, interned in Sweden, are physically endangered by proposed extradition to Soviet Union. Soviet penal code stipulates death penalty. Entire Swedish clergy and majority of press organs urge nonextradition. Situation critical. Internees have gone on hunger strike. The Baltic refugee organizations appeal in the name of world justice for speedy help providing human protection of these guiltless persons who include young boys. Being unable to cable from Sweden we have requested the British Organization of the Evangelical World Alliance to ask your urgent intervention.'"

This cable was signed by Senator T. Grunthal, chairman of the Estonian committee, Prof. K. Straubergs, vice chairman of the Latvian Relief Committee, and by Ignas J. Scheynius, chairman of the Lithuanian Committee.

But no help came. Just today the Russian hospital ship *Beloostrov* sailed from Trelleborg in Sweden with some 400 internees who had been in different hospitals. The way how they are being carried away is very horrible and inhuman. So wrote the Swedish Daily Press.

"Now as to us, does it affect us, and how far? Mr. Hanson, the Swedish Prime Minister, said in one of his speeches, that 'it is better for us if we all return home and take part in the reconstruction of the country.' Of course, we understand what kind of reconstruction that is. There are plenty of concentration camps all over the Soviet Union. Siberia is also large enough to absorb countless millions.

"Lately we have become a burden to the Swedish Government, which is Social Democratic, and without doubt is pro-Soviet. As you know Sweden in 1940 was the first which recognized the incorporation of the Baltic States in the Soviet Union."

Why did I flee from Latvia?

"Why did I flee from Latvia? There were two reasons. The first was that the Soviet Cheka (secret police) wanted me to become a traitor—a Judas to the members of my congregation. As a compensation for this spying upon and treachery of my own church people they promised to me 'full liberty to preach where and when I liked.' God miraculously saved me from them. The second reason was that later, when the Nazis had invaded my country, they sent a mobilization order to my eldest son John, just 16 years of age. So there was no alternative. I had to try to run away from both these devils, from the red one, and from the black one. For my family's sake, and because I did not want to become a Soviet traitor, I had to run away."

Another ordained Christian pastor, who likewise was compelled to flee from Latvia on account of the Bolshevik terror, writes:

Son of mayor plunges dagger into his heart

"The Swedish Government had decided to extradite 167 of our refugee men to the Soviets. Since neither they nor we have any illusions about what awaits them in such a case, they started on the 22d of November a hunger strike, which continued without interruption for 21 days. Some could not hold it out, others fell down unconscious. The son of the former mayor of the city of Liepaja (Libau),

Oscar Lapa, in great depression of soul cut the veins of both hands and feet, and plunged a dagger into his heart and died this cruel death on November 27. On December 12, Lieutenant Alsknis, in a moment of darkening of his mind, plunged a 15-centimeter-long pencil into his eye right up to the brain, and passed unto the agony of death. My daughter, who is a Red Cross trained nurse, is attending to him now in the hospital. All the others are also in various hospitals and several are on the verge of death.

"This terrible calamity of forcing the return to Soviet Russia of these unhappy refugees against their own will, has stirred up the whole Swedish nation. Clergymen of all denominations, all the universities, officers of the Swedish Army and many other organizations protested openly against the extradition of these fugitives to the Communistic governed countries. The King of Sweden had received 167,000 telegrams of protest demanding that these refugees should not be returned to Russia. But thus far the Swedish Government—no doubt under pressure from Moscow—has not changed its attitude.

"I spent all the time among these unfortunates, right up to the very last moment, both in the hospitals as well as in the camp. I provided them with New Testaments and Bibles, which they read lying on their beds, and were praying to God, not ceasing to trust upon the help of God and for the victory of right. I have received from them about 50 letters, in which they acknowledge their reliance upon God and wait for help.

"From December 9 all visits to these people have been forbidden by the Swedish authorities. I went to the refugee group located in the city of Orebro, but could not gain admission any more (evidently on account of the pressure of the Soviets upon the Swedish authorities). Must, indeed, these 30 Latvian Army officers and soldiers completely perish? For they have decided to die rather in free Swedish land than to be extradited to the Russians for torture and cruel death." These are the words written to me in a personal letter from Sweden, not by an inexperienced, narrow-minded youth, but by a reliable minister of the gospel of many years standing whom I know personally well, since a number of years ago he had been one of my associate pastors in my church in eastern Europe.

A cry of the oppressed

This is a pitiful cry of oppressed and suffering people who have been robbed already of everything they held once dear, but who want to keep the last thing that is still left to them—their free will to choose for themselves where they would like to live. And no one has the slightest right to compel these unfortunates to go and live under a government which has unceasingly denied the existence of God, which has encouraged blasphemy and ridicule of all that is sacred to a Christian's heart. We desire hereby to tell them clearly and definitely, "Hands off from the political and individual liberty of the displaced persons in Europe!"

America is the one country which warms every heart, which inspires these refugees with the last ray of hope.

Senators and Congressmen, listen to their cry; try to understand their need. Do not think only what may be good to you. Before you judge try to imagine that your father and mother, your son or daughter, your brother or sister might be one of these displaced persons in Europe. And if so, would you then vote to close the doors to your own kin or friend? If you would close doors of America to your own father and mother in distress, only then venture to close the doors for somebody else's father or mother, brother or sister, or child, only then. But that none of you could do.

A certain defender of the repatriation says that "no one substantiated incident of persecution after repatriation has come to my notice."

But many cases have come to the notice of others. Much depends how anyone listens or how far anyone is really interested to find out the actual facts of the happenings behind the iron curtain.

Thus in another letter we are told about the life behind the iron curtain. What concerns the country of Latvia—so a letter tells us: "There was this year neither Christmas festival nor any feeling of the Christmas season." In fact, why should the people behind the iron curtain be interested in the birth of a "mythical and nonexisting Christ"? All they should think about is where and when a dictator by the name of Joseph Stalin was born and when a prominent American clergyman is visiting Russia, instead of visiting the exiled Christian preachers and giving them a word of encouragement, he chooses to make a long journey to pay homage to the birth of Stalin, and on his return to free America to make a great Nation-wide report of that fact. Would this same clergyman make also a long journey if the beast of Europe, Hitler, would be still in power, and join with others

at Hitler's birth place in shouting "Heil, Hitler"? For if even these words might not be said, the very fact of such a visit speaks louder than words. But we American or Russian Christians are not interested to be told by one of our preachers that he has gone to visit the birthplace of Hitler or Stalin. Tell us about Bethlehem in the hearts of the Russian people, and that is sufficient for us.

No feel of Christmas in Soviet Latvia

In the above letter the refugee missionary in Sweden says: "We can from here, in Sweden, very well listen to the Riga radio, but last Christmas neither the Moscow nor Riga radio broadcaster did even mention by one word that such a thing as Christmas exists. A lady had received a letter from Latvia in which was said: 'I wish you a happy Christmas season. We here will not have such Christmas festival, because they are endeavoring here to eradicate from our hearts every memory about the birth of Christ. But that is no new thing with us here. We had experienced all that already in 1940 (when the Soviets treacherously occupied Latvia). And my understanding is such that, if there will not come in Russia a real Christian reformation, then the whole world under the bolshevism will perish.'

"This morning the Riga radio was, indeed, complaining that the Latvian youth and children are protesting against the teachings of Marx, but that the authorities will do everything in their power in order that this protest should be liquidated and that the youth of Latvia should be made more communistic."

Rivers of tears and bridges of sighs

What we have thus far quoted is only one small part of the rivers of tears wept over there, of the bridges of sighs over which these displaced persons have been compelled to walk.

Report from Yeguloff to General Ivitsky

Let us now turn to the report sent by the son of the Russian General, Sergey Yeguloff, in France, a representative of the Russian-American Union for the Protection and Aid to Russians Outside of Russia. This report was sent by him to the Washington representative of the same organization, Gen. George D. Ivitsky, and forwarded to me by the Rev. Paul T. Lutov, priest of the Russian Orthodox Church of Washington, D. C.

II. FORCIBLE EXTRADITION OF RUSSIANS IN ITALY TO THE SOVIETS

1. General information

On May 8, 1947, the British military command in Italy effected another forcible extradition of Russians from the Rimini concentration camp to the Soviets. During the same day Russians from the American camp in Pisa were forcibly extradited.

The entire area of the Rimini concentration camp together with the neighboring village of Riccione was surrounded and was patrolled by large military forces. The Italian population was forbidden any movement along the streets and roads. It was told that a search for important fascists and war criminals was being carried out by the Soviets.

However, it is widely and reliably known that in these camps at various times and under different pretexts were gathered from the DP camps in Italy all of the former Soviet citizens. Among them were women, children, old people, youths, doctors, scientific workers, engineers, an insignificant number of soldiers, and, literally, four or five commissioned and noncommissioned officers of whom none had anything to do with politics.

Altogether in both camps about 300 people were prepared for extradition. Only 200 of them were transported on the journey beyond Bologna; the remaining 100 perished, some having committed suicide, the others having been killed by the guard detail during a mass attempt at resistance. Only a few individuals succeeded in escaping. During the skirmish between the 300 unarmed people and the battalion of English and American infantry and motorcyclists, armed with machine guns and submachine guns, from 30 to 40 English and American soldiers and officers were either wounded or killed.

The official representatives of four countries—America, England, France, and the Soviet Union—watched the whole extradition scene from a distance.

Those remaining in the Rimini camp, people of various nationalities, hoisted black flags over the camp as a sign of mourning and marked off a common grave over which was written the number "197"—the total extradited from the camp. All of them are boycotting the English command of their camp.

2. *The process of extradition.*

(a) *Preparation of the operation.*—Taking into account the experiences of Dachau, Plating, and other instances of violence, the English command this time meticulously prepared in detail an extensive plan of mass fraud.

Preparation for the extradition was carried for more than a year. In the spring of last year in all of the DP camps in Italy were begun endless interrogations, registrations, verifications, etc., to determine who were former Soviet citizens. For this purpose a rather large group of informers were set to work. The fate of those being investigated depended largely upon the denunciations made against them. Simultaneously a campaign was begun to calm the refugees and to assure them complete safety, commandants from all the camps gave public guaranties and urged the refugees to be entirely frank.

In the DP camps English officers, among them representatives of the former Allied Commission (for example, Major Lincock), often pledged on the honor of an English officer that forced return to the homeland would never occur.

When the objective was attained, and the English command succeeded more or less accurately to identify the people who had been Soviet subjects prior to the war and to gather them into one camp (at Bagnoli), the next step in the preparatory stage took place.

On August 14, 1946, the entire Russian group from the Bagnoli camp was evacuated under false pretenses and brought to the POW camp in Rimini. Here all of the former Soviet citizens as determined in the prepared lists, including women, children, old people, and youths, were put behind barbed wire and under strengthened guard. The people were housed in canvas military tents where they spent the winter with its frosts of 25°.

Further, a considerable period of time was necessary to calm the mass. The outburst of indignation and despair was so intense that the English command was forced to take a series of measures to justify the above acts. The important ones among them were:

1. The people were told that all this was done to save the refugees from pursuit by the Soviets. Being in a POW camp, the refugees were informed they were under the protection of the English Army and no one had the right to interfere with the destiny of this contingent.

2. It was also announced that in the case of a number of people a mistake had been made; that many would be freed as soon as it was determined that they could safely stay in other (civilian) camps.

This, to a certain extent, calmed the people and the command continued to cultivate the trust of the refugees in their protectors. Self-government, similar to that which existed for other nationalities was introduced for the Russian group. Certain privileges were permitted (such as permission to individuals to go to town, tokens of confidence, etc.) and, most important, a whole series of individual and mass guaranties were given that there would be no extradition to the Soviets and that emigration would be permitted first from this camp, since it was required here more than in the other camps.

After every instance of flight from the camp, Captain Lamit made solemn declarations to the entire group in the camp and publicly gave the word of an English officer that no one would ever be extradited.

Major Hills, who began working in the camp in August 1946, based his activities on establishing cordial personal relations with the people (chiefly with those who had influence on the masses) and repeatedly informed the Russian leaders that there would be no extradition. He even promised to warn the Russians if for some reason the situation should deteriorate. This major succeeded in winning trust in him and he did not hesitate before anything in strengthening this confidence daily. As a result, only those who had faith in Major Hills did not flee from the camp.

Not long before the extradition, Major Hills promised all the Russians in the camp that they would be the first to be sent to Argentina.

In the middle of April 1947, a colonel, representing the English commission, made an official statement in the Vatican that no one would be extradited from Italy by the Allied Powers.

The Russian is a trusting soul. In his understanding honor does not coincide with falsity. And there is nothing surprising that having such assurances based on honor and made repeatedly to the public of the world by official and highly placed people (we are not writing about them since they are widely known without this) that the people found themselves in a death trap and did not immediately comprehend the enormity of the lie.

S. Carrying out the operation

On May 7 Captain Lamit brought a list of 185 people in the bachelors camp and requested these people to prepare to transfer to another section for evacuation from Rimini. Apparently desiring to calm the people, he requested everyone to take his belongings and all the available beds and cots. The people calmly transferred to the designated section.

On the night of the 7th to the 8th a special call to assemble was made by the English command within the limits of the new section, a tight chain of guards was set up and a search was made. During the search, from everyone was taken every possible cutting article, even bottles, flasks, and tin cans. At the same time all English articles of clothing were taken away and German wear was substituted.

On the morning of May 8, during a new assembly of the section of the camp a large number of special English units arrived and loading on trucks was begun. Fifteen persons were loaded onto each truck and until the trucks returned no new groups were sent. A truck was convoyed from the front and rear by two jeeps with mounted machine guns, motorcyclists, and a radio-communication vehicle. No one knew why and whereto they were being transported.

The entire route, the neighboring village and railroad station, were surrounded by English troops and a battalion of Italian Carabinieri. At the station each group of 15 was met by an English shock battalion drawn up in lines with submachine guns ready on both sides of the group. This battalion had earlier gained fame for similar operations. The people were surrounded upon unloading from the trucks and were led up a street alive with submachine guns into a prison railroad car. Only here did it become clear to the people that they had been fooled and that they were being handed over to the Soviets.

The loading was completed at 12 noon. Only after this each railroad car was connected individually to a locomotive with a guard detail and was transported in turn in the direction of Bologna.

During this operation the following incidents took place:

1. While being loaded into the prison railroad car, Alexander Krestalewsky, 25 years of age, broke away, grasped a large stone and struck an English soldier with it, trying to make a break in the chain of guards for flight. Seeing, however, the impossibility of this, he struck himself in the temple with the same stone and thus committed suicide.

2. Paul Rodin, 33 years of age, tore away a submachine gun from an English soldier and tried to shoot himself. When the submachine gun, however, failed to fire he began breaking a path to escape with the butt of the gun, injured several English soldiers, broke through the first chain of guards and here was shot.

3. Validimin Bykadorow, aged 52, and his son Nicholas, aged 22, apparently agreed while on the truck to try to operate simultaneously. The father, saving the son, threw himself from the side of the truck onto the chain of English soldiers and thereby knocked down several of them. In this way a break was formed. The son threw himself into this break, but was immediately shot. The father in an unconscious state was thrown into the railroad car.

4. Anatoly Imanov, aged 27, tore away a submachine gun from a soldier and started firing, thus breaking through a path for himself. During the fight he was killed.

5. Dr. Kurzakhin, learning about the extradition, poisoned himself.

6. Among those who were being extradited were 12 men with families. While loading into the railroad cars the women and children were forcibly divided from the husbands, sons, and brothers. The old mother of Ivan Korobko who was being extradited pleaded that she be allowed to share her son's destiny. She had accidentally met him in Italy after the war. She was torn away from her son forever. After the extradition Major Hills boastfully stated that at least he had succeeded in saving the women and children. With this cynical statement he wanted to place a very thin candle before his own conscience and to justify himself before those who still were alive.

The individual railroad cars filled with the doomed were brought together at the Bologna railroad station where about 100 persons being extradited from the American camp of Pisa were attached to them. As yet there is no finite information and detail about the incidents which took place here. The guard detail was so strong that not one outsider could observe from nearby and see everything. However, it was possible to determine the following with reliability:

Among those who were being extradited was the former leader of the camp group of Russians, a certain Paul Petrovich Ivanov. This man believed until the

very end in the honor of the English officers who had guaranteed safety to the camp inmates. Not long before the extradition friends from a neighboring camp suggested that he flee. He refused, stating that he believed the English command and would be faithful to it.

It is said that only in Bologna he understood that he and all the Russians had been fooled. Whereupon he reacted boldly and decisively. Selecting the moment, he urged all the people to revolt. The unarmed mass of the doomed threw itself upon the guard detail, disarmed part of the soldiers and officers, and began its last fight for the right to live. As a result of the uprising approximately 100 Russians were killed. P. P. Ivanov seeing the hopelessness of the situation, committed suicide by cutting first a vein and then his throat with a tin can. The rest were transported farther. It cannot be determined how many men it will be possible to transport to the Soviet frontiers. Judging by the opposition and determination of the people—not one. Incidentally, no one knows what the people, who carry out similar incidents of transportation, are capable of doing.

The chauffeurs, waiting with the trucks and watching the scene from the side, spoke about these incidents. Here, too, single individuals succeeded in escaping but corroborative evidence from them has not been gathered yet.

4. Subsequent measures

Two days after the extradition Lieutenant Colonel Martin came to the Rimini camp and made an ambiguous statement that he had been ordered to consider the rest as civilians. Twice, however, he emphasized that he regards all as Soviet citizens.

Major Hills again guaranteed the safety of those remaining and pledged the honor of an English officer.

In all of the DP camps the English command made statements of assurance that those extradited had been important war criminals. However, the entire Russian population in Italy knows those who were extradited and has again been convinced that the meaning of "war criminal" is comparable to the Soviet cliché "enemy of the people" which is most indefinite and is attached to any person at the desire of the Soviets. It is entirely clear, that those who were Soviet citizens before the war have been unconditionally placed in the category of war criminals by the Soviets. It is also clear that the English command, at present having control of the destinies of the Russian refugees, fully shares the Soviet viewpoint.

The population of the camps is aroused and excited. Mass despair and loss of hope, absolute distrust in the camps' administrations, and the complete lack of support makes the life of the refugees unbearable. They are prepared for any sacrifice and even death, only to flee from the camps, to leave those "protectors" who endlessly mislead them, and to run away in whatever direction their eye might look. The general situation in Italy, however, is such that the last way to safety has been prudently closed.

Simultaneously with the extradition, in Rome (where the largest number of refugees have concentrated, usually depending upon the nearness of the Vatican and the Pope for protection in case of danger) the Allied and Italian police have begun to search out each and every refugee who lacks documents or arouses suspicion or is pointed out by the Soviets. The purpose of this is entirely clear; firstly, to catch all those who have escaped while being extradited, secondly, to close any possibility of flight for those who remain in the camps, and thirdly, to prepare a new contingent for extradition.

PARIS FRANCE, May 26, 1947.

Addressed to the Washington representative of the Russian American Union for the Protection and aid of Russians outside of Russia, Inc.:

I am sending a copy of the description of the crimes committed against the Russians in Italy.

I am informing the Russian community through you. The representatives of the Russian American Union for the Protection and Aid are taking every measure to aid fleeing hunted Russian refugees across the France-Italian border.

I am appealing to all Russian people: Please help.

I am asking forgiveness for the brevity of the present letter, but we are literally at a loss.

Deeply devoted,

SERGE YEGULOV,

French representative of the above organization.

III. NO WAY OUT BUT DEATH

This communication is from the commandant of displaced persons camp No. 6,370 POW, Rimini, Italy, as published in the New Russian Word, May 22, 1947.

From this letter you will understand the tragedy which has broken out over us. After the "operation" in the camp No. 7 there remained 172 persons, and in the camp No. 6—257 persons.

In both of these camps which are administered with a strong military regime, are kept at present almost exclusively civilian Russian population. In camp No. 6 there are 66 children and over 100 women. On May 9 the commandant of our camp, the British Colonel Martin, announced to us that this "operation" is the last and that from this day the remaining people will be transferred to the position of displaced persons. He promised to send us a copy of the order from the chief of staff, but to this day this order has not been received in our camp. The regime in the camps remains the same, equal to a prison regime. It has become clear to us, that for us and our children there is no other way out but death. But we prefer to die in Europe, than to be returned for torture and death to Soviet Union.

"I may add that in the preceding "operation" of forceful return of the members of our camp perished and were wounded over 70 persons, who did not want to return to Russia. Thirty of these were wounded seriously and had to be placed in the English hospital in nearby to Rimini, Vesperby, Italy. Among them is a former lieutenant of the Red Army, two of whose brothers had been shot by the Bolsheviks. He was survived by an aged mother of 70 years, and an orphan daughter 7 years of age. Many in the camp ended their lives by poisoning themselves, or by opening their arteries, rather than to be forced back to Soviet Russia.

On May 8 in camps Nos. 6 and 7 the English administration was responsible for a new bloody drama, when from camp No. 7 were forcibly removed 174 persons, and from camp No. 6—11 persons. All these unfortunates were sent from Italy to the Russian zone in Austria, for extradition to Soviet Russia. In order to mislead these unfortunates the British administration spread rumors that these people will be sent to Scotland, to help the English miners. The Russian refugees believed this false assurance. More than that—they began to rejoice that they will be able to get away to free England, and will be enabled by their honest work to compensate the British people at least partly for their assistance.

But, when these Russian refugees, destined for death, were ordered to take off all of their clothes, when they were searched for any metallic objects in their garments, when they were placed in special railway carriages covered with thick barbed wires, and when these trains were surrounded by members of the British Royal Army, then all the illusions of these poor people were scattered as with a wind, and they understood the crime which was being committed against them by the British in appeasement of the Soviets. We are dumbfounded by this treacherous action of the British authorities. We do not believe in any more promises. In this tragical moment in our lives, we appeal to the democratic countries for final help, before it is too late for us also. Once we are pushed mercilessly behind the iron curtain, all, all is lost for us forever."

IV

The same tragical facts which have come to us directly from Europe have been graphically described by Mr. David J. Dallin in the New Leader of New York in the following article, June 28, 1947:

Outstanding military successes

Anglo-American military operations are continuing on the soil of Italy. They are proceeding satisfactorily and according to plan. The enemy has been defeated. The casualties in the battles from 30 to 40 British and American officers and men. The Soviet Union gave moral support to the Anglo-American military activities.

The reader might be inclined to assume that this paragraph was taken from the diary of a lunatic. Alas, the facts are real, despite the fact that the press, by and large, refrains from reporting them.

Thousands of Russians are among the million-strong population of displaced persons. They include various groups—Red Army men, Russian civilians dragged

to Germany during the war, Russian prisoners of war, etc. A small minority among them are those who served with the Germans and expect punishment. There are men and women and children. None of them wants to return to Russia, for political or social reasons.

Soviet agents, admitted into the DP camps by UNRRA, have been striving to classify all the Russian DP's as "war criminals" so as to have a legal case for their extradition. Soviet officers of the MVD in the camps have succeeded in recruiting secret agents from among the DP population in order to receive complete reports about the attitude and political tendencies of the unfortunate internees.

When everything was ready, the operation began.

On May 8, 1947, several battalions of British troops surrounded the DP camp at Rimini, Italy. At the same time, American troops began a similar operation in a camp near Pisa. There are few details about the Americans' activity, but a detailed picture is available about the "evacuation" of the Russians from Rimini:

Early on May 8, special British troops arrived at the new gate in great numbers and began to load the internees on trucks—15 men to a truck. The internees did not know where and why they were being taken. At the station, the men marched through a file of machine-guns to the prison car. Only here did they realize that they had been betrayed and were being extradited to Soviet authorities.

The loading was completed by noon.

During the operation, 179 men were killed or wounded.

While being transferred from the truck to the prison car, Alexander Kristalevsky, 25, tore loose, seized a great rock, hit one British soldier, attempting to make a break through the British cordon. Seeing the futility of his endeavor, he committed suicide by smashing the rock against his own temple.

Paul Rodin, 33, grabbed the machine-gun of a British soldier and tried to shoot himself, but the gun jammed. Then he tried to fight his way through the British line, injuring several British soldiers, tore through their first line and was then shot dead.

Vladimir and Nikolai Bykodorov, father and son, evidently agreed to act jointly. The father jumped off the truck on a squad of British soldiers, knocking down several of them and thus creating a chance for his son to escape. The father was shot at and thrown back on the truck in an unconscious state.

Anatoli Ivanov, 27, seized the rifle of a British soldier and tried to escape, shooting at random. He was killed in the ensuing fight.

Doctor Kursakhin, having learned of the extradition, poisoned himself.

Among the deportees there were 12 men with families. During the embarkation, the women and children were forcibly separated from the men.

The fate of the deportees is not known. No trials were held in this—or any similar—case. The Soviet decree abolishing the death penalty was published a fortnight after the transport of unfortunate repatriees reached the Soviet zone in Austria.

There are, of course, governments that are forced by blackmail to accede to Soviet demands for the extradition of Russian citizens. France, for instance, cannot have several thousands of Alsatians repatriated from Russian camps until it accepts Soviet demands. Yet there is no reason for England and the United States to be a party to so shameful an undertaking as the deportation of hundreds of men to Soviet concentration camps. General Eisenhower tried to stop the extradition in 1945 but was overruled by Washington.

If human rights are not a meaningless phrase, if democracy is not a dead letter, political asylum must be granted to the Russians just as it is accorded to those fleeing from terrorism in Spain or China or elsewhere.

V. THE AWFUL TRAGEDY OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS OF THE ALLIED NATIONS IN EUROPE

No greater tragedy of the state of the displaced persons in Europe can be imagined than what is revealed by a Latvian Lutheran pastor in the American zone in Germany. This letter was received by the Russian Bible Society in its Washington office on June 17, 1947. The writer is the Rev. Rudolf Krafts, an ordained Lutheran minister, well known to us personally.

Here is the translation of this letter from the Latvian language into English:

"DEAR PASTOR MALOF: I am sending to you the 'appeal' which has been sent to all the displaced persons camps.

"As summer approaches, we are forced by various means to return home. We are threatened that we shall be deprived from our food, driven out from the displaced persons camps, included in the economical life of the Germans, etc.

"Many are overcome by anxiety; I have already officiated at the funeral of two men who committed suicide, who chose to part from life rather than to be returned forcibly to their homeland, after the enclosed announcement had been posted in the camps.

"We are religious and political refugees, who cannot return home under the present conditions.

"We ask you without delay to turn to the American Christian Nation with an appeal to help us to get to the land of freedom—America. Up to now this privilege, for the most part, is accorded to a race which 'will not perish nor be lost.'

"Those Christian organizations which are in Germany, for the most part assist those who do not go to church. Not a single pastor, who has suffered exclusively on account of his faith, has been granted this privilege. Are we in very deed completely forsaken?

"If help will not come soon, we shall perish.

"We are suffering terribly from hunger. If it is possible, please send a food parcel to my children.

"I beg of you, help. I believe that God will yet use you wonderfully in the saving of our much-tried nation. I know that in your breast there burns a warm heart for our fatherland.

"As the children of Israel in Egypt prayed to God to send them a leader, so also we look upon you as the God-anointed servant to come to our help.

"May God help you in your great work.

"Your least brother in Christ,

"RUDOLF KRAFTS."

VI. "DO NOT WRITE TO US"

The above heart-rending SOS cry from the Lutheran "displaced persons" pastor reached the office of the Russian Bible Society yesterday, June 17, 1947. This morning, June 18, I met in Washington a United States chaplain who had recently returned from Germany. He told me that he had personally met many of these displaced persons, and spoken to thousands of them. Not only this chaplain corroborated the great plight of the displaced persons, but he also gave me truthful information of the life behind the iron curtain, which Commander in Chief General Clay and the UNRRA Director Edwards in their posted-out appeals call the home and homeland of these unfortunate refugees, urging them to return there. What kind of a homeland those lands under the Soviets have become, may be judged from the personal testimony of this American chaplain. He told me that he has a brother in one of those Soviet countries, to whom this chaplain had written a letter. In his reply this brother, whom I also happen to know personally as a good Christian man, wrote: "We here are not interested in you who live in America. Do not write to us."

Any one with the slightest degree of intelligence can decipher what is meant here "between the lines." In plainer words, it is dangerous for them behind the iron curtain of the Soviets to correspond with anyone, even with their own relatives, in capitalistic America. And this is supposed to be freedom, such is the vaunted Soviet democracy! And to such a homeland the UNRRA strongly advises the displaced persons to return. Just to get rid of them in the quickest possible way, and by painting the dark future for them in Germany, to try to induce these unfortunates to be thrown to the Soviet wolves!

But while the American Congress is debating the issue, the conditions in Europe are deteriorating more and more. The frightened, half starving, miserable refugees are lying as the poor Lazarus at the door of the rich American, but we are too busy feasting while they are starving. How long will our Congress allow them to lie helpless at the threshold of the United States? How long?

The military authorities in the British zone and the Government of England are showing America a most commendable and noble example in treating the displaced persons with greater consideration and more humanely than the American authorities. The above-mentioned chaplain informed me that several large shiploads of the displaced persons from the British zone in Germany have already been transported to England and Scotland, where they are welcomed as true patriots of their former homelands, who have experienced the evils of the Soviet system and who appreciate a land of liberty and democracy. The British Government have wisely understood how valuable these displaced persons can

be with their technical skill as expert workers in many branches of industry, to help build up the ruins of Great Britain and to take part in bringing England back to prosperity.

With these fine examples before us, and with the tragedy of the other hundreds of thousands increasing, is it right, is it moral, is it humane for the United States Congress to drag out the decision on this important matter?

No, indeed, there should be no more delay; the bill H. R. 2910 should quickly and favorably be passed from committee to committee and by a unanimous action of the Congress and signed by the President to become a law.

God grant it.

VII. THE EXTREME BARBARISM OF FORCED RETURN

Every humane civilized person will be shocked by the very principle of such cruel forced return of fugitives to the countries from which they have fled because of change to a persecuting and godless government. The question naturally arises: What is the reason for such forced return, which has been described by one of the refugees as nothing else but a cruel manhunt? There are international laws in the matter of war, in treating prisoners of war, and other military problems. Is there no international law prescribing the treatment of innocent refugees, and of displaced persons, whose only guilt is that they seek freedom of conscience and religion and that they do not want to live in a country under a constant threat of arrest and fear and forced labor camps?

The darkest ages have never known such manhunt

History has never known such a manhunt even in the darkest ages for people who have voluntarily gone into exile from their native land. Can then the freedom-loving people of our enlightened twentieth century look complacently at such incessant mistreatment of millions of our fellow men, women, and children, and by our cold neutrality echo the words of Cain, the first murderer: "Am I my brother's keeper?" That is what Cain said, but not what God said or approved. God and Christ have taught us that we who believe in God are and must be our brother's and our neighbor's keepers. This is not a "may," but a very emphatic "must."

Must our mouths be shut when others suffer?

Has then civilization and Christianity in some countries come to a place where our mouths must be shut, and Christian governments and people dare not speak up on behalf of suffering and oppressed refugees simply because a strong military country of the godless Soviets is holding the club over us? Thus the Swedish Government has been compelled to capitulate to the Soviet demands for extradition of refugees who had sought asylum in "free, democratic, and Protestant Sweden," but their hopes were shattered when wounded and sick and frightened they were carried to the extradition ships with the help of Swedish police and soldiers for repatriation to the land which is their homeland no more. This crime of inhumanity will forever remain like a blot of shame upon the Socialist Swedish Government, though not upon the Swedish Nation which through thousands of its representatives and organizations protested in vain the cruel extradition of the refugees from the Baltic countries.

The inhuman persecutors will say, and the Swedish Government will wash its hands like Pilate, that many of these refugees were war criminals that they had been fighting in the ranks of the Nazis against the Soviets, and that therefore they had to be handed back to the Soviets for trial and punishment. But that was also the case with the whole Finnish nation in the last war, a brave and freedom-loving people if there ever was one. Who does not know that it was originally the Soviets first, the huge Russian bear, who attacked without any provocation the little Finnish lamb? What else then could have been expected that the Finnish Government and people would seek any possible way to retain their freedom, and would stand against any government which would try to occupy it as the Soviets by sheer treachery occupied Latvia and Estonia and Lithuania. The Finnish people had also been under the Russian Government, up to the First World War, like the Latvians and Estonians and Lithuanians. They all became free republics at the end of the first war. When all of the Finnish people had joined the Germans in the last war, it was not because the Finns had any liking for the Nazis, but simply because they wanted to remain free from the yoke of the Soviets. Why then the Soviets should not make the same demands upon the Finnish people that the whole nation should be extradited to the Soviets for punishment as war criminals?

About the Baltic refugees it must be said that when the German armies invaded those countries, they simply forced the Baltic men to be mobilized into the invading army. Have the Soviets done differently with all the countries which they have invaded? Have not thousands upon thousands of the Japanese soldiers in Manchuria been mobilized in the Soviet armies in Siberia, and the same in other countries which they have occupied? They have been mobilized against their own will, and compelled to fight for the Soviets against their desire. Should then any other government one day conquer those countries, will the new government be justified in treating all those Latvians and Estonians and Lithuanians as war criminals because against their will they had been compelled to serve in the Soviet Army? Of course not.

But what the Soviets demand for themselves, they are not willing to grant to other people under duress of any other government. The scales of weights which the Soviets use themselves, they are not willing to apply to others.

The fact is that no people should be forced to remain citizens of a country against their will. If an American of his own free will leaves his country, and does not want to return, that is his privilege. He loses his citizenship by his own choice, and has the right to seek asylum elsewhere if the United States does not suit him. What surprises me is why the American Communists, who criticize the American Constitution, and who do not like the American way of life, but by every breath sing the praises of the Soviets, and swear by the Red flag of another country—why do they hang on to America and do not voluntarily return to the country of the Soviets which they admire, and to the rulers whom they worship?

But sad times indeed have come upon civilization if hundreds of thousands of people who have fled from a country because of oppression are sought out by police and military force of that country, and forced to be sent back to a regime which they do not like.

A wolf cannot be appeased by sacrifices

Has the appeasement of a wolf by allowing him to swallow a lamb ever made the wolf less rapacious? Did the foolish and unprincipled appeasement of Hitler in Munich prevent the Second World War? Little innocent Czechoslovakia was thrown into the gaps of beastly nazism by the appeasers Chamberlain and Daladier, and with what terrible results. No ravenous beast will ever be satisfied except by more and more bloody sacrifices, but to become a party to throwing innocent victims into the den of lions is not only an immoral but also a dangerous game.

These refugees know that if they once get behind the communistic iron curtain that what they may expect has been centuries ago expressed most forcibly by Italy's greatest poet, Alighieri Dante, himself a refugee and displaced person, when he describes the inscription on the entrance to the Inferno (Canto III):

Per me si va nella città dolente,
Per me si va nell' eterno dolore,
Per me si va tra la perduta gente!
Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.

—Dante Alighieri.

Through me the way is to the city of woe!
Through me the way into eternal pain;
Through me the way among the lost below!
Relinquish all hope, ye who enter here.

No; instead of the communistic inferno, let the gates of America be opened wide, to welcome these displaced persons, and to incorporate them into our social life and work.

The lesson of this argument is only one: Let the Congress of the United States and the executive authorities take immediate steps to change any policy toward the displaced persons which is not Christian, just, and humane; let the policy of appeasement of the Soviets in reference to these refugees stop without delay; and let a law be passed to admit as many of these suffering and waiting displaced persons as is possible, as H. R. 2910 provides, but with this important amendment:

That instead of distributing the 400,000 refugees for admission in a long 4-year period, all these refugees be admitted the first year after this law is passed. These unfortunate people have already waited too long. Why should they be compelled to languish in their camps, without future and work another three and four weary years? When a person is wounded and brought to a hospital, it would be inhuman to tell the wounded man: "Wait in the reception

room and after 6 months we shall find a doctor and nurse to attend upon you." America will even not feel the influx of 400,000 good farm and other laborers, for there will be work and place enough for all of them and for many more.

If the United States is to show mercy, let us show it with speed and good will, and heaven and earth will bless America for the good work done toward these weary and needy displaced persons from Europe. For in the persons of these great sufferers America will receive Christ, who says: "I was a stranger, and you took Me in: Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, that have you done unto Me" (the Gospel of St. Matthew, ch. 25, verses 35 and 40).

VII. TESTIMONY OF A CAPTAIN OF THE RED ARMY

Michael Koryakoff was a captain of the Red Soviet Army and had fought in this army during the last war from the spring of 1941 to the spring of 1945. Together with the Red army he had made the whole way—from the walls of Moscow till the ruins of Dresden. He began the war as a soldier, and finished as a captain. After the war almost a whole year, from May 1945 until April 1946, he was working in the Soviet Embassy in Paris. He has written his personal testimony in a book under the title "Why I Do Not Return to Soviet Russia." About this book he says that it "has the character of a document; not a single fact is invented." As a motto for his book, this former Communist has taken a verse from the Bible, the epistle of the Apostle Paul to Galatians, chapter 5, verse 1: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

This book, written in Russian, is as yet not known in America. I will permit myself to quote here, in English translation, a few paragraphs from this remarkable document of a former Red army captain, and member of the Soviet Embassy in Paris. Of course, it stands to reason that the Soviets no doubt will again proclaim that this man has stolen sums of Soviet money, or committed some other crime, and should be extradited to the Soviets as they demanded in the case of Gouzenko in Canada, Alexeieff from the Embassy of Mexico, and Kravchenko in Washington. But no one any more believes these Soviet-invented alibis. For the people of the West are more and more impressed that truth does not usually come from the East.

"Truth about religion in Russia" for export

Michael Koryakoff writes: "The tactic of the aviation warfare I had mastered quite well. The commanding officer of the Sixth Aviation Army, General Polinin, rewarded me by the Order of the Red Star. During the whole of my 30 years' life I had never any inclination toward religion. In the tiny village of Siberia, where I was born, there was no church at all. When I began to go to school, on Sundays we pupils were gathered in a Communist club, and taught to shout: 'Down with priests and imperialism! However, the efforts of our leaders to make us atheists did not succeed. Since we knew nothing about God, we were not able to argue against Him. Having never seen the Bible, we could not become enthusiastic about writings against the Bible. We did not become religionists, we also did not become atheists; we became, so to say, neither this, nor that, indifferent.'"

He describes his visit, during the war, in 1941 to the Lenin Public Library in Moscow. There a friend of his, a professor of the old school, showed to him a luxuriously published book, under the title "Truth About Religion in Russia," on good paper, with gold lettering. The professor remarked: "What makes me angry about this book is that it has been printed for export—for the benefit of the Allies * * *. Not a single book store in Moscow nor in the Provinces was selling this book. Even the price of the book is not mentioned. It is only as a show window for the Allies, a rich-looking facade (front). Let the diplomats look at it, and write reports about freedom of religion in Russia, and about the evolution of bolshevism. In fact, however, there is no evolution. For the consumption abroad a beautiful front, but for us, at home, even after 3 years of war, everything remains the same. And it will remain so, remember my word," whispered the old professor to his friend, the Red Army captain.

"Not long afterward I began to understand the words of the old professor. The new facts which life gave to me testified of much that was worse, about direct persecutions of religion, persecutions concerning inner beliefs and spiritual aspirations. On my way back to the front I saw a church which had been turned into a warehouse, with sacks placed on the threshold. The crosses had been

knocked off, the domes were shot through. Such churches saw I not a few, traveling all over Russia."

Once he went to church, and at once he was denounced by a Communist lieutenant. He was called before the army's special commission where he was accused of having been that day in church. The whole of his examination was provocative and ridiculing. He was asked by the examining officer, a Red Army major: "How do you understand the 'relaxation' granted by our Government to the church people during the war?"

Churchill was ruffraff to a Soviet officer, and understanding with the priests only temporary

When Koryakoff had given his answer, the major said: "Don't you understand that if we just now have coalition with such a ruffraff as Churchill, then we also may have a temporary understanding with the priests? You perhaps do not clearly realize that after the war we shall straighten our accounts also with the priestly ruffraff."

(NOTE.—This reference to Winston Churchill was made by a Red Army officer at a time when the British and Americans were in full alliance with the Soviets and were supplying the Red Army with tremendous amounts of ammunition and other help. Yet the Soviet powers that be—for the major did not speak on his own authority—were actually calling Churchill a rascal or ruffraff, off-scouring of the earth. Such was the "friendship" of the Soviets for the Allied leaders. Yes, we agree with the decision of the 200 clergymen in their New York conclave recently that the Americans must endeavor to understand Russia better—the Soviets as they really are! We are surprised that these same prominent clergymen did not issue a call for the Soviets to understand Americans better—for that would be more beneficial.

Koryakoff continues: "As I tried to answer their accusation, every word said by me seriously about the church, was met by ridicule and mocking remarks, and whistling. . . "A Soviet officer in the company of the priests! Disgraced his officer's uniform of the Red Army."

From that time on, the other officers who had been my friends assiduously avoided me. I was removed from my work as military correspondent of the Army, and ordered to be transferred to the Infantry at the front.

Such was and is "religious freedom" in Soviet Russia. As Churchill says, religion is a ruffraff in the eyes of the Soviets. To avoid further indignities for the sake of religion, this Red Army captain decided to stay away from a country where it is unpopular to go to church.

What may be the facts of Russians proper, when they are shipped back against their will to the Soviet Union, when American-born subjects of the United States are treated as slave laborers, in utter disregard of the both countries having been allies in the last war? This may be seen from the case of a 20-year-old Philadelphia-born American girl, as the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin reported in its issue of June 9, as follows:

IX. GIRL, 20, ESCAPES SLAVERY—SAFE HERE, SHE TELLS OF HER RESCUE BY UNITED STATES CONSUL

After 2 years of slave labor in Russia, a 20-year-old Philadelphia-born girl was back here with relatives today.

She is anxious, she said, to forget the misery and hardships.

Miss Maria Noell, who was born here 4 years after her parents migrated from Rumania in 1923, landed in New York late Saturday. She was met by an uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. John Schmidt, who brought her to their home at 1401 North Dover Street.

Miss Noell was in the Russian zone of Germany when a United States consul obtained an interview with her and then spirited her away from the Russians and got her aboard a United States-bound ship at Bremen about 2 weeks ago.

When she was 5, Miss Noell's parents made a trip to Rumania. They were still there in the town of Bulgarus when Rumania became involved in World War II.

In January 1945 the town was "liberated" by the Red Army. In a few hours, Miss Noell said, all women, 17 to 25, and all men, 17 to 45, were rounded up by Russian officers and placed aboard a train after being told they were going to be sent into Russia to do light work in a sugar refinery.

Instead, they were taken into the Ukraine and put to work in a brick-manufacturing plant. They were assigned back-breaking duties of from 10 to 12

hours a day for more than 9 months. Their only food, Miss Noell said, was porridge and sauerkraut soup.

Beatings, she said, were frequent and for the slightest infraction of "so many rules it was hard to keep track of them."

Last summer, Miss Noell said, she and some other workers were sent to Moscow to work in another brick factory and she had been there about 10 months when she became ill with pneumonia. When she was too ill to work, Miss Noell said, she was put aboard a cattle train with others whose health had failed, ostensibly for return to Rumania. Instead, they arrived in the Russian zone in Germany.

It was there that the consul, Gerald A. Makma, learned about her after long correspondence with her uncle and aunt here and Michael G. Marian, foreign exchange banker of Fourth Street and Fairmount Avenue and former Rumanian consul here.

On the pretext of interviewing her, Makma got a Russian officer to bring Miss Noell to his office. When the officer left, Makma spirited her out of the country.

"It is almost incredible," she said today, "that I am back in Philadelphia. All that is keeping my happiness from being complete is uncertainty over my parents, not knowing if they are alive or not."

X. DR. MARGOLIN WAS IN SOVIET SLAVE-LABOR CAMP

As a summing up of the multitude of reasons why the hundreds of thousands of the displaced persons do not want to return to Soviet-dominated countries, we refer to the testimony of Dr. Julius Margolin, a well-known Polish social worker, who has been an eyewitness of the horrors of life in Soviet lands. He writes in the *Socialist Herald*, published in Paris, France:

"Up to autumn of 1939 I exercised an attitude of good-will neutrality toward the Soviets. From the fall of 1939 till summer of 1946 for nearly 7 years I lived in the Soviet Union. The first year I was on the territory of occupied Poland. There I was a witness of the process of sovietizing of a conquered country. I saw how the 'plebiscite' was done there, and how the population was brought into into a condition of 'enthusiasm' and 'Soviet patriotism.'

"The next 5 years I spent in Soviet 'katorga'—that is, hard-labor 'corrective camps.' There I learned to understand the secret of the power and stability of the Soviet system. My last year I spent already as a legalized Soviet citizen, in a small town of the Altai Province, and took part in the everyday working life of the ordinary people.

"The seven last years have made me a convinced and passionate enemy of the Soviet system. I hate this system with all the power of my heart and mind. All that I saw there has filled me with terror and repulsion for the rest of my life. I hold that fight against the slaveholders' terroristic inhuman regime which exists there should be the first obligation of every honest person in the whole world. Tolerance or support of that world disgrace by people who themselves live on this side of the Soviet border is unthinkable. I am happy that I myself can now live in conditions (in the United States of America) where I can without fear and openly say all that I know about that regime."

Then he goes on describing "Russia No. 2"—the Russia behind the barbed wire, the countless thousands of camps, places of forced labor, where millions of these slave laborers reside. Dr. Margolin says:

"Deprived of their citizenship, these people are excluded from the Soviet society and are in the fullest meaning of this word 'slaves' of the state. Millions of these slaves are employed in colonizing the far-lying borders of the country. There is not a corner in the wide expanses of Russia where among the cities and villages cannot be found enclosures surrounded by high fences, with the indispensable towers for the guards on the four corners of these slave-labor camps."

Russia No. 2—a huge cesspool

"This 'Russia No. 2' is a huge cesspool"—a gigantic heap where are dumped whole groups of the population. This "invisible Russia" is a veritable infernal region, invention of the devil, organized according to the last word of police technique. It is hard to say how many people are there. The most fantastic figures were mentioned to me by the prisoners. I think that the number must be between 10 to 15 millions. Many died during the years of the war. Now new complects are being sent there the whole time.

The terror and mystery which surround these slave-labor camps in Soviet Russia are indescribable. No one is supposed to be interested in them any longer.

There people are erased from the book of the living, their wives take from them divorce, their children will not say about them a word—they have been proclaimed to be “enemies of the state”—and thereby the “untouchables” of the Soviet paradise, any contact with whom is contamination and abomination to the “loyal” subjects of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people under eternal threat and fear

The Soviet land is the only land in the whole world where the people live under eternal threat and fear—under the muzzle of a raised revolver. In the camps of the Baltic-White Sea region alone, where I spent my first year of hard labor, there were about 500,000 prisoners. The whole of Russia is covered as with a monstrous rash by these slave-labor camps, which are hermetically sealed for any visitors from Europe or America. (Instead the tourists are brought to see the “glorious” birthplace of Joseph Stalin, and how some of the American tourists enjoy it and are proud of their visit.)

There is no precedent in world history of such terrible slave-labor camps filled with citizens of their own country. Yet the deceitful rascals of the Soviet regime have had the unspeakable audacity to deny even the existence in Soviet Russia of such camps. I, who had gone through the whole line of these camps myself, after my liberation, held in my hands the official study book on Political Economy, published in Moscow under the editorship of Professor Mitin, in which one of the scoundrels with the title of a professor calls the assertion of the existence of slave labor in Soviet Russia as “a bourgeois slander.” But such a regime is the most monstrous phenomenon which is known in our times. In these slave-labor camps I have left the best years of my life, and as before they are still crowded with unfortunate inmates, and that wooden plank on which I had been sleeping is now occupied by my companion in tribulation. During their existence these camps in Soviet Russia have swallowed up more victims than all the camps of the Hitlerites and non-Hitlerites put together—and this machine of death continues to work night and day with full force.

“Men who in answer to this just raise their eyebrows and excuse themselves with empty words, I reckon to be moral partners in the crimes of these bandits.”

XI. “WE HOPE THAT OUR SUN WILL RISE AGAIN”

(Letter from a refugee DP Baptist pastor, Rev. C. W. Zingers)

ESSLINGEN, GERMANY, *June 18, 1947.*

Rev. BASIL MALOF,

President of the R. B. S., Washington, D. C., U. S. A.:

What else could be done to speed up our emigration from Germany? Only you there in Washington can intercede for us. The difficulties touching decampment, here in Germany, are for us insurmountable. We here wait on the Lord and His Gideons in America. May be, that it would help our case, if you called once more at the Visa Chief of the State Department. You must forgive my tenacity, for we are becoming a little bit nervous. There are a hundred-and-one things, which eclipse our vision and suffocate our cheerfulness. The DP life is furnished with variety of conceivable and inconceivable surprises. The only encouragement we have, and which—humanly speaking—keeps our heads above the waters of despair, is the promise that we will not be sent back to occupied Latvia by force. So we hope and wait for our salvation. How long shall we have still to wait, only God knows. No one can predict where the bulk of our people will be settled.

It seems quite possible that this is my last letter from the present address. The DP camps are constantly reorganized, and now has come our turn. It may be that we remain here in Esslingen, but not in our present little rooms. We have to move to some camp. I do not growl for that. We naturally do not expect any pampering. We cherish the hope that our sun will rise again. We shall be like other human beings, no more DP's and fugitives. We trust that one day there will float some white, soft clots in our “skaba putra” (national Latvian soup, made of sour milk and barley) again; pure, yellow butter will strut proudly on our table; a basin will be full with real sugar! a receptacle with treacle for our porridge, and still the better there will gleam a white jug of whole milk. Then we shall say to our children: Children, say grace, and enjoy your meal, for the craving for food has tormented you too long.

You may wonder why old Zinger writes so much about food. Well, I have a very simple explanation. This is the present-day language in Germany. You can hear talking about food everywhere, in the trains, in churches, at homes. I

think that Uncle Sam is now the rich man mentioned in the Bible, and that there are many poor Lazarus laying at his door. I am glad that there is a vast difference between the rich man in the Bible and Uncle Sam. Many crumbs fall down Uncle Sam's table, and we see them reaching even Germany. May God bless the rich man's table, and the morsels which reach us. Otherwise we live as usual. Please send me again some news. We pray for the R. B. S. and you every day. God bless you and all your coworkers. Hearty greetings from us all.

Yours in His service.

Very sincerely,

C. W. ZINGERS.

Does this letter need any comments? It stirs our deepest feeling, it knocks day and night at the door of our hearts. Is it surprising that the great American Women's Congress a few days ago in New York City was prompted to reverse their original negative decision and vote to support the bill before the Congress for admission of these displaced persons to the United States. "Our conscience smote us," the president of the congress said, "and we were compelled by our better humanitarian feelings to think not only of our own comfort but of the great need and sufferings of the displaced persons in Europe. We want them to come, and we say to them a hearty welcome."

XII. GRATITUDE OF THE REFUGEES

Such is the dark picture of the land where the sun of liberty never shines. But let us also consider the tremendous feeling of relief, the ray of bright sunshine in their darkest night, of the 400,000 refugees when the word will finally reach them that the Congress has passed and the President of the United States has approved their admission to America.

A letter from one of these displaced persons in the American zone of Germany will best illustrate the relief, the great joy which a letter of hope can bring to these weary souls.

This letter is sent by a Lutheran pastor who had fled with his family from the Soviet domination in Latvia, but had been forced with thousands of others to flee from his native country who have become known as "displaced persons" in the refugee camps of Germany and other countries. As a young man he was converted under the ministry of Pastor Malof, and later trained for the ministry. Now this pastor, an ordained minister by the name of Rev. Rudolfs A. Krafts, had applied to the Russian Bible Society. His application having been dealt favorably in the headquarters of the society, an affidavit on behalf of him and his family was placed by the society in the hands of the Visa Division of the State Department, while he himself was informed by air mail letter of this action on his behalf. His reply reveals most clearly the sincere gratitude of this deserving Christian minister for the hope of being transferred for religious work to free America, and also shows the reason for such gratitude, namely, the great trials and sorrows which he and his family had been compelled to go through.

AUGSBURG, *March 12, 1947.*

DEAR PASTOR MALOF: Loving thank you for your beautiful letter of February 27, which as a bright ray of hope shone into our dark refugee life. I also thank you from my whole heart that you have received me into the work of the Russian Bible Society and that you will help me to come over to a new homeland, that land which does not want to refuse its refuge and human rights also to us, poor refugees. All this appears to be like a beautiful dream from which one would not like to awake.

From the great joy last night we were not able to sleep. Sometimes the heart was pained when we thought about those unhappy fellow countrymen of ours who are compelled to remain here. Also, may God be merciful to them and send them His help.

Words fail me to describe the joy which filled our hearts when at last we received your long expected lines. How can we express our thanks to you that you have not left us to our miserable fate. Shall we ever be able to repay to you for your response and great help. Never, never will I be able to forget that in this, the most difficult hour of our Nation and life you have told us not only healing words but have done that which all others had refused, namely, you have reached to us your hand in order to pull us out from misery and destruction.

The fate of our countrymen in Germany every day is becoming harder and more difficult. Care for the bare life which was saved only with agony, and

impossibility to know that dark future, as a heavy cross presses many hearts. If help does not come immediately then many will be compelled to end their dark refugee lives here, unable to see once again the bright sun of freedom shining over the blue skies of our Fatherland.

What your words mean to us in such a time of trial, that you will be able to understand. Especially when we read that we are not the only ones whom you are endeavoring to help. Your great love of humanity and unselfish help truly is to be admired. This can be done only by a true servant of God as you are.

I will have much to relate that is not known to others. During my time as a pastor who had to work in five countries at the very border of Soviet Russia I have gone through much. God has wonderfully answered my prayers and saved me from death. The chairman of my church and other officials of the church were murdered. Only a few hours before the main attack of the Russians, after sincere praying to God, God brought me, my wife and two of our children, the youngest of which was only 6 months old, and the oldest 5 years, out into safety.

In one of my churches a theater was installed, but in my prayer hall, the "red corner." I shall have with me many photographs to show what has happened. Many of these pictures were taken secretly, with danger to my life, because I believed that the time might come when I should be able to reveal them to the faithful in America.

Once more I thank you for your loving care for me and my family. As soon as everything is in order we shall come to you. I have written to the consul and am waiting to hear from him.

May God bless you and your work.

Respectfully yours,

R. KRAFTS.

Appeal to United States Congress

The sum of the whole matter is this:

The United States Congress should either open the doors for these 400,000 homeless displaced persons to save them from their untold misery, or to erase the time-and-God-honored inscription from the Statue of Liberty. But should the latter be the case, we should not forget that those who are not willing to provide liberty for others cannot very long retain liberty for themselves. As Abraham Lincoln so forcibly and immortally expressed it: "Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, they cannot long retain it."

We respectfully ask, therefore, the Congress to mitigate the unparalleled tragedy of the displaced persons in Europe in the spirit of the legend upon the Statue of Liberty, to which we hopefully refer once more:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden shore!"

Yes, the Statue of Liberty says: Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me—not to the Soviets!

The H. R. 2910 on behalf of the displaced persons in Europe should be enthusiastically passed.

POSTSCRIPT

Testimony of General Clark

He reveals Red kidnap plot of American intelligence officers by Soviet agents disguised as displaced persons repatriation team in American Army uniforms.

The United Press reports from Portland, Oreg., July 17, that Gen. Mark W. Clark, former American commander in Austria, said yesterday Russian espionage agents masquerading as members of a Soviet displaced persons repatriation team were caught in an attempt to kidnap two American intelligence officers.

Clark, who recently returned from Austria to take command of the Sixth Army, made the first official disclosure of the incident here as he prepared to address the Elks national convention.

The four-star general said that Marshal Koniev's headquarters in Vienna originally asked his permission to allow a Soviet team to circulate in the American zone to "persuade" displaced Russians to return to the Soviet Union.

Clark said the repatriation team became engaged in espionage activities.

"Two or three of them attempted to kidnap one or two of our American intelligence officers," he charged.

Clark said that for the purposes of their espionage activities, the Russians had donned American Army uniforms.

"We frustrated the kidnap attempt," Clark said, but he did not elaborate on how it was accomplished.

Mr. FELLOWS. I will also submit for the record an article from the American Perspective of June 1947.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

[From the American Perspective of June 1947]

THE EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN LABOR IN GREAT BRITAIN ¹

The shortage of manpower has been one of Britain's most critical problems ever since the end of World War II. Like her western European neighbors, she lacks workers to accomplish the enormous reconstruction tasks ahead. But unlike these neighbors, she has not taken the bold steps for which the situation calls.

France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, to name some of them, undertook an active campaign for the recruitment of skilled foreign workers just as soon as transportation facilities and general conditions permitted them to do so. They contracted chiefly Italians, who are eager to emigrate and possess the skills required by western Europe's industry and agriculture. Some attempts were also made to recruit suitable displaced persons from camps in Germany. France especially has been very active in this field and plans to engage numerous Italians, displaced persons, and possibly even Germans.

It is generally estimated that Britain's manpower gap today represents between 700,000 and 1,000,000 workers. In a recently published statement on the economic problems affecting employers and workers, the British Government stated that some 500,000 additional workers were needed to produce exports alone. Furthermore, the statement envisages the need for a "substantial increase of manpower in some of the vital manufacturing industries for the home market."²

A number of solutions have been considered in addition to the import of foreign labor. Increase in productivity through modernization of equipment, better working conditions, and more efficient management is one of the suggested methods. Another solution is the introduction of additional source of British labor: women, persons beyond the retirement age, and adolescents.³ Speedier releases from the armed forces are also advocated, especially by some trade unions in their attempt to decrease the ultimate number of foreign workers introduced.

All the solutions thus offered fall short of the goal. The introduction of marginal workers has yet to prove satisfactory. A large cut in the size of the army is very unlikely for many years to come. What Britain needs at present, and needs desperately, are skilled and semiskilled workmen for construction tasks, mining, and the metal and textile industries. Any increase in productivity can only come about through the purchase of new and better equipment abroad, and the immediate export of British goods is needed if the necessary dollars for such imports are to be obtained. In other words, output and exports have to be boosted first, before an increase in productivity can be brought about, and this boost can only be achieved through an expansion of the labor force.

The British Government and part of the British press are well aware of the need for the introduction of foreign labor. In its Economic Survey for 1947 presented in February of this year, the Government made the following statement:

"Foreign labor can make a useful contribution to our needs. The old arguments against foreign labor are no longer valid. * * * Foreign labor is the only substantial additional source of manpower which is open to us—especially for the undermanned industries."⁴

If the Government's concrete efforts toward the recruitment of foreign labor have been half-hearted up to this point, it is because of the serious obstacles which such a program faces in Britain. The housing shortage, especially in industrial areas, presents a serious problem, unless newcomers are lodged in

¹ See American Perspective, I, p. 61, Emigration of Italian Labor.

² Quoted in Central European Observer (London), April 3, 1947, p. 90.

³ Economic Survey for 1947 (Cmd. Paper No. 7046, London, February 1947).

⁴ Ibid.

temporary camps, which is socially unsatisfactory. Ignorance of the language is another barrier to the successful employment of foreigners. But the greatest difficulty stems from the determined opposition on the part of British labor. British workers are individually opposed to the introduction of potential competitors, and the powerful trade-unions have been most vocal in their objections. Although aware of the present manpower shortage, workers and union leaders alike remember all too vividly the past days of continued unemployment and fear their possible return. They are also afraid that the influx of workers from countries with lower living standards might interfere with their struggle for better wages and working conditions. By American standards, British wages are low, machinery is obsolete, and methods used are often wasteful. The British workers feel that the present period, with a Labor government in power and the demand for labor at an all-time high, offers the opportunity for a decisive improvement of their lot. The use of foreign labor might prolong the status quo and delay the necessary changes if industry is able to carry on as in the past.

This argument, which carries some weight from a short-range viewpoint, had been so consistently and insistently held throughout 1946 that the Government found it difficult to secure the employment of even a small number of foreign workers. Because of its close connection with the trade-unions, the Labor government had to be most cautious in pushing its program, and was thus in a more delicate position than a Conservative government would have been. The Government's position was described as follows:

"[It] would be glad if foreign labor could be used to ease the manpower shortage, but it will not lay itself open to the charge of forcing foreign workers on the trade-unions."⁵

In some circles, it was felt that concessions made to domestic labor went too far and that the Government failed to consider the national interest as a whole. The influential *Economist* took this view when it advocated the immigration of Italian workers, saying that "there are good political as well as economic reasons for overcoming the opposition of the trade-unions."⁶

The slow pace at which the Government tackled the problem was all the more unfortunate because Britain had a ready reservoir of foreigners to employ. Over 150,000 Poles have been in Britain ever since the end of the war, most of them members of the Polish armed forces, some of them with their families. These exiles did not wish to return to Poland under its present regime. It was not until May of 1946 that the British Government, which so far had been paying for their upkeep, decided on the formation of the Polish Resettlement Corps. This body was designed for the resettlement in industry, agriculture, or domestic service of Poles who had served in the Polish Army under British command, refused to return to Poland, and now lived at taxpayer's expense in camps. After the necessary administrative procedure was laid, actual enrollment was very slow. For example, in the industrial northwest, recruitment did not start until January of this year, more than 9 months after the corps had been set up.⁷ Opposition to the resettlement plan was twofold. On the one hand, the unions fought each step leading to the employment of Poles, and on the other hand, the Poles themselves were most reluctant to exchange their uniforms for work clothes. The British Government had to threaten with deportation to displaced persons' camps in Germany in order to overcome Polish recalcitrance. Union spokesmen also asserted that few of the Poles had any skills, and that unskilled labor is at present plentiful in Britain. The fact remains, however, that even when qualified workers, such as miners, were available, it was only after protracted and difficult negotiations with the unions that their employment could be secured.⁸

Since the early part of this year there has been a change in the attitude of the trade-unions and it looks now as if, by and large, their consent for the limited employment of foreigners had been obtained. Especially the Trades Union Congress (TUC), which is the over-all organization of British trade-unions, has taken a more favorable view. The Minister of Labor, Mr. George Isaacs, in conversations with individual trade-union leaders, was apparently able to con-

⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, January 25, 1947.

⁶ *The Economist*, April 19, 1947. Many observers feel, however, that the Labor government has received indefinitely more trade-union cooperation than a Conservative government could have obtained.

⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, February 3, 1947.

⁸ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, February 27, 1947; *Ministry of Labor Gazette* (London), May 1947.

vince them that only full employment and production achieved at the present time can prevent future unemployment and a decline in the standard of living. Thus, it was argued that for the time being the introduction of foreign labor would have precisely the opposite effect of that usually feared. The new attitude of unions was first shown in the concessions made as to the employment of Poles in the mines. After talks with TUC officials, the executive of the National Union of Mineworkers agreed to allow Polish miners to work in British pits on three conditions:

1. The local miners' branch must agree to accept them;
2. They must be members of the union;
3. In the event of lay-offs, the Poles shall be the first to go.⁹

Other trade-unions, especially in the textile industry and in foundry works, have followed this policy. Under these circumstances, recruitment of foreign labor became somewhat more active. In addition to domestic and hospital workers from the Baltic States, who had already been recruited earlier in German displaced persons' camps, further displaced persons were hired, this time for industrial work. A total of 10,000 persons have arrived, most of them natives of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Ukraine. They are being boarded in camps or hostels, and their families will be permitted to join them later.¹⁰ Recruitment in Italy has been limited to foundry workers, some 2,000 of whom are to come to Britain.

So far, over-all figures are not impressive and the number of workers recruited is hardly more than a drop in the bucket. Although some kind of over-all agreement has been reached with trade-union circles, there remain enormous obstacles to the successful introduction of foreign labor. Union opposition at the local level still presents a serious problem. The greater difficulty at present is the rapid exhaustion of the available good manpower resources in Europe. Britain has certainly missed the boat as far as the Italians are concerned, for there can be little doubt that France and Belgium secured for themselves the cream of the crop, especially with respect to miners. The displaced persons' camps in Germany and Austria still offer a reservoir of workers, but good skilled workmen are relatively few. The Poles have proved to be reluctant to be permanently resettled in England and seem much more inclined to enlist in foreign armies or emigrate overseas. Some of them still ponder ultimate repatriation to Poland.

Certainly Britain has wasted much valuable time during a period when other European countries busily combed the labor market. Yet Britain's problem will gain in seriousness in the years to come. Thousands of Englishmen have registered for emigration to the Dominions and only the fulfillment of formalities and lack of shipping space delay their departure.¹¹ Especially Australia and New Zealand have led an active campaign for the immigration of skilled English workmen and their call has been answered by many who feel that England offers them no real opportunities. Together with the natural decline in the number of men of working age, due to the fall in the birth rate which started many years ago, the resulting loss in England's working population will be severely felt within the next 10 years, and will add considerably to the number of economic problems with which Britain is faced.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will adjourn until 9:30 on Friday of this week.

(Thereupon at 11:40 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 9:30 a. m., Friday, July 18, 1947.)

⁹ Manchester Guardian, January 17, 1947.

¹⁰ Manchester Guardian, April 22, 1947.

¹¹ The Economist (London), February 15, 1947.

PERMITTING ADMISSION OF 400,000 DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, JULY 18, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION
Washington, D. C.

The Subcommittee on Immigration met at 9:30 a. m., Hon. Frank Fellows presiding.

Mr. FELLOWS. The committee will come to order, please.

We have with us this morning Attorney General Clark. We will be glad to hear you, Mr. Clark.

STATEMENT OF HON. TOM C. CLARK, ATTORNEY GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Chairman, it is quite a privilege to be here again before the Judiciary subcommittee. With your permission I would like to hand the reported a copy of the formal statement and I will just talk to the committee and of course answer any questions that the committee may have.

(The statement is as follows:)

THE OUTLINE OF POINTS TO BE URGED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2910

1. *Lawyer's approach.*—I have been following these proceedings very closely because of my responsibility in the field of immigration and because of the sincere feeling I share with the President that we should, for a number of important reasons, admit a substantial number of displaced persons as immigrants. It comes naturally to me to view issues which come before me with the attitude and perspective of a lawyer; that is the way I have been trained.

I should like, with your permission, to review the evidence, as it were, which has been presented to you for and against this bill. I shall not attempt to add any facts and figures to the already voluminous record which has been made here. I am sure you will agree that just about all the available information and diverse opinions which could be assembled on this subject have already been presented and expressed. I shall confine myself to "summing up" as we say in the courtroom.

2. *Basic considerations in support of the bill.*—There are two basic premises for H. R. 2910—two basic reasons for its enactment. The first is our responsibility for these unfortunate people which was imposed upon us and our allies as victors in the war; the second is the moral duty of one man or a nation of men to assist his unfortunate brother to the extent that there is ability on the one hand and merit and need on the other. It serves little purpose to speak of all men being born free and equal and of the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is better that we give life to those precepts and that we reassure ourselves and all the world that these are not idle declarations of principle—that they are, rather, our standards of action, our guides in our relationships

with one another and with all people. That is true Americanism. That is true Christianity.

3. *Evidence in support of the bill.*—In order to establish that there is need for and merit in a bill such as the one under inquiry, many persons have appeared before you to give you facts which would assist you in making such a finding. You will recall that practically every person who appeared in support of this bill presented his facts and views on the basis of actual experience or first-hand acquaintance with the subject. They did not resort to opinions or guesses, as qualified witnesses they gave the facts. Those who described the plight of the displaced persons abroad had been among them. They had made studies of actual conditions on the ground. They were able to tell you that these people are honest and industrious, seeking only to have a fair chance to start life anew, breathing the air and doing the work of a freeman. They told you from first-hand knowledge that they were persons with a deep hatred for totalitarian practices and beliefs. They told you that they were persons who genuinely fear to return to their homelands—a fear based on their own experiences or upon the experiences of their kinspeople or friends. They told you that these were men and women of strong heart, strong body, and abiding faith in the principles of freemen—else they would not have survived the inhumanities which were dealt them. They told you of the several alternatives which were open to us in discharging our responsibility for this problem. One was to close up the camps and leave these unfortunates to their fate among their erstwhile enemies and tormentors in the overcrowded economy of Germany. Another was to return them forcibly to their homelands to which they dared not return. The last, and that which motivates this bill, is to resettle these persons in countries where they will be free, with the United States taking the lead by receiving a fair part of them as immigrants. They told you why the first two options were wrong, and why the last was the right way. Still others have presented the picture from this side of the fence, so to speak. They have shown that the number of immigrants contemplated by this bill can be easily absorbed without wrecking our economy; that there are both jobs for persons of the skills and trades and in the numbers available among the displaced persons in the American zones of Germany, Austria, and Italy. I need only mention that the president of the American Federation of Labor speaking for that great organization and giving you the benefit of his judgment and experience told you that no labor problem would result from the admission of 400,000 displaced persons even if they all came at once. He added they would be a benefit, not an impediment. He told you of the crafts in which shortages were mounting, crafts which had long been associated with immigrant workers and which were to be found among these displaced persons. Mr. Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, joined in that view. I need not tell you that Mr. Green and Mr. Murray are both genuinely interested in the welfare of the American laboring man. I for one am confident that they would say or do nothing which would prejudice the position of any one of the working men and women whom they represent.

4. *Basic grounds for opposition.*—Most, if not all, of the opponents of this bill who have appeared before you, profess a heartfelt interest in the displaced persons. They also agree generally that these unfortunates should be assisted. To that extent, at least, they are sympathetic with the motives of those who favor this legislation. However, they oppose this particular measure for a number of reasons. Some believe that there should be other ways of assisting them. Others believe that someone else should do it. Some are only concerned with keeping them out of this country. Some base their objections on all three grounds. Those who were determined that it would be wrong to give them asylum and a chance for a new life in the United States gave a variety of reasons for that attitude. One was that these unfortunates were not truly displaced persons, that they had voluntarily come into our zones—most of them after the fighting was over and danger to them had passed. Another was that these people were criminals or likely to become such. Another was that they were Communists, or Nazis, or Fascists, or actual or potential believers in that kind of totalitarian ideology. Another was that they were the remnants, and thus the least desirable, of the large mass of displaced persons uprooted and tossed about by the cyclonic force of war. Another was that they would take jobs from American citizens, especially our veterans. Another reason, somewhat related to the one I have just mentioned, was that the number admitted under this bill would be a serious threat to our economy when and if a depression should strike this country. And, finally, the fear is expressed that the rigid requirements of our immigration laws

will not be enforced or observed, and that the procedures thereunder will be loose and permissive of abuses.

I ask you to recall in your own minds exactly how many of these witnesses have formed their opinions on the basis of the facts. I ask you to recall how many of these witnesses made a first-hand survey of the character, mentality, political philosophies and general background and deportment of the persons about whom they had such firm opinions. I ask you to recall in your minds how many of these witnesses who based their opposition on the economic turmoil which would befall this country and our people, were leaders of labor groups, were recognized economists, or, indeed, had any experience or knowledge upon which to base their prophecies. I ask you to recall how many of these witnesses, while basing their opposition in large measure upon the points which I have mentioned, voiced in fact their long-standing objections to immigration itself, to the admission of anybody from any country whatever his station—perhaps with some exceptions in some instances—for a certain number of years if not forever. I ask you to recall how many of these witnesses have had these views year after year, in war and in peace, in prosperity and in depression. Of course they have a right to have and to express those views, but you must bear them in mind in determining the weight which should be given to their utterances in opposition to this bill. As a lawyer, I feel justified in saying that these witnesses lack qualification to state essential facts and lack the qualification of expert witnesses. They are just against it—and prove nothing but their personal opposition.

We are dealing with an emergency situation, requiring emergency treatment. Even if these general objections to immigration are to be accepted as sound, they have no proper place here. There is no proposal to alter our basic immigration laws or policies. This is not a normal immigration problem; it is an emergency situation which should not be determined by ordinary standards of immigration policy. Yet, withal, the basic requirements and qualifications for admission under our present immigration laws will remain in full vigor, and I assure you that so far as I personally or my Department has a part in the admission of immigrants under this bill, full adherence to those laws will be insisted upon.

5. *Rebuttal.*—It is not difficult for me as a lawyer to dismiss as incompetent evidence the general statements, opinions and prophecies of those who have opposed this measure. The opposition witnesses themselves made little or no effort to substantiate the things they were saying. Well-known truths belie many of their protestations. When they insisted that adding 400,000 people (at least one-half of whom would be women and children) to our population of 140,000,000 would bring about social, political, and economic problems which we could probably not surmount, they were overlooking the fact that this country absorbed millions of immigrants during our own lifetimes.

The President aptly pointed this out in his recent message to Congress on this matter: "We should not forget that our Nation was founded by immigrants, many of whom fled oppression and persecution. We have thrived on the energy and diversity of many peoples. It is a source of our strength that we number among our people all the major religions, races, and national origins." We hear from the opponents of this bill that the days when this country could assimilate the peoples of foreign lands who came here to live, to work, and to join the great American family, have gone, and that America's future has no place for that kind of new blood. One trouble with that argument is that it has been made practically since the day that our country became free and independent. It was urged in the First Congress. That argument has been wrong for 150 years, and I have seen nothing to suggest that it become sound upon the introduction of H. R. 2910.

Yet, if we must examine the record to point out the fallacies of these arguments, we can find General Hildring and other first-hand observers telling us that the largest group of displaced persons are not recent arrivals in the displaced persons areas; that they are neither criminals nor totalitarians, that they are hard-working, God-fearing people who have undergone indescribable inhumanities rather than surrender their souls and their determination to be free. They have also told us of how these people today are doing their utmost to live uprightly and by the fruits of their own toil—how under most difficult conditions of primitive living conditions, they have shown amazing ingenuity and industry. I have already mentioned the testimony of William Green in which Mr. Philip Murray joined. Not only does Mr. Green set aside dire predictions and professed fears of those who oppose this measure on economic grounds, but he does so with effectiveness and authority.

6. *Conclusion.*—Mr. Chairman, if it were for me to reach a decision as a judge upon the record which has been made here, I should not have the slightest hesitation in finding that the wisdom and worthiness of H. R. 2910 have been clearly established. The evidence in its support is positive; it is factual. The witnesses who testified in support were by all standards, qualified to give the facts. The evidence against it is a series of opinions, attitudes, hearsay, predictions, and general misgivings. Occasionally, I am sorry to say, even bits of misinformation have crept into the record. We shall charge them off as unintentional mistakes. Be that as it may, the testimony of the representatives of the Army, the State Department, and the Immigration Service of the Department of Justice, has provided you with factual and statistical material which will give you a fair picture of the over-all situation.

I have given this proposal very long and thoughtful consideration. I am honestly convinced it is the thing for us to do as human beings. It is the thing for America to do in its self-interest and in keeping with its democratic principles of fairness. As the greatest nation in the world—and standing above all for the principles of freedom of man—we should speedily pass this measure and I urge this committee to favorably report the bill to the Congress as soon as possible.

Let me say first, Mr. Chairman, that I do appreciate your kindness in giving me this hearing this morning. I am sorry it was impossible for me to be here to hear General Marshall and Judge Patterson and those who were here earlier. I was out of town that day.

Let me say in the beginning, as I have said before, that I think that, in view of the fact that America has been made up of immigrants and the fact that we are an immigrant country, the fact that our forefathers came here over some 170 years ago to escape the tyranny they experienced in their respective countries, and the fact that we have grown into this great country I think establishes a policy that in effect requires our country to do its part, at least in this present emergency; and I would like to emphasize that this is an emergency. It is not a problem that comes along in normal times and under normal conditions.

I shall not take the time of this committee to tell you of the reasons why this is an emergency, because you have had many witnesses here who not only are personally acquainted with the problems but who have made a study of conditions they have seen in these camps. I have been in some of the camps in Germany last year, but I do not profess to know much concerning the problems.

I would like to say, however, that I think that, in view of the policy that we have tried to get the other countries to accept and which I understand several other countries have agreed to, that is, to take a certain number of these unfortunate people, that we in the United States should promptly meet our responsibility and make it clear that we want to take our proportionate share.

I think personally that this bill should be enacted, that the 400,000 displaced persons that it provides for, should be permitted to enter this country in the next 4 years, and that in no way would affect the economy of this country. We have 140,000,000 people here, and I know that last month, for the first time in our history, 60,000,000 of those people were employed. I can well remember, and I know each of you can, when that was thought of as a fantastic dream, but it is an actuality now.

And I think the fact that two presidents of the large labor unions of this country came here in support of this bill is evidence of the fact that they have no doubts with reference to whether it will cause any laborer to lose his job in their respective membership.

I think that all I need to do this morning is simply say that you have had those before you who have lived close to this problem, like General Hildring and some of the others who have been close to it since the inception, and have come here and told you of the seriousness of the problem.

We speak much today of our way of life, the fact that there are those in other parts of the world who do not think too much of our way of life, but I believe that when we sit here and permit these people who are now in these camps in Germany, and particularly those who are under our own supervision, realize that this country to which they have looked forward to for so many years, and particularly since during the war all of these people have stood for the things that we have been fighting for who have been persecuted so severely, when we permit those people to think that we have not taken any steps to try to help them, to try to alleviate their suffering, to try to help them meet some of the hardships that they have gone through in the last 3 years, is not only encouraging the ideology that we in America do not believe in and which we think would be destructive to our own way of life but it will inevitably lead to it and develop the forces in Europe that are opposed to our way of thinking.

This is necessary to develop the vital economy in Europe, and I believe that we should promptly enact this measure so that these people would have some ray of hope, and for democracy to work there must be hope, in order that these people who are prostrate, who are hungry, people who have no ray of hope shining through the window unless they wish to turn to other ideologies from those that we believe and adhere to and which have been passed down to us by our forefathers.

If there are any questions that you would like to ask I will be glad to answer them insofar as I can. I have to attend a Cabinet meeting this morning at 10 o'clock, but I would like to answer any questions that you may have, and if there are any questions which I cannot answer this morning I will be happy to do that by letter or otherwise.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Attorney General, you understand there are several hundreds of these camps.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. If this bill becomes the law it will be administered under your supervision.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. No; the State Department will have a hand.

Mr. FELLOWS. Well, I suppose the legal end of it, the interpretation of the bill will be under your department.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. What could be done would be a matter for your department.

Mr. CLARK. Definitely; immigration, of course, comes under this department.

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes..

Mr. FELLOWS. Let me ask you this question: Under this bill, which of course you are familiar with, 400,000 of these most unfortunate people will be permitted to come to this country at the rate of 100,000 a year; if the bill is enacted.

Let us assume that 600,000 of the number of displaced persons in these camps would qualify under the standards setup in this bill, have

you given any thought to what rules of election or rules of selection you would adopt in picking out the 400,000 out of the 600,000?

Mr. CLARK. Well, no; I have not. I think there are several rules, or yardsticks you might go by. You might go by the rule of their ethnic origin, that is, take the total number of persons who are going to be admitted and then take the number of displaced persons by origin and let them in in that way.

Or, you might base it on orphans, since the President was very anxious in his directive to take care of as many orphans as possible, and quite a large percentage were taken in—a small number have been admitted.

Mr. FELLOWS. Relative to that same question, let us assume that 300,000 only of the 400,000 which this bill calls for could qualify under the standards setup in the bill, have you given any thought to how you would chose the fourth hundred thousand?

Mr. CLARK. I would say, if I had to do that, I would take those who had connections in the United States, family ties.

Mr. FELLOWS. I am assuming that only 300,000 answer the standards set up in the bill, which if approved, would be the standards as prescribed in section 3 as to priority. And, assume you have left a 100,000 more to chose or select in order to make up the 400,000 called for, how would you chose the fourth 100,000?

Mr. CLARK. You would have to set up some additional standards; you would have to have some additional standards, I suppose, to do that.

Mr. FELLOWS. You would have in that case.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. As you would in the case of 600,000 qualifying; then you have got to select 400,000 out of the qualified 600,000.

Mr. CLARK. My thought would be to base it on those who become better citizens here, and those who are able to fit into our economy better, possibly, or by trying some other way if you want to look into it from the economic standpoint.

Mr. FELLOWS. Assuming that is the situation, should there be some provision in the law to that effect rather than to have it left to the administrative officer?

Mr. CLARK. Of course, that is something I think that should be worked out.

Mr. FELLOWS. It could be worked out, but would not be put into the bill itself? You mean work it out how?

Mr. CLARK. There could be some yardstick set up.

Mr. FELLOWS. Obviously that is a troublesome question, is it not?

Mr. CLARK. Definitely. I think that possibly the Congress should set up some yardstick, because otherwise in picking out the fourth hundred thousand, for instance, of the 400,000, you would have to have some selective basis.

Mr. FELLOWS. Otherwise you would have to choose the persons as they come.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. So the bill is not adequate so far as that situation is concerned, either in the case of where more qualify than the 400,000, or in the case of having less qualify than the 400,000.

Mr. CLARK. I think if the Congress wishes to set up some standard of selectivity, it should amend the bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. Do you not think that should be done by the Congress rather than by the administrative officer?

Mr. CLARK. Well, I do not know; it depends upon who is going to administer it; and, of course, the time element is involved right at this particular time——

Mr. FELLOWS. Of course, this bill runs for 4 years anyway if it is adopted today, and it is going to take 3 years at 100,000 to take care of 300,000, so it will run for 3 years anyway.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FELLOWS. So with regard to this bill it takes care of the time element.

Mr. CLARK. So far as I am concerned, I would be happy to have any yardsticks that the Congress wishes to set out; it would be helpful to me because I would be glad to carry out the intent of the Congress.

Mr. FELLOWS. We have great respect for your ability, and I was anxious to get your thought as to whether you thought the provisions of this bill were adequate as it is drawn insofar as the administration is concerned, and as I understand you think that is something that should be a matter of statute rather than a matter of judgment for some administrative officer.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, do you not think——

Mr. FELLOWS. Please let me finish. You have taken four times as much time in asking questions as anyone else, and I am asking the Attorney General as to the views of his Department, his opinion, of whether he thinks the bill is adequate.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I did not try to put words in the witness' mouth.

Mr. FELLOWS. You have taken more time during the 7 weeks——

Mr. CELLER. The record will speak for itself. I resent that statement.

Mr. CLARK. I think that would be a matter of legislative policy for the Congress to decide, if it wishes to set up standards; the bill does not.

Mr. FELLOWS. Under this bill where is the screening to be done?

Mr. CLARK. The screening would be done before the visas were issued.

Mr. FELLOWS. Is there any provision for visas in the bills?

Mr. CLARK. That would come—I suppose you would have to have that, as I understand the bill would permit the 400,000 to enter under the regular immigration laws in effect. It just increases the quotas by 100,000 for 4 years.

Mr. GOSSETT. It has nothing to do with the quotas.

Mr. FELLOWS. It simply provides for the additional.

Mr. CLARK. For the additional admissions. But the only difference between the persons coming under this law—they would have to meet the same standards which the present law applies.

Mr. FELLOWS. That is the statement of the act itself.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, those standards which have been applied all through the years are to your and my mind adequate.

Mr. CLARK. They have proved to be adequate, I believe. In fact, they are much more restrictive, I believe, than Congress intended way back when we set up quotas of 150,000 and I believe it has run less than 60,000.

Mr. CELLER. Do you not think those standards provide sufficient screening?

Mr. CLARK. Well, certainly I think they have in the past; yes.

Mr. CELLER. And there is no reason to assume they would not in the future?

Mr. CLARK. Of course the definition of displaced persons under this bill sets up additional standards that are not under the regular law.

Mr. CELLER. Those standards, for example, are that the person must be physically fit, No. 1; that they must be mentally fit; and that would mean that no imbecile, nobody who is insane, could come in. Thirdly, nor could someone with a communicable disease come in.

In addition to that they cannot be Communist, Nihilist, nor Nazi. Is that correct?

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. CELLER. Do you not think that would provide sufficient standards as administered by the Department of State and the immigration authorities?

Mr. CLARK. Well, there would be, of course, as the chairman has pointed out, this question where you had 600,000 qualified and you were only going to let in 400,000, and if the Congress should think we should let them in according to craft, according to education, or according to other standards, then the bill would not be sufficiently clear. Of course, that would be set up by the administrator, I suppose; it would be a matter for the State Department.

Mr. CELLER. Well, I would be perfectly willing to set up any kind of fair standards the chairman wants if the chairman would vote for the bill.

Mr. FELLOWS. Mr. Gossett.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Attorney General, if you have to attend a Cabinet meeting we have got to make this snappy.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. As I understand your testimony you are not in favor of lowering the screening technique in your Department.

Mr. CLARK. I would be a little bit more severe, I think. In other words, as I understand it, the Army has screened these people to a certain extent because they have, of course, had them in these camps.

Mr. GOSSETT. Well, I am not sure about that. The point I am making is that you are not in favor of letting down the bars, the immigration bars.

Mr. CLARK. No; I am not.

Mr. GOSSETT. And you feel that if we are going to take in any number, a thousand, 300,000, or 400,000, that they still should be subject to the normal standards of immigration; is that right?

Mr. CLARK. With the exception of the quota; yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. I understand that.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. In fact we are going to increase the quotas by 400,000, but the 400,000 ought to meet the normal immigration requirements.

Mr. CLARK. I think they should.

Mr. GOSSETT. You are not in favor of letting anybody in who wants to come in.

Mr. CLARK. No; I am in favor of letting in the 400,000, 100,000 a year, under standards set out in the bill.

Mr. GOSSETT. And you still believe in the race origin authority of the immigration—basic immigration act?

Mr. CLARK. Yes. I think we have an emergency here, that we could possibly make some exception.

Mr. GOSSETT. Make some exception?

Mr. CLARK. Make adjustment for that.

Mr. GOSSETT. Would you have any objection, if the Congress should eventually enact a law, requiring that so many of the displaced persons as come in be charged to the future quotas? In other words, if we are to permit an abnormal immigration at this time, let us take in the 400,000, for instance, now, and take that 400,000 off the quota; that is, take in 400,000 less people in the next decade, for example.

Mr. CLARK. You would have them segregated if possible?

Mr. GOSSETT. In some instances perhaps it could not be done, but I do not think there is any question but what a great many of these people could never come in under some quotas.

Mr. CLARK. For some countries the quotas are small.

Mr. GOSSETT. What I am trying to get at is this: Is not to increase the eventual number of persons who would come in; that is, if we let in an abnormal number this year charge that against the quotas.

Mr. CLARK. If that did not have the effect of cutting off all the immigration I would see no objection, but I do not think—

Mr. CELLER (interposing). What was the answer?

Mr. CLARK. I do not think it ought to have the effect of cutting off all immigration because we have let in this 400,000.

Mr. GOSSETT. Mr. Clark, there is no way in the world to answer this question, because nobody can answer it—

Mr. CELLER. They why ask it?

Mr. GOSSETT. I am asking it to get your judgment, because there is no way to get the number who come in illegally; it is impossible to keep them from slipping across the borders. In other words, we get 200,000 to 300,000 people a year, many from South American countries who do not come in under the quotas; they do not all come in permanently; many of them come in on temporary permits and stay here; others step across the border. Would you not think that there are between 200,000 and 300,000 a year in total immigration?

Mr. CLARK. Well I would say first, in the last 10 years, that the quota and nonquota immigrants have been between 54,000 and 55,000 a year. This year I think, for 1946, it has been running about, I am told, 108,000; that is, quota and nonquota.

So far as illegal entries are concerned, except across the Mexican border, a lot of them come over one week and go back the next.

Mr. GOSSETT. They come and go.

Mr. CLARK. There are about 15,000 a month coming in, but again there are about 15,000 going out; but if you eliminate them, the immigration officials tell me that at the outside it would not be more than 2,000 a year of illegal entries into the United States.

Then there are those who come in under temporary permits—

Mr. GOSSETT. You mean 2,000 a month?

Mr. CLARK. No; a year. I know there have been statements in some newspapers to the effect that I have set that figure on a weekly basis, some on a monthly basis, but I want to correct it here and now and

say it is "a year," and I will say that while the Commissioner is here with some of his assistants. And that is something they have given me.

Then, of course, there are those who come into the United States on temporary visitors' permits, we will say, for 60 days and who apply for extensions, or they do not apply for extensions, or they may be here for temporary periods, but we have got our system so we know any who are to stay here for any time.

Mr. GOSSETT. I think you have covered that phase pretty well.

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. GOSSETT. I want to ask you this question: Do you not think that whatever is done should be done for the best interest of this country.

Mr. CLARK. Definitely.

Mr. GOSSETT. You would not permit just anybody to come here, anyone who would be a potential threat to our internal security in any way.

Mr. CLARK. Oh, no.

Mr. GOSSETT. Let me ask you a hypothetical question. Here is an article in the Reader's Digest, written by Thomas M. Johnson, entitled "The Red Spy Net."

This is too long to read, but it mentions two very prominent Jews, Rakosi and Gero. It states: "Both Rakosi and Gero were once members of the Comintern and took refuge for years in Moscow," and it says that both are now members of the official Hungarian Government.

And we had testimony the other day that a number of the members of the Polish Government are Jews.

Mr. CELLER. That was not the testimony. I asked you to prove that and you could not prove it.

Mr. GOSSETT. You said at least two were.

Mr. CELLER. At least two.

Mr. GOSSETT. Well, we will say at least two. And the testimony was to the effect that a number of these persons in the displaced camps, at least 100,000, admittedly are Russian Jews who have come out of Hungary, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and Russian-dominated countries.

Now I am wondering if at least a substantial part of those persons are Communists, who have been purposely permitted to come out of Russia and enter DP camps for the purpose of infiltrating this country?

Mr. CLARK. I understand the opposite to be true. I am not personally familiar with it, but those who have been in Europe tell me that the Russians have demanded that some of these people be permitted to leave the camps rather than sending them in.

Of course, the standards, I assume, as I would assume that Congress intended, now imposed by the immigration laws are going to be enforced and the law is going to be carried out. You have these standards which give us protection against that now.

Mr. GOSSETT. What standards, what protection?

Mr. CLARK. On communism you would have a double standard, because under the present law that has been covered definitely.

Mr. GOSSETT. Your folks in your Department cannot know whether a person coming from Europe is not a Communist.

Mr. CLARK. Oh, I think we can. I have kept my eye on that myself.

Mr. GOSSETT. As long as you could do it, but you cannot do this individually.

Mr. CLARK. We have some very efficient people in the Bureau that are watching that pretty closely; we would have the Army, the State Department, and the Justice Department.

Mr. GOSSETT. Under the President's Executive order of December 1945, the Department cannot screen them; the State Department has practically waived screening; and if you required a man to produce a birth certificate to prove what country he came from, particularly the persons in the DP camps, it would be impossible, because these people cannot produce the records; they just take the best evidence, so they will take a man's affidavit as to where he was born; they will take an affidavit that he has no police record, so the screening is superficial. Now if there is going to be no better job of screening under this bill than under the Executive order there is no way to keep out someone who wants to come in here as a Communist.

Mr. CLARK. Of course the fact that a person does not have a birth certificate does not mean he is a Communist. That method is used under the law you just outlined. You have a practical situation confronting you.

Mr. GOSSETT. A lot of them are Russian Jews. Of course, I want to help persecuted people, and most of the persecuted people have been Jews, except those that are permitted by Russia to come into our DP camps.

Mr. CELLER. That was not the testimony.

Mr. GOSSETT. Rabbi Bernstein so testified, that a lot of the Russian Jews are Communists.

Mr. CLARK. This bill would not permit them to come in.

Mr. GOSSETT. I understand these would be permitted.

Mr. CLARK. Not as I understand the bill.

Mr. GOSSETT. How can they be segregated?

Mr. CLARK. It does not permit Communists to come into the country.

Mr. GOSSETT. You do not know who is a Communist and who is not a Communist.

Mr. CLARK. Well that is our job to find out.

Mr. GOSSETT. You have not been able to find out.

Mr. CLARK. Do you have the name of anyone who is a Communist?

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes; I have.

Mr. CLARK. Will you give me his name?

Mr. GOSSETT. I have been trying to get action on one Gustavo Duran and have not gotten anywhere. He was fired from the Department of State and became a liaison officer with the refugee organization of the United Nations.

Mr. CLARK. Do you have any evidence he is a Communist?

Mr. GOSSETT. Your files show it.

Mr. CLARK. Did you see it?

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes, I saw it.

Mr. CLARK. Who showed them to you?

Mr. GOSSETT. That is all right. I will tell you, off the record, if you want to know.

Mr. CLARK. I would like to know who is giving out information from my files.

Mr. CELLAR. Mr. Attorney General, with reference to the so-called——

Mr. GOSSETT (interposing). You cannot keep out the Communists because you do not have the means to examine them to know who is in the camps.

Mr. CLARK. That would be our job.

Mr. GOSSETT. Let me ask you this question: Do you not think it is only reasonable to conclude that in the composition of these camps there is bound to be a lot of Communists in the camps?

Mr. CLARK. I have not talked to the people; I went through some of the camps, but, as I understand, they have been the ones that have reported any activity of that kind to the officers of the Army; those people have brought to the attention of the Army officials, the people in charge of the camps, such information, so I would say that for the most part, from the information I have here, that they would not be the type of people who report Communists when they are found in the camps.

Mr. GOSSETT. Well at least 100,000 of them came to the camps, out of either Russia, or Russian-controlled countries, like Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. CLARK. Maybe they left because they did not like the political set-up.

Mr. GOSSETT. Do the Russians just let people out?

Mr. CLARK. They were not under Russian direction.

Mr. GOSSETT. Yes; many of them were.

Mr. CLARK. Not the people who are in the camps.

Mr. GOSSETT. One hundred thousand of them came into the camps after the shooting stopped, from Russia and Russian-controlled countries.

Here is an article from a New York newspaper——

Mr. CELLER. What is the name of that book?

Mr. GOSSETT. I am going to quote from an article.

Mr. CELLER. But what is the book itself? Do you have the name of the author, or can you tell me what book that is in?

Mr. GOSSETT. "Operation Immigration." I think the gentleman knows the name of it.

Mr. CELLER. I would like to have it, because I challenge the statements in that book, as being replete and false, misrepresenting, and vicious reporting. Any quotations from it are valueless and misleading.

Mr. GOSSETT. This is from a New York paper, which carried a wireless dispatch from Frankfurt am Main, Germany, under date of January 26, 1947, and stated:

Army headquarters, meanwhile, is warily watching the actions of approximately 40,000 Polish Jews now temporarily located along the Polish-Czech frontier. While this group probably will not migrate in the severe winter months, it is known here that the Russian, Polish, and Czech Governments facilitate the movement of Polish Jews from east to west. This strategy is based on the belief that the more of the Jews who become the responsibility of the western powers the more embarrassed the western powers will become, in view of the tense Palestine situation.

Mr. CLARK. I do not know of any policy of that type, but I would say, for the most part, that anybody who leaves their place of residence would have some reason for leaving, whether they are economic reasons or not——

Mr. GOSSETT. Maybe the reason is they want to infiltrate this country.

Mr. CLARK. Or persecution, and I do not believe that any government would be able to place 100,000 of that type in the camps and have that many thousands of people come into the camps since the war has been over.

Mr. GOSSETT. At least 100,000 have come out of Russia or occupied territories since the shooting stopped. Suppose there are 1,000 Communists in the camps, you would not want that 1,000 over here.

Mr. CLARK. The bill provides that a Communist cannot come in; they would be screened out.

Mr. GOSSETT. They have been coming in; you have not been screening them; they have been coming in lately under the President's Executive order.

Mr. CLARK. Oh, yes we have.

Mr. GOSSETT. I would like to see the record of them.

Mr. CLARK. Only about 19,000 have come in under the Executive order, and out of that number about 5,000, I believe, have been orphans—children.

Mr. GOSSETT. You have not brought in orphans to that extent.

Mr. CLARK. Children.

Mr. GOSSETT. Well, you mentioned orphans.

Mr. CLARK. Yes, we have brought in about 800.

Mr. GOSSETT. Orphans?

Mr. CLARK. Yes, about 800.

Mr. GOSSETT. Eight hundred, but that is a lot of difference between that and 5,000.

Mr. CLARK. Five thousand children.

Mr. GOSSETT. But not orphans. We had testimony before the committee that they—the State Department—were not able to find 600 orphans.

Mr. CLARK. Of course, most of them have been killed.

Mr. GOSSETT. Well you cannot do anything about them.

Mr. CLARK. We can bring over all we can, those that will meet the standards.

Mr. GOSSETT. That you have been talking about.

Mr. CLARK. Can you think of a better system?

Mr. GOSSETT. That is just a humanitarian smoke screen for this bill.

Mr. CLARK. I do not believe so.

Mr. GOSSETT. I am willing to bring in the orphans, but I do not want us to bring in a lot of Communists.

Mr. CLARK. There is no smoke screen; certainly we think as you do concerning those who do not believe in our form of government.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Attorney General, I want to read to you what J. Edgar Hoover said about aliens in this country during the war. He said:

The experience the FBI had in dealing with espionage and sabotage convinced me that the great mass of aliens are loyal to America and devoted to the principles of democracy.

And in April of this year Mr. Hoover made this statement:

I feel now as I did during the war that a vast majority of the aliens remained true to the land of their adoption.

Would you not take this to be true, that there would have been more danger of infiltration of that type of people that has been referred to by the gentleman from Texas during the war than there would be during time of peace?

Mr. CLARK. Possibly that would be.

Mr. CELLER. And I must challenge the statement of my good friends from Texas who always places in juxtaposition the obnoxious use of communism with the use of the word Jews.

Mr. GOSSETT. No, I do not.

Mr. CELLER. The gentleman does without question and has been all through the hearings, giving the impression that the Jews are as a rule Communists and nothing else, and I challenge that statement.

Mr. GOSSETT. Most Jews are not Communists, but I had reference to the Polish Jews, those that came out of Russia. I know most Jews are democrats.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Attorney General, you want to look upon this question, not from the religious standpoint but from the truly American standpoint. Is that correct?

Mr. CLARK. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION. I do not think any member of the committee would want it otherwise.

Mr. CELLER. No, but the statement was made in response to some inquiry. I just want to offer this inquiry: If General Hildring of the State Department and his very efficient aid, Colonel Sage, stated, that as to everyone located in these camps they have a complete dossier would you say that evidenced a fair degree of screening?

Mr. CLARK. I understand they have had very detailed screening. I would say this, that if, as Mr. Gossett said, there is going to be some Communists, I should set out in the bill some provision where that would be insured against. The bill certainly now does not intend for any Communists to come in. I would say if there is any smoke screen, as he has indicated, there was some with reference to the children and the orphans, I think the biggest smoke screen has been this Communist flare.

I think we all agree that no Communist can come in under the bill. And if we cannot screen them effectively as outlined under this bill, why perhaps you should set up a more definite standard for a tighter investigation.

I believe that out of the millions—I think there are a million displaced persons in all of these camps in and out of our zone—certainly we can find 100,000 a year for the next 4 years who would not offer any danger at all, or subject our country to any danger.

Mr. GOSSETT. I dare say, Mr. Attorney General, if they were brought in under the normal immigration standards you would not find 100,000 who could qualify in all of the displaced person camps.

Mr. CLARK. Well, the people who have lived there for 2 years would not agree with that.

Mr. GOSSETT. And do you not agree with me that the persons who have the qualifications necessary to enter would be far more useful to the devastated countries in Europe if they have got the skill and the ability that would be useful here it would be far more useful there?

Mr. CLARK. They may have the ability but they are not able to use it in those countries.

Mr. GOSSETT. Why should they not be able to use it?

Mr. CLARK. Because they have been run out of their country.

Mr. GOSSETT. We fought a war to stop persecution, and certainly you are not going to let persons in just because they claim they are persecuted?

Mr. CLARK. Well, the whole theory of the bill is to try to take care of the unfortunate people who have suffered persecution.

Mr. GOSSETT. Would you let everybody in who has been persecuted or because he did not like the government he lives under?

Mr. CLARK. As this bill is now drawn, under the standards set out, I would in the event they can qualify——

Mr. GOSSETT. You would let in a 100,000,000?

Mr. CLARK (continuing). Up to the number provided in the bill.

Mr. CELLER. He said up to the number provided.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity of being here.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you, Mr. Clark.

STATEMENT OF GOLDTHWAITE H. DORR, CONSULTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. DORR. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I might just make a short statement to correct a misapprehension.

Mr. FELLOWS. Will you give your name to the reporter?

Mr. DORR. Goldthwaite H. Dorr, consultant to the Secretary of State.

This is a very simple thing, and a very natural misapprehension. Rabbi Bernstein testified that a great many of the persecutees are almost entirely Polish Jews.

Now during the war some of those Polish Jews were carried or brought into Russia then came back into Poland, and experienced further persecution in Poland. Later they fled into our zone.

That is the point I wanted to make clear.

Mr. FELLOWS. Thank you very much.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like permission to insert in the record a statement giving the list of countries offering to take displaced persons.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection it will be made a part of the record. (The statement referred to follows:)

COUNTRIES OFFERING TO TAKE DISPLACED PERSONS

As far as is known at Lake Success by the United Nations, they think they can count on these figures, as of May 21, 1947:

England: Prepared to try to take 15,000 displaced persons a month—up to 100,000. (Would be comparable to 300,000 to the United States of America.)

France: No offer because displaced persons have been and are constantly walking in over the frontier—these are not sent back. Equivalent to? We don't know; probably a fairly sizeable number. Is hoping to settle some in Morocco and Algiers.

Belgium: Taking 10,000; hoping to take 20,000.

United States: Depends on Congress.

Brazil: Five thousand (no baptismal certificate required as pro-Zionists state, but would prefer Catholics).

Venezuela: Fifteen thousand selected displaced persons—Italians probably preference for farmers.

Argentina: Busy in Italy; will also take Croats and Slovenes up to 5,000.

Canada : Immigration laws changed ; trying to find lumber men in Germany up to 3,000 or 4,000.

Australia : No further offer ; has issued 5,000 visas of entry in Shanghai to German and Austrian Jews ; 2,500 have already entered Australia.

Chile : Two thousand displaced persons.

Mr. FELLOWS. Without objection I wish to place in the record a statement by Mr. Earl G. Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee for Displaced Persons; a statement by Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; and a petition forwarded to our chairman by Mr. Augustine B. Kelley of Pennsylvania.

(The statements referred to are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF EARL G. HARRISON, CHAIRMAN, CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS, ON H. R. 2910 BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, JULY 1947

Mr. Chairman, I am dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, chairman of the National Committee on Immigration Policy, and a director of the Common Council for American Unity. I was formerly Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Director of Alien Registration, and American representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. In 1945 I inspected the displaced persons camps of Europe at the special request of the President. I am appearing here this morning in my capacity as chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons and I wish to place in the record the following statements in support of H. R. 2910:

Dr. Frank Aydelotte, representing the American Friends Service Committee.
Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, former president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs. Harper Sibley, president of the United Council of Church Women.

Prof. Carter Goodrich, executive officer of the Department of Economics at Columbia University.

The National Council of Catholic Women.

The National Council of Jewish Women.

League of Women Voters.

The Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (United States section).

I also ask leave to submit resolutions of the International Board of the YMCA, the National Council of Veteran Organizations, the American Federation of International Institutes, Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, the Detroit Bar Association, the Southern Baptist Convention, and more than 80 other organizations, all of which urge the prompt passage of the Stratton bill.

Mr. Chairman, last year a small band of seafaring Estonians braved a 6,000-mile sea voyage in battered little fishing boats and sailed into Biscayne Bay at Miami. The people of this country flinched in shame from turning these hardy refugees away. The few who would have sent the Estonians back were smothered by the cumulative weight of public opinion asking that asylum be granted them. A Dallas businessman offered the Estonians 500 acres of land. They have room down in Texas and they are—or at least they were—willing to share it. The Society of Mayflower Descendants in Pennsylvania by resolution greeted these refugees as worthy Pilgrim successors. No cry was raised that the Estonians were less desirable than earlier immigrants. Few were found to echo Mr. Dooley's sentiment: "As a pilgrim father that missed th' first boats, I must raise me claryon voice again' th' invasion iv this fair land be th' paupers an' arnychists iv effete Europe. Ye bet I must—because I'm here first."

The plight of the displaced persons now waiting for more than 2 years after VE-day, is on our doorstep even as was that of the hardy Estonians. Numerically, the problem is larger but many of the considerations are the same. Six hundred thousand of the displaced persons are on our hands in camps under our super-

vision in Europe. We are spending \$130,000,000 each year for their care and maintenance. The problem facing us is whether to continue the camps indefinitely, turn the DP's over to their oppressors whose ruined economy is already taxed beyond capacity, forcibly repatriate the DP's, or work for their resettlement not only in the United States but elsewhere. Unlike the Estonians, the displaced persons have remained behind in the camps and not attempted to enter the United States in derogation of our immigration laws. They are therefore deserving of even greater consideration.

Mr. Chairman, the problem of the displaced person has received international attention and has moved men of good will throughout the Nation to ask that we take positive steps to help solve it. Organizations and individuals of every character, representing all religions, labor, veterans, women, social, civic, and welfare institutions are solidly behind the Stratton bill. Leaders and outstanding citizens, including many educators, judges of our Federal courts, mayors, governors, presidents of universities and colleges, are all for favorable action on the legislation now pending before this committee. The State of Maine has enacted a bill encouraging resettlement of the displaced within its borders. Similar resolutions are pending before the States of California, Pennsylvania, and Alabama. The Governors of the States of Arizona, New York, Illinois, Wyoming, and Maine, mayors from New Orleans, Baltimore, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Atlantic City, and Passaic, the Attorney General, the Secretaries of Commerce, War, and Labor, and many other prominent citizens from practically every State in the Union, have written letters in support of the Stratton bill. I submit as exhibit I to my statement excerpts from some of the many letters I have received endorsing this bill. I should also like to introduce as exhibit II the full texts of the letters received from governors, mayors, and Cabinet officers. Exhibit III annexed to my statement contains a list of some of the favorable editorials which have appeared since Congressman Stratton's testimony.

In behalf of the Stratton bill you have now heard Congressmen Stratton, Mason, Javits, Jenkins, and others; Justice Owen J. Roberts; Dr. Samuel McCrae Cavert of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Bishop William T. Mulloy, president of the Catholic Rural Life Conference; Assistant Secretary of State John Hildring; Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress; Commissioner Carusi; Rabbi Bernstein; Governor Lehman; Edward McCaffrey of the Catholic War Veterans; and Col. Jerry Sage.

A number of the witnesses, in support of H. R. 2910, visited or had official stations in the displaced persons' camps. They testified from intimate personal knowledge of the people in the camps. All the witnesses who have appeared in support of this bill have attempted to maintain the highest level of factual accuracy. They are individuals of known and proven integrity who have given objective and factual statements.

It is not my purpose to disparage the character or the sincerity of the opposition—those who are against this bill whether they have made personal appearances here or whether they have voiced their disapproval of this bill in some other form. I would like, however, to make these observations. Not one of the opposition witnesses has testified from personal contact with the camps or with the displaced. Yet they have come into these hearings and upon the basis of surmise, speculation, and fanciful innuendoes they have attempted to characterize the DP's as an assorted group of revolutionaries, Communists, crackpots, bums, criminals, wealthy black-marketeers, and indolent paupers. If at any time since VE-day they heard or read some place or somewhere that a single DP was engaged in any nefarious activity or anything out of line with accepted standards, then in their minds and in their thinking they feel justified in labeling all DP's undesirables. They presented no statistics, no reliable or trustworthy reports, no oral testimony to buttress their conclusions, but hoped by dint of constant repetition to transform their vague and general claims into factual data.

The illegal entry charge is typical of the type of opposition arguments advanced against this bill. Practically every opponent of H. R. 2910 has spoken of the large influx of illegal entries. Not one has had the fairness to inform the public or this committee that it was not refugees or displaced persons who were entering the country illegally in any sizable number, but Mexicans coming across the Mexican border. They left the impression that refugees were the guilty ones. And not content with this erroneous innuendo, they produced statistics which increased in geometric progressions. The 3,000,000 aliens now in the United States according to present alien registration statistics—our total alien population—

become in the mouths of the opposition, the number of aliens illegally in the United States. That figure appears to be just about 1,000 percent too high.

It has been asserted that from 600,000 to 1,000,000 refugees were admitted to the United States since the war. Yet, only about 200,000 quota visas have been issued since 1939 and many were not distributed to refugees. The assertion appears to be another opposition exaggeration.

At times it has been claimed that 154,000 quota immigrants enter the United States annually, at other times I've heard it said that there are 300,000 quota and nonquota who enter each year—both figures, as usual, thousands too high. And it is noteworthy that those who are most vocal about the aliens entering the United States never once mentioned the thousands who leave our shores each year.

Allegations about those entering the country illegally have been just about unbelievable. If we have been absorbing all the illegal entrants that people in the camp of the opposition have talked about then there is no doubt that another 400,000 taken in legally will be lost amidst the great roving swarm crossing our borders. Actually there are about 75,000 Mexicans who seek entry across the Mexican border in violation of law each year. All of this is irrelevant to the present problem. Nevertheless the actual figures which relate almost exclusively to Mexicans failed to satisfy some of the critics. They started off by alleging that 700,000 aliens enter illegally each year. After playing that figure for all that it was worth, headlines were made by charging that 1,500,000 aliens entered illegally each year. And then one of our opponents decided to outbid all the others. He achieved a figure of 2,000,000. This charge, like many other charges, has been made without investigation, without checking into the facts, and without consultation with the administrative officials who have first-hand knowledge of the facts. As Commissioner Carusi stated before this committee, those responsible for these false charges are about 800 percent too high. Well, let's examine further.

About 80 percent of the DP's were displaced on VE-day; 20 percent came into the camps after that date. The opposition first assumes that those who came into the camps after VE-day are not bona fide refugees, and then blandly reverses the figures to create an impression of practically no displaced persons at all on VE-day.

In the early days of this session it was a favorite pastime to charge that all the DP's were Communists, and almost in the same breath one would hear that the displaced-person problem was exclusively a Jewish problem. The Communist charge has no rational basis. It has been plainly disproven by General Hilldring, by Colonel Sage, and by every responsible person in a position to know the facts. The attempt to make a Jewish issue out of this problem is irresponsible. The Jewish displaced persons are distinctly in the minority. The problem is one that should be solved in a spirit of justice and fairness without regard to race, religion, and creed, and I am happy to report that the overwhelming sentiment in this country views this matter in such light—in the true American way.

It has also been said that the Stratton bill would break down the quota system. A representative of the Regular Veterans Association, whose statement was filed on June 6 with this committee, went so far as to charge that the subversive forces in America are bent on destroying our immigration laws, and stated that an example was the successful repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. As I understand the charge, it amounts to just this: That Mr. Gossett was taken in by these subversives because it was he who led the fight for repeal. Now I want you to know that I sincerely applaud the fine work of Mr. Gossett in connection with the passage of the act of December 17, 1943, and I join in the high praise given him by the State Department. Nor do I condone the loose statements, expressed by the Regular Veterans—but that is the type of statements we have been getting every step of the way in connection with the enactment of DP legislation.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is my feeling that distortions, exaggerations and falsifications like these are inexcusable. I can understand, but cannot condone, irresponsible statements, or distortions, or disingenuous implications made in self-interest. I cannot understand them when their only purpose is to slander and abuse helpless victims who are in no position to defend themselves, where their only effect will be to condemn to hopelessness and despair nearly a million fellow human beings whose danger results from their opposition to totalitarianism.

Our opponents say that the quota laws should remain inviolate and in the next breath they say we ought to suspend those quota laws and bar everyone for 5 to 10 years.

H. R. 2910 is a temporary emergency measure which will not be in derogation of our regular immigration laws. No permanent changes are being advocated. The problem of the DP once solved will not have to be solved again. The displaced will be subjected to normal immigration procedures and will have to meet the high moral, mental, physical, financial, educational, and political tests of our laws. If there are any DP's, and the testimony of responsible officials indicates that they are a small minority, who are undesirable in any way, appropriate screening abroad and then the double check at our ports of entry will keep them out. As you know, the issuance of a visa is not a guaranty of admission to the United States. An alien is reexamined when he arrives here and if he is an undesirable he may be excluded. And if occasionally an undesirable slips by these procedures, he may still be deported after entry. Thus, our procedures maintain triple safeguards against undesirables.

Mr. Chairman, there can be no doubt that the problem of displaced persons should be analyzed with one central thought in mind: What is best for the United States. There are 11 points to consider, and they all add up, in my judgment, to enactment of H. R. 2910.

POINT 1. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND PEACE

In the United Nations debates and promulgations of the IRO constitution, we took a leading role in objecting to forcible repatriation of refugees to countries where they would suffer political or racial persecution. Our policy against forcible repatriation has minimized persecution of those who have repatriated. One would not expect the Communists to oppress those who by their voluntary return evidenced no opposition to communism. Nevertheless, we know of persecution after repatriation in Poland and the United States has but recently protested the persecutions taking place in Hungary. We certainly cannot shut our eyes to what would happen to freedom-loving people forcibly returned behind the iron curtain, especially now that they have by resisting repatriation put on record their dislike of the Communist-dominated governments of eastern Europe.

The unsettled mass of displaced persons in Europe constitute a serious delaying factor in the restoration of peace and order in Europe. It is a problem crying for action. If we are going to cooperate with other nations, if we are going to do our share to keep the peace of the world, we must take affirmative steps to help settle the problem of the war refugee.

Assistant Secretary of State John Hildring indicated to you how embarrassed he was in dealing with other countries on resettlement problems. Our State Department is convinced that other countries will cooperate if we do. We cannot talk international cooperation and in practice reject it. Other countries have plans for the resettlement of 385,000 displaced persons as indicated in the statement of Dr. Frank Aydelotte. The United Kingdom will take 100,000; Belgium, 20,000; France, 150,000; Holland, 8,000; Canada, 4,500; Australia, 12,000; French North Africa, 40,000; Brazil, 5,000; Venezuela, 15,000; Peru, 15,000; Chile, 6,000; and Argentina, 10,000. These are the latest figures as of May 1947 furnished by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

I have read about the possibility of resettling 7,000,000 persons in South America, including 700,000 persons in Brazil. This makes fine newspaper copy but the fact remains that these plans are in the talk stage and cover a long-range project of many years. Thus far only about 14,000 have been admitted to other countries. They are holding back awaiting our action. This holding back is more than just a matter of "You first, Gaston." The countries of the world admire our prosperity and seek to achieve it. Thus, they ape our present action, sometimes ignoring our history. In a word, whether we like it or not, America today sets the tone of world opinion, at least on this type of subject. The enactment of this bill is essential to the solution of the DP problem. Failure to take our fair share of the displaced would be an indication to the rest of the United Nations that we reject our international leadership and that we are returning to a policy of narrow isolationism. The resettlement of the displaced is inseparable from our objectives of world cooperation and world peace.

POINT 2. ECONOMIC CONSIDERATION

Throughout our history additions to our population by means of immigration have produced new jobs, new consumers, and new forms of industrial expansion. Immigration brought to the United States the wealth and the talents of every race on the globe. Immigrants have made vital contributions in the industrial development of steel (Andrew Carnegie), iron (David Thomas), aluminum (Con-

rad Worra), bakelite (Leo Baekeland), lumber (Frederick Weyerhaeuser), watch-making (Joseph Bulova), radio (David Sarnoff), and automobiles (William Knudsen). This list is not exhaustive. And equally important, the sweat and brawn of little-known persons of foreign birth helped clear our forests; build our roads, railways, and bridges; mine our coal and metals and erect our homes, industrial plants, and towering buildings.

Immigrants are therefore economic assets when brought to our shores. Today displaced persons will remain economic liabilities as long as we keep them abroad in unproductive confinement. It's just poor financial management for our taxpayers to continue spending \$130,000,000 for their care each year, or \$73,000,000 under IRO, when we can absorb our share of them and put them to productive use.

The unfounded fear experienced by some people that immigrants will take away jobs of Americans is illustrated by the witness who testified before the House Immigration subcommittee in August of 1945. She wanted immigration stopped because immigrants are sure to go on relief and, if they do not, they take jobs that Americans ought to have. "I was wondering how long Einstein was on relief," one of the members of the subcommittee said. According to a Chicago newspaper, her answer was, "Oh, well, he probably received assistance from the refugee organization. Or, if he took a job, it was one someone else could have done." When the astonished Congressman asked who could have done Einstein's job, she replied, "Oh, some mathematician."

It has been said that every DP, every single man, woman, and child in the camps are competitors of veterans for jobs, automobiles, suits of clothes, and hard-to-get items. To worry about jobs and shortages of goods at the same time evidences hysteria. We can use displaced persons to help fill the jobs which supply the goods. We are in a period of prosperity with 59,000,000 people gainfully employed. We all want to preserve that prosperity. There is no proof that continuation of that prosperity will be furthered by fewer people rather than more. To the contrary, there is considerable indication that the worm in our prosperity which may eventually ruin the apple is a lack of people who work with their hands. College graduates, by and large, will not supply that lack. Displaced persons, by and large, will, thus making the better jobs for our college-trained GI. It is a significant fact, too, Mr. Chairman, that we have more people at work today than the total of people at work and unemployed in the thirties.

Professor Carter Goodrich, of Columbia, a well known economist states:

"As an economist, I am glad to be able to assure you that the measure can be adopted without the slightest danger of the economy. The reason for this is obvious. We are a nation of some 60,000,000 jobs. This is a bill which might have the effect of admitting some 60,000 workers a year. Even this is probably an overestimate; out of 100,000 men, women, and children, the number of job seekers would in all probability be less than this. In any case, 60,000 newcomers a year cannot upset an economy of 60,000,000 jobs. Their entrance cannot possibly cause serious unemployment.

"I say this with full consciousness of the importance of taking every care to protect the American workers against mass unemployment. I regard the responsibilities which the Congress has placed upon itself and upon the Executive through the Employment Act of 1946 as among the most important functions of government. But they are not relevant to the present question. The differences between a time of high employment, like the present, and a time of mass unemployment, like the thirties, do not depend on the size of the total population or the total number of persons ready and willing to work. The trouble in the thirties was not that there were too many people in the United States. There are more people now, with high employment. The number of occupied persons is not substantially greater than the total at work plus the total who were looking for work during the great depression.

* * * * *

"Neither theory nor past experience gives any basis for the fear that the entrance into the American economy of the small group of migrants proposed in the bill can offer any threat to the employment or to the living standards of American workers."

As you know the AFL and the CIO support the present bill. You have had an opportunity to hear and question Mr. Green and you will recall that he said on June 13, 1947:

"H. R. 2910 will not have any adverse bearing on the American workmen. More than 50 percent of the displaced are women and children. They will not be

job competitors. The small number admitted each year * * * cannot have any serious effect upon our employment problem. On the contrary, there are agricultural workers, domestics, nurses, doctors, and other skilled and unskilled workers among the displaced, who will fill some of our manpower shortages and who will bring industrial and scientific skills to the United States."

Cross-examination of Mr. Green brought out that our economy would not suffer if 400,000 DP's were all admitted in 1 year instead of spreading their entrance over a 4-year period.

Thus we know that labor organizations, the AFL and the CIO, concerned with the jobs of 13,000,000 American workingmen, are not fearful of the effect of this legislation.

In May of 1945 Commissioner Carusi made the following statement, which I think may well be emphasized:

"* * * no evidence has as yet been produced that the admission each year of 153,000 immigrants, many of whom are not candidates for jobs, would be detrimental to the stability of our labor market. We know from direct observation and experience that each new immigrant is a new consumer, that immigrants frequently create new business and job opportunities, and that immigrants are often needed to perform certain types of labor."

The American Legion asserts a contrary point of view. It claims that every single immigrant, every single displaced person, including housewives and infant orphaned children, are job competitors of veterans and of American citizens generally. The Legion can make the assertion but it cannot prove it statistically or scientifically. Immigrants are generally ineligible to employment in Government jobs, State and National, and in many of the professions and other occupations. On the other hand, the veteran is generally entitled to a preference. Is this what the Legion means by job competition? I know something about the veterans; many of them are enrolled in my classes at the University of Pennsylvania Law School. I think most of them would be amazed to learn that they are competing with all the immigrants who seek entry to our shores. I also know something about immigrants. I know that during the war refugees established a diamond industry in the United States which employs many Americans. Refugees can and do create jobs.

The so-called Legion point of view is an appeal to our fear complexes. They talk of 1,000,000 veterans drawing unemployment compensation but neglect to mention that many of these veterans are not out of jobs because they can't get work. The Veterans' Administration in announcing the figures for last year stated that while over 1,000,000 drew unemployment compensation only about 80,000 were on their rolls for any sustained period. The so-called Legion viewpoint is not representative of the majority of the American people, of all veterans nor of all its own members. Posts in Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Detroit, and in New York support the Stratton measure. As a matter of fact, the Legion has no direct mandate on H. R. 2910. It has not yet been taken up in national convention.

Mr. Chairman, other veteran organizations—the AVC, the Catholic War Veterans, the Jewish War Veterans, the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, and the National Council of America Veteran Organizations—are behind the Stratton bill.

The economic scare approach of the Legion was recently presented to the annual convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs in New York. At first it prevailed, but upon reconsideration and upon closer, cooler, and clearer analysis the federation rejected it and voted overwhelmingly to back this measure.

We have kept Western Hemisphere natives free of quota restrictions and have always relied on the contract labor and public-charge limitations of our laws to protect our economy. It is quite illogical not to fear economic undermining from Mexicans, Canadians, or South Americans but only from Europeans. One opposition witness expressed grave economic fears about this bill and then went on to urge the admission of the Polish Army in England.

Job opportunities are not rationed out in direct proportion to the number of people in our population. It is a common misconception that only a fixed number of jobs exist in any economy and that any newcomer threatens the jobs of the old resident. Such a theory referred to as the "lump of labor fallacy" has been repeatedly refuted by competent economists.

To quote Norman Bentwich (Population, the Refugees and the British Commonwealth, Nineteenth Century, July 1939):

"An idea is abroad that there is a limited amount of work to be done in the country, and if a stranger is allowed to nibble at the lump there will be less of it

for the natives. All the economists of repute have shown this to be a fallacy."

W. H. Beveridge similarly shows that the popular notion of a rigidly determined limit to job opportunities is erroneous (Unemployment, a Problem of Industry, 1930) :

"The popular conception is of industry as rigidly limited—a sphere of cast iron in which men struggle for living room; in which the greater the room taken by any one man the less must there be for others; in which the greater number of men the worse must be the case of all. The true conception is of a sphere made of elastic material, capable of expansion, and being in fact continually forced to expand by the struggling of those within."

Job opportunities in any society are not fixed at any particular level but expand with a rising population and depend upon the natural resources of the country and the stage of development of the techniques of production. Although in some densely populated countries under a primitive agricultural economy rising population tends to press upon resources and to limit opportunities for each individual, there are few industrialized countries in the world today which are considered overpopulated. The economies of modern industrialized nations are extremely fluid and have a high absorptive capacity for new workers. This is especially true of countries with a relatively sparse population, such as the United States.

For further and more detailed information on this subject, I refer you to Economic Aspects of Immigration—a recent study of the problem which has been made available to members of this committee. I would also like to call your attention to the fact that immigration is self-regulating. During periods of depression it falls off and administrative controls—the denial of entrance to those liable to become public charges—regulate its flow. Our experience has shown that with increasing population growth we have enjoyed increased opportunities for jobs. Our periods of greatest immigration have been our periods of greatest prosperity. There isn't any valid economic argument against H. R. 2910. There are several valid, cogent ones in its favor.

POINT 3. SCIENTIFIC CONSIDERATIONS

Immigrants invented the telephone (Alexander Graham Bell and Emile Berliner), the submarine war vessel (John Phillip Holland), the ironclad steamship (John Ericsson), the electric elevator (David Lindquist), the typewriter (Mathias Schwalback), the linotype machine (Otto Mergenthaler), the motorcycle (Carl Hedstrom), the flashlight (Conrad Huber), the self-starter for automobiles (Victor Bendix), and the glider (Octave Chanute). Immigrants have played important parts in the study or development of engineering (John A. Roebling and John F. O'Rourke), chemistry (Herman Frasch), electricity (Charles Steinmetz and Michael Pupin), light rays (Albert Michelson), medicine (Alexis Carrel), and aviation (Giuseppe Bellanca, Igor Sikorsky, and Alexander de Seversky). Four immigrants—Albert Einstein, Enrico Fermi, George de Kistiakowsky, and Lise Meitner—were key figures in the all-important field of atomic energy. More than 300 American scientists included in the current edition of American Men of Science are European by birth. The splitting of the atom made us more conscious of the value of scientific talent. Recent inventory of our scientific rosters reveals a serious shortage in this field. There are over 3,000 engineers, 7,000 men experienced in metal trades, 2,000 physicians, 1,200 dentists, 4,000 nurses, 900 pharmacists, and other scientific talent among the displaced. Their immigration can help fill our scientific, mechanical, and other wants.

POINT 4. AGRICULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

During the war, and even now thousands of immigrant agricultural workers helped harvest our crops. Without them the produce of many fields would have lain waste. Through the years of our history some of the most successful agricultural regions of the West have had a large quota of foreign-born. Among the displaced persons of Europe are—

Farmers (all types)-----	77, 270
Agronomists-----	5, 440
Lumbermen-----	704
Hunters, fishermen-----	723
Millers-----	1, 191
Other agricultural workers-----	10, 099
Total-----	95, 427

The American Farm Bureau Federation, one of the great organizations which together with the AFL advocated the passage of the 1924 Quota Act, is on record in favor of H. R. 2910. The farmers now realize the value of DP farmer help and our great need for it. The situation in the Middle West is so severe that more and more farmsteads are being vacated. This manpower shortage may be relieved somewhat by the immigration of the displaced, although it is important to remember that 400,000 people cannot noticeably affect our economy one way or the other.

POINT 5. CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

The cultural progress of the United States owes much to the foreign-born. We have been enriched by great figures—in music by those of Arturo Toscanini, Walter Damrosch, and Jascha Heifitz; by composers Oscar Hammerstein and Victor Herbert; the publishers Joseph Pulitzer and Edward Bok; the singers Lily Pons, Lauritz Melchior, and Lotte Lehmann; the producer Ernst Lubitsch; the actors Peter Lorre, Luise Rainer, Maureen O'Hara, and Charles Boyer; the authors Thomas Mann, Erich Remarque, and Franz Werfel; the philosopher Morris Raphael Cohen; the historian Hendrik Van Loon; the jurist Felix Frankfurter; and statesmen like Senators Robertson, of Wyoming, Wagner, of New York, Murray of Montana, and Congressman Mason, of Illinois.

Among the displaced are over 26,000 persons skilled in the arts and professions.

Much brawn has come across the Atlantic in the steerage and with it has come a priceless cargo of talent and brains. It can come again with the admission of the displaced.

POINT 6. HOUSING

When the first settlers came to the United States, there was no shortage of housing—there was just no housing at all. These first settlers had no construction industry, no lumber mills, no cement factories, and no steel or iron works, and yet they found and made homes for themselves and contributed to the building of this country. Today, we are in a much better position to house newcomers than we were at many other times in our history. During the Civil War, when our lands, fields, and homes were being laid waste by internal strife, we nevertheless encouraged immigration. Then as now there were always some who shouted that the times were troubled, that there would be a period of reconstruction, and that it was no time to admit aliens to our shores.

During World War II we were one of the fortunate countries which did not have its homes and buildings destroyed by buzz bombs, by mortar fire, or by fighting armies and navies. Other countries, like France and England which were ravaged by the war and which have housing shortages as great if not greater than ours, are preparing to take in the displaced. Why can't we? There appears to be a housing shortage throughout the world today. If housing is an argument against the admission of DP's to the United States, then it is an argument against their admission anywhere. It is then an argument for their indefinite retention in camps. The housing problem won't be solved by the erection of fences along national borders instead of building homes.

Veterans have housing and home priorities and the immigrant will not interfere or compete with them. As a matter of fact, the 21,000 displaced construction workers now in camps could materially assist the building of homes for veterans. The immediate admission of 100,000 displaced persons could obviously only have an infinitesimal effect, if any, upon our housing shortage. I have personally received assurances from many communities throughout the United States which are willing and able to absorb a share of the displaced persons. Some of them, especially the 77,000 farm hands, will not be bound for the large overcrowded cities, where housing is scarce, but for rural areas. Others will live with relatives in established households. Still more will be directed by interested agencies, such as the Catholic Rural Life Conference and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, to noncompetitive homes in noncongested areas. These agencies and others are deeply and genuinely interested in the welfare of immigrants and the displaced after their arrival in the United States. I have long felt that we should be concerned with the development of the immigrant after entry to the United States, and I know that these organizations have directed and will continue to direct as many of the newcomers as they possibly can to places where housing is not short, where their talents can be best employed, and where they will best serve the interests of the United States.

Now, what do the experts say about immigration and housing? In a letter dated May 23, 1947, to Congressman Stratton, Raymond Foley, National Housing Administrator, stated:

"It is the view of the National Housing Agency that the enactment of H. R. 2910 could have only a relatively small effect on the over-all housing shortage and it has no objection to its enactment."

Housing has not been used as an argument against the admission of Mexicans, Western Hemisphere natives, or tourists. Quite the contrary, immigration of these groups is now being encouraged. Housing is not interfering with the meetings of large groups in convention in our large cities. Housing did not deter us from accepting the capitol of the United Nations; it did not prevent the welcome admission of thousands of GI brides and children. It is no obstacle to accepting our share of the displaced.

POINT 7. POPULATION GROWTH

Our rate of population growth has been slowing up and our population has been growing older. We are told that the United States, with an aging population, "will be faced on both sides of the oceans by youthful vigorous peoples." We are outnumbered by the Russians who have a population of approximately 190,000,000 which is increasing rapidly. England, France, and Belgium are seeking to add vitality and strength to their population by immigration. By planned immigration South American countries seek to add to their population in the years ahead. We can have a planned vigorous population by increasing birth rates or increased immigration. There are 150,000 children under 17 who are displaced in Europe, 70,000 of whom are under 6 years of age. Many of the remaining inmates of the European displaced-person's camps are in the prime of life, between 17 and 45 years, hardy survivors of Hitler labor brigades and Nazi ordeals. Although we now have a temporary increase, we show no signs of substantially increasing our birth rate. Immigration is therefore the only method to revitalize a population which will soon turn downward. Recent estimates by population experts state that we have the capacity for and that we should have a population of from two hundred to three hundred million. Even Lothrop Stoddard, one of the fathers of the Quota Act and an ardent restrictionist, acknowledged that—

"There is room for 190,000,000 to 200,000,000 people in the United States provided we keep our high standard of living."

The latest population figures of the United States Census Bureau forecast a population of 164,000,000 for July 1, 1990, and thereafter it is forecast that our population will decline. Our population has been growing older and it will grow smaller.

A study, entitled "Immigration and Population Policy," is annexed to my statement as exhibit IV.

Immigration gave us strength and nourishment when we were young in the family of nations. It can help up again. It can help give us the strong, vigorous population needed to maintain our leadership among world powers.

POINT 8. STRENGTH FOR OUR DEMOCRACY

A War Department investigation of displaced persons disclosed that the "great majority of them are law abiding and sincerely grateful to the United States." There are undoubtedly some undesirables among immigrants and the displaced. But there are also native Americans in the same category. —We cannot brand all immigrants as undesirable because of the unrepresentative few any more than we stamp all Americans as criminally inclined because we have some native gangsters in our midst. Immigration policy should not be founded on exceptions to the general rule. Legislation to admit the displaced will not waive the provision of law barring the mental or physical defectives, criminals, subversives, those liable to become public charges, or other objectionable classes.

Like the oppressed Pilgrims, today's refugees prize freedom deeply enough to have suffered deeply for it. They resisted and survived all forms of totalitarianism. Americanism, our democratic way of life, was born on European shores among oppressed displaced people and was first brought here on the *Mayflower*. It will be enriched by these worthy Pilgrim successors.

POINT 9. GEOGRAPHICAL CAPACITY

In every decade warnings have been issued that we have no more room for immigrants. It started in 1797 when Congressman Harrison Otis declared:

"When the country was new, it might have been good policy to admit all. But it is so no longer." Canada and Australia have a smaller population density than the United States, but we have a smaller number of persons per square mile of arable land than most other countries of the world. It is closing our eyes to known facts to suggest that this country, large sections of which are sparsely populated and whose development has hardly begun, cannot absorb additional immigrants.

A well-known immigration expert states the facts as follows:

"Immigration has always been a part of the fluidity and opportunity of American life. Without continued immigration there are no frontiers to settle.

"If, as some of our economic theorists tell us, the frontier has gone, it is not because the wilderness has been settled. In Alaska alone more than 500,000 square miles of wilderness, an area as large as all Scandinavia, with similar climate but richer in agricultural and natural resources, beckons in vain. In the States of the Union there are still more than 250,000 miles of open public domain, an area larger than Germany, available for homesteading. The wilderness has not vanished from America, as any watcher out of the train windows knows. If anything has vanished it is the uprooted seeker of a new homeland, accustomed to hardship and willing to face the wilderness and tame it."

POINT 10. ASSIMILATION

Professor Davis of Yale, associated with the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration From Europe, reports that the present-day immigrant readily becomes integrated into our community life.

In a letter dated June 16, 1947, to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Maurice Collins, Acting Administrator of the Federal Security Agency, states:

"Our interest in the displaced persons who might benefit from this bill related to their assimilation into American life, their future social and economic security, and the protection of minor orphan children.

* * * * *

A small number of the displaced persons have been entering the United States under the quota system since May 1946. There is evidence of the fine caliber of most of those who have come.

* * * * *

A decision in favor of H. R. 2910 points toward a constructive solution of a major part of the problem of displaced persons and offers positive economic and social advantages for this country."

The assertion that recent immigrants are not as good as the old ones is not borne out by the facts. Here again all reliable reports and all statistical studies show the exact converse.

Our armed forces were filled with the foreign-born and those of foreign extractions. Over 100,000 aliens were naturalized while fighting in the armed forces and many of them took the oath in the Pacific and on the battlefields of Europe. Of the six servicemen who participated in the historic flag-raising on Mount Suribachi at Iwo Jima, there were Sgt. Henry C. Hanse, of Danish origin; Pfc. Rome A. Gagnon, of French-Canadian origin; and Sgt. Michael Strank, of Carpatho-Russian origin. A fourth member of the group, Pfc. Ira H. Hayes, is a full-blooded Pima Indian from Arizona.

The Springfield Republican complained "we now have a larger element than is safe, and ought to have 20 years to digest and assimilate it." That was in the 1880's and the anti-alien forces have been repeating that battle cry, with some variations, ever since.

The fact is that immigrants have become so well assimilated into our society and have become good citizens so rapidly, we now talk of the "vanishing alien." Our alien population has been reduced from 5,000,000 in 1940 to 3,000,000 in 1947. The assimilation of our foreign-born is well described by the American Federation of International Institutes in their Message to America:

"We are a nation of immigrants and the descendants of immigrants welded into a great democracy by our common faith in freedom and social justice. Let us join in reaffirming what we know to be the truth—that a passionate devotion to this land possesses the millions of our people born under other skies."

POINT 11. HUMANITARIAN AND MORAL CONSIDERATIONS

Every human instinct calls upon us to lead a movement to provide a haven for the displaced. The problem is of such poignancy, says our President, "that it cannot be ignored by people of good will or humanitarian instincts." A war fought to reestablish the rights and dignity of man cannot end with homeless displaced persons on our conscience. And, as Justice Roberts stated before this committee, "We won't be able to hold up our heads if we turn our backs on these people with guts and conscience."

The judgment at Nuremberg meted out their due to the high lords of Nazi criminalities. After 11 months of production of evidence, examination, and cross-examination, and finally of deliberation, facts were found, judgments were reached, and execution of those judgments perfected. A new trail was blazed and precedent was established. The victims of Nazi crimes who survived horror camps, mass deportations, and other crimes against humanity still await the justice which is their due. Two years have passed since VE-day. However slowly the wheels of justice ground for the oppressors, they are even slower to bring justice to the oppressed, to the unfortunates who were displaced. Retributory justice was achieved with the Nuremberg hangings on October 16, 1946. Compensatory justice can only be reached when the displaced persons of Europe have been resettled. Then Nuremberg will be supplemented and made complete. No new trail need be blazed to accord a just verdict for these victims of nazism and communism. Asylum for the oppressed is a part of our great historic tradition.

We have come to realize that our immigration laws play a vital role in international matters and in our foreign relations. After the last war, we regarded immigration as an affair purely domestic. It became a source of international irritation and some sources find in its narrow isolationism, a cause contributing to World War II. We owe it to the brave men and women who gave their lives fighting for international good will and peace not to make the postwar mistakes of World War I.

We cannot have peace for Americans unless we do our best to achieve for all the four essential human freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. The displaced persons of Europe are not free from want. They are in displaced-persons camps, waiting almost 2 years after VE-day for the day when they will be liberated, for the day when they will be able to enjoy the four freedoms. Until they can resume lives of normalcy with an opportunity to earn their own living and enjoy self-sufficiency, the benefits of the third freedom will be denied them. Their lives are also filled with fear—fear that they will be turned over to the Germans, their former oppressors, fear that they will be forced to return to totalitarian governments, Communist-dominated.

Mr. Chairman, the time has come to rededicate the four freedoms and to grant the limited right of asylum offered by the Stratton bill, to conform our immigration policies not to our fears, but to our resources, our hopes, and to our international declarations.

EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT I. ENDORSEMENTS OF H. R. 2910

As an official agency of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, the Commission on Christian Social Action is very much concerned that the United States shall render the maximum service possible toward the relief of suffering and the restoration of the world to conditions which make for understanding and peace. The commission has therefore gone on record as approving the principle that we should admit displaced persons to the extent required that our Nation may do its fair share in meeting this need.—Huber F. Klemme, executive secretary, Commission on Christian Social Action, Cleveland 13, Ohio.

How my heart does go out to these unfortunate people, and anything that I can do rest assured that I will do it to give relief. Certainly I endorse this bill and hope something will come of it.—John Maguire, executive secretary, Florida Baptist Convention, Jacksonville 2, Fla.

I am in general sympathy with any constructive program for doing what we can for the displaced persons of Europe.—Henry H. Hill, president, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

In agreement with your suggestion, after reading these statements I am adding my endorsement to the bill.—W. O. Harless, synod executive, Presbyterian Church, Ames, Iowa.

I am deeply interested in the cause which you represent, and you may use my endorsement in any way that you see fit.—Kenneth G. Neigh, vice president, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

I am very glad to support this bill as a part of our world obligation.—Donald C. Agnew, president, Coker College, Hartsville, S. C.

H. R. 2910 should have the immediate and hearty endorsement of every American citizen. Surely this Nation, called by destiny to world leadership, can do no less than manifest this degree of interest in the suffering displaced persons of Europe. I wish for your leadership in this effort the full success it deserves, and will, I believe enjoy. Whatever I can do in this great emergency you may fully count upon my doing.—Leslie Pinckney Hill, president, State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa.

I sincerely hope that it will be possible to make the necessary provisions whereby displaced persons of desirable intelligence and character are permitted to enter this country. We hope that we will be able to be helpful to some of these people in finding a real home in Maine.—Horace Hildreth, Governor, Augusta, Maine.

I am very much interested in this bill, and hope that we can do something for these persons who are looking to America for assistance.—Calvert N. Ellis, president, Juniata College, Pa.

I am in hearty accord with the provisions of H. R. 2910, providing for the admission of displaced persons at the rate of 100,000 per year for four emergency years.—Nicholas Martini, mayor, Passaic, N. J.

I am, of course, glad to do anything in my power to further passage of H. R. 2910.—Rev. Angus Dun, bishop, Diocese of Washington.

* * * I hereby give you my endorsement of the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, for I believe heartily that the United States of America should do something to help with this tremendous problem, and the suggestion in the bill meets with my full approval.—Isaac Higginbotham, general secretary, Massachusetts Baptist Convention.

* * * I consider this a most humane and important piece of legislation.—E. W. Schramm, editor, Lutheran Standard, Ohio.

* * * Indeed I am only too happy to add my endorsement to this splendid bill which, as far as I can see in my capacity as president of the University of Scranton, impressed me as an excellent move toward universal charity for which our own great country has certainly earned an international reputation.—W. Coleman Nevils, S. J., president, University of Scranton.

I approve H. R. 2910, a bill introduced by Congressman William G. Stratton of Illinois, to be known as the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act.—David A. Robertson, president, Goucher College, Md.

The sad plight of 850,000 displaced persons in Europe demands the sympathy and personal interest of all right-thinking Americans. It is my conviction, supported by the views of large and influential organizations, that the United States can lead a movement to rescue these people from a condition of living little better than that of slavery, and in doing so, contribute to its own best interests.—Comerford J. O'Malley, C. M., president, DePaul University, Chicago, Ill.

The recovery of postwar Germany is obviously basic for peace and the success of American foreign policy. There is needless economic loss, as well as sad human waste, in continuing to allow nearly a million potentially invaluable people to deteriorate in shake-down German concentration camps.

A key that will open this closed door is certainly the passage by the Eightieth Congress of the carefully drawn Stratton bill (H. R. 2910). This emergency measure would permit a maximum of but 100,000 persons to enter the United States next year, as a credit against the deficit of over 900,000 unused quota places since 1940.

* * * Such immigrants are most likely to make a considerable contribution, through their works and skills, to our diverse productive system, and to adjust rapidly to it. In a period of continued labor shortages, in agriculture, domestic service, and in areas of industry, this basic concern about their contribution to a creative America should be stressed.

This tangible gain in no way deters, but is in fact a step in fulfilling our humanitarian obligation to aid in every practical way in building a sound and democratic Germany. Only as that program goes forward can a reconstructed western European economy contribute much to the stability and prosperity of our new world. Your program well illustrates the truth that the things we should do in this crisis of history for economic motives will at the same time satisfy our best moral and religious aspirations.—Francis D. Tyson, University of Pittsburgh.

* * * I do not believe that these people would be a burden on our economy

or that they would compete with our own citizens for jobs, housing, or scarce commodities.

We badly need their skill in rural areas where housing is not short. We badly need them in domestic service where many of them desire to go. We ought to remember that they fought our war with us and that they are in these DP camps because they believe in our way of life.—William L. Batt, president, SKF Industries, Inc.

It is of great importance that the United States assist in this undertaking in the name of humanity.—L. A. DuBridge, president, California Institute of Technology.

We urge that the United States prepare itself spiritually and legally to receive its proportionate share of refugees and displaced persons, and to integrate them into its normal life.—Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church.

I am strongly in favor of H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act). I endorse the principles behind it and shall be glad to do anything within my power to aid its passage.—J. Russell Parsons, Chubb & Son, Underwriters.

I am very happy to inform you that this commission supports the bill in Congress, H. R. 2910, which would enable 400,000 displaced persons to enter this country during the next 4 years. I am enclosing a resolution which its members adopted supporting the principles of the measure.—Robert W. Searle, executive secretary, The Protestant Council.

I am very much in favor of this bill as I feel that the United States has plenty of room to take in people and we would be doing a great service to those people individually.—Edythe Saylor, Montevallo, Ala.

I support the bill H. R. 2910.—Rabbi Henry Cohan, Galveston, Tex.

It is my deep conviction that the United States of America must extend hospitality in the resettlement of displaced persons of Germany, Austria, Italy, uprooted by the war.—Wilfred S. Reynolds, director, Council of Social Agency of Chicago.

The Quincy Council of Churches endorses completely the principles behind H. R. 2910 and also request you to place them in support of this bill.—Rev. Bedros Baharian, Quincy Council of Churches, Mass.

Our moral position in the world is more gravely weakened than most Americans know by our pitifully inadequate response to the plight of displaced persons. H. R. 2910 seems to me to be well conceived and competently drawn up in every way. It represents good practical policy as much as it does humanitarianism. Wherever there is enlightened statesmanship the arguments for it should be altogether persuasive and it should prevail.—A. Powell Davies, minister, All Souls' Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C.

The free-minded peoples of the world are looking toward our great and powerful country, whose principles have always been founded on the protection of human rights and liberties for all, for a solution of one of the greatest calamities wrought on helpless human beings—the displaced persons of World War II—morally and physically disintegrating in and outside the camps in the Allied occupied zones of Germany and Austria.—Alexandra Tolstoy, president, Tolstoy Foundation, Inc.

I have polled most of the leaders in the Council of Churches of which I am president and find unanimous support of H. R. 2910.—Marshall Wingfield, president, Memphis Council of Churches, Tenn.

I am writing to advise you that I have written to my Congressman urging upon him the support of bill H. R. 2910. I hope we can convince many Congressmen of the fact that such demonstrations of neighborliness are essential in a world, which threatens to drift toward enmity and war.—Norris L. Tibbetts, The Riverside Church, New York.

Am in full accord with demand of citizens' committee for displaced persons that 400,000 victims of religious and political persecution in Europe be admitted to United States as quickly as possible.

* * * As Americans we are morally bound to do everything in our power to relieve their plight and the prompt admission of 400,000 displaced persons is a positive and necessary step in this direction. You have my complete support for your program which is the program of a democratic America.—George M. Harrison, president, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Ohio.

I am personally interested in this noble movement and will support it in every possible way.—James E. Huchingson, president, Colorado Woman's College.

This is to express my personal approval in support of H. R. 2910 (the Stratton

Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act). I hope that this measure will be passed by Congress.—Edgar J. Fisher, assistant director, Institute of International Education.

It is a pleasure to express to you on behalf of the Unitarian Service Committee its complete sympathy with and support of the opinion expressed in H. R. 2910. We heartily endorse this measure and shall be glad to cooperate with you in any way within the scope and power of our resources.—William Emerson, chairman, Unitarian Service Committee.

I have just read over bill H. R. 2910, which has to do with assisting temporarily displaced persons in entering the United States from Germany, Austria, and Italy. It seems to me that we in the United States should bear our share of this load, and I sincerely hope that this bill will have your strong support.—D. Robert Yarnall, Chestnut Hill, Pa.

I heartily approve the provision of H. R. 2910 for the admission to America of displaced persons who are otherwise qualified under our immigration laws for admission for permanent residence. We can easily absorb 100,000 additional immigrants each year.—Edwin R. Embree, president, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago.

I have been very much interested in the problem of disposition of displaced persons in Europe, and have given considerable attention to H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act), and feel that this measure should be enacted as a practical and humanitarian act.—E. E. Baron, attorney, Sioux City, Iowa.

I have been lecturing on the subject of the displaced persons in Europe for the past year in Vermont, and I feel I am expressing the opinion of the thinking people in the audience I have met in stating that we should open the doors of our immigration quota to permit as many as possible to enter and so lance this festering sore in the European political and economic scene.—Waldo H. Heinrichs, Middlebury College, Vermont.

Our common humanity, our specific traditions, our political and social welfare as well as our international reputation, all demand that this bill shall be promptly enacted as a law.—Arthur U. Pope, New York.

To me, the adoption of a policy such is contemplated by this bill would be an expression of confidence in the future of our country, and would keep the United States as a symbol of hope and freedom to the people of the world.—J. J. Kiser, Kiser, Cohn & Shumaker, Inc., Indiana.

We feel that the passage of this bill would work no hardship to the United States, would be of great value in cementing international friendship, and would set an example to other countries to pass similar legislation. Further, it would be a moral and humane act such as this country can well afford, to provide an opportunity for a new life for some of the millions whose lives have been so adversely affected by the war.—Dorothy Scott, Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, Pennsylvania.

Let me express to you in the strongest possible terms my approval of H. R. 2910. It would seem as if we Americans did have enough humanity to make room in our country for 400,000 of the displaced persons. We can do more and not less and have any respect for ourselves.—Walter M. Howlett, The Greater New York Coordinating Committee on Released Time of Jews, Protestants and Roman Catholics.

I am glad to endorse the bill you have sent me which I think is the only contribution of any effective and lasting kind that this country can make to a pressing world problem. I feel impelled to take this position, though as a judge, I ordinarily say nothing about such things.—Augustus N. Hand, United States Circuit Judge, New York.

I am writing to add my endorsement to the Stratton bill (H. R. 2910) with reference to the resettlement of displaced, homeless and harassed people in Europe.—G. Lombard Kelly, M. D., dean, University of Georgia Medical School.

I am very much in favor of this bill and will do anything I can to back it.—Thurston Davies, president, Colorado College.

We have requested Pennsylvania members of the House Judiciary Committee to report this bill out favorably.—James L. McDevitt, president, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

Permit me to tell you that we, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are likewise in full accord with the aims of the Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons, and support the enactment of emergency legislation to permit the entry of a reasonable number of Europe's displaced persons into this country.—Samuel Levin, manager, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Please be advised that at our recent annual convention this State council went on record in support of the Stratton bill.—Harry Boyer, president, Pennsylvania Industrial Union Council.

The proposed legislation is a great humanitarian undertaking and deserves support in our National Congress, because it will bring needed relief to persons who, through no fault of their own, are now in distress in Europe.—Bernard Samuel, mayor, Philadelphia.

My military service in Italy in Allied Military Government during the war and thereafter brought me in direct contact with the sad plight of the displaced persons in Italy. And of course I know that the situation in Austria and Germany is comparable. In my opinion, it would promote the interests of this country and of world peace to permit some of these displaced persons to come to the United States.—Charles Poletti, New York, N. Y.

I consider it entirely fitting that the United States adopt such a program and open its doors to the victims of the last war.—Viola W. Bernard, M. D., New York, N. Y.

I am heartily in favor of this bill and hope that it will be favorably reported by the committee.—Thomas Brooks, Harvard University.

The Stratton bill has my unqualified support. I can find no valid arguments against this measure, and consider that it is our duty as well as our privilege to support it.—Bertha Street Ferguson, New Haven, Conn.

It is unthinkable that the displaced persons in Europe should remain indefinitely in the camps where they are now herded together. Unthinkable that they have been there so long.—Stanley M. Isaacs, councilman, Borough of Manhattan.

It would be in strong accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy to open our doors to these unfortunate people, since our country has grown great on human resources, many of whom were seeking refuge from political and religious oppression in Europe. It would seem also in line with the best American tradition to enact this bill speedily.—James M. Read, associate secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

We think that the United States must take a fair share of these displaced persons. We think we must do this not only because it is morally sound, but also because we think that the admittance of displaced persons may substantially assist in solving the manpower bottleneck problems which are now preventing our economy from expanding in some areas.—S. Rottenberg, executive secretary, Boston Labor Committee To Combat Intolerance.

If the United States can manage its economy, as it must, there will be room for additional workers. They and their children will have something to contribute to us. If the bill is to be criticized, it is for its caution in respect to the number of displaced persons to be admitted.

I am writing as chairman of the Post War World Council. I happen to know that its position in this matter is also the position of the Socialist Party, from which I assume you will also hear officially.—Norman Thomas, chairman, Post War World Council.

I am convinced that both on moral and on economic grounds H. R. 2910 should be enacted and thus some additional help for the unfortunate displaced persons made possible.—Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman, New York, N. Y.

I believe that this piece of legislation represents the least that the United States can do in helping to solve the important and urgent problem.—Reuben B. Resnik, New York, N. Y.

Public opinion in Boston is strongly in favor of H. R. 2910. The Boston Herald has carried a most effective editorial calling for positive action with regard to the displaced persons; and I feel sure that this editorial expression reflects the views of thousands here.—Robert E. Segal, Boston, Mass.

The bill provides reasonable safeguards and at the same time recognizes the reality of the present emergency. In my judgment, it is both sound and constructive in its attempt to aid in the solution of a problem the full extent and urgency of which can only be appreciated by those who have direct connections with those responsible for the administration of relief in Europe today.—Frederick M. Leist, president, American Unitarian Association.

I am only too happy to endorse wholeheartedly H. R. 2910, the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act.—Edward Skillin, Jr., editor, The Commonwealth.

I am writing to say that I very strongly favor the passage of the House of Representatives bill No. 2910 on Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act. I endorse the principles strongly and very much hope the bill will be passed.—Rufus M. Jones, Haverford College.

In keeping our ideas and ideals of democracy the United States Government should definitely lead the way toward relieving the problems of the displaced persons of Europe.

We who have fostered the idealism and freedom of religious worship, political opinion, and race and creed should definitely be in the forefront in this most necessary work.—Dr. William R. Wexler, Savannah, Ga.

I favor its immediate passage as a humanitarian gesture which may also reflect considerable credit and profit to the United States and also because I am sure that the quota suggested can easily be absorbed and if selected according to the provisions of the act will lead to valuable contributions to the American stock.—Carl Wittke, dean, Oberlin College.

I sincerely believe that the admission of a hundred thousand refugees carefully selected would in no way interfere with the economic life of our country but, on the other hand, would add much to our on-going life.—E. Graham Wilson, general secretary, Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

I most earnestly urge the Congress to pass the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act (H. R. 2910). This bill represents a concrete expression of American determination to aid the displaced persons who are among the chief victims of World War II. Our example in receiving a total of 400,000 displaced persons in the total 4-year period will lead other nations to take an appropriate number, and this great human problem will be in the way of final settlement. I hope the Congress will act promptly and unanimously.—Charles J. Turck, president, Macalester College.

The plight of displaced persons in Europe has touched a sympathetic cord in the hearts of people in this country. It is difficult to imagine why anyone could not be moved to prompt some action to relieve their suffering and provide a place where they may live as human beings.

* * * * *

I most heartily endorse and urge passage of the pending bill before the House of Representatives to authorize the United States to undertake its share in each of four emergency years of 100,000 persons as embodied in the proposed bill.—E. B. Freed, United States district judge, Ohio.

All Americans, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, look with concern and dismay to conditions in Europe whereby 850,000 of our former allies in the war for freedom still languish behind barbed wires in displaced persons' camps. These persons, 500,000 Catholics, 100,000 Protestants, 250,000 Jews, look to the United States for leadership in bettering their plight.—Ronald Reagan, president, Screen Actor's Guild.

The effort to bring about the passage of H. R. 2910 should have the cooperation of all patriotic Americans who appreciate what has made our country great and who desire to see her lead in a broad and humane approach to the critical problems of our time. Confidence in their own greatness and capacity rather than fear and meanness should be the order of the day.—Fred M. Butzel, Detroit, Mich.

I am very much in favor of H. R. 2910, a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman William G. Stratton, of Illinois. It seems to me it is a sane, sensible approach, and I sincerely hope the bill will pass the United States Congress. If there is anything else you will have me do, kindly let me know.—Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

I endorse the bill. I hope that a constructive program will be adopted to care for the persons who are so unfortunate to be displaced.—Bolitha J. Laws, chief justice, United States District Court, District of Columbia.

I am heartily in favor of the passage of H. R. 2910 authorizing the United States to undertake its share in caring for displaced persons of Europe. You can be assured that the bill will have my support.—Hon. Harry E. Watkins, United States district judge, West Virginia.

It seems to me only fair that the United States should assist in taking care of its share of the large number of displaced persons in the ravaged countries of Europe.—Blake R. Van Leer, president, Georgia School of Technology.

I have never before requested a Member of Congress to support or oppose pending legislation as I have questioned the propriety of a member of the Federal judiciary doing so. The humanitarian principles involved in this bill and the obligation of all nations in this emergency causes me to make exception to that rule.—Hon. MacSwinford, United States district judge, Kentucky.

I do endorse the proposed Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act. I hope that it will be acted upon favorably by the Congress.—George B. Zehmer, administrator, Richmond Area University Center.

* * * something should be done along the lines proposed by this bill—Hon. John J. Parker, United States circuit judge, Charlotte, N. C.

I am in favor of the bill.—Hon. Learned Hand, United States circuit judge, New York, N. Y.

From a personal and civic humanitarian viewpoint and also as a citizen who believes in the total conception of "one world," I am heartily in favor of the passage of this bill, and I am glad to render my unqualified and enthusiastic endorsement of this bill.—James H. Halsey, president, Junior College of Connecticut.

Mount Mercy College heartily endorses bill H. R. 2910.—Sister M. Ildephonse, president, Mount Mercy Junior College and Academy.

This is to offer my hearty endorsement of H. R. 2910, a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman William G. Stratton, of Illinois, a World War II veteran, which authorizes the United States to undertake its fair share by the resettlement in each of our emergency years of 100,000 persons displaced in Germany, Austria, and Italy.—Ellwood C. Nance, president, University of Tampa.

We are writing today to our Senator, endorsing the passage of this bill—Sister Margaret Gertrude, dean, Nazareth College and Academy.

Survivors of Nazi concentration camps present a most tragic situation. As Americans we are morally bound to do everything in our power to relieve their plight, and the prompt admission of 400,000 displaced persons is a positive and necessary step in this direction. You have my complete support for your program, which is the program of a democratic America.—George M. Harrison, president, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

The National Lutheran Council, representing eight of the national Lutheran bodies, has prepared a statement of endorsement of this bill which I have signed on behalf of the Augustana Synod.—P. O. Bersell, president, Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod, Minneapolis, Minn.

I will be glad to endorse this bill. I believe that it embodies a thing that must be done, and I am heartily for it.—Carlyle Adams, Presbyterian Tribune, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Certainly now, when there is such distress in Europe because of the displaced-persons problem, we can well change our attitude and admit our share of these people. They will make good citizens and will add to the strength of our Nation rather than otherwise, in my opinion.—Wiley Lin Hurie, president, College of the Ozarks, Clarksville, Ark.

As I understand the intent and purpose of this legislation, I am thoroughly in accord with it, and I am perfectly willing that my name be used in your efforts to secure favorable action by Congress.—George A. Bowman, president, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

* * * No one who has seen the uprooted, disinherited, homeless survivors of the war—all of them our allies—can be at peace with himself until he has done all in his power to rescue them from their present fate.

The bill calls upon the United States to do no more than its fair share in receiving these refugees. Our unforgivable offense is that we have allowed these war victims to languish for the past 2 years. The only reparation we can make is to pass this legislation without a moment's delay.—Simon Rifkind, judge, United States courthouse, Foley Square, New York.

I shall do what I can in the interest of the passage of the Stratton bill.—J. L. Newcomb, president, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

I am in full sympathy with your viewpoint regarding displaced persons and feel your legislation is sound and just.—Joseph Altman, mayor, Atlantic City, N. J.

I believe very strongly in the moral obligation of the American people to carry their full share of the task in admitting and resettling the remaining displaced persons. H. R. 2910 seems to be an expedient method to enable the American people to do at least part of this task. Consequently I shall support adoption of this bill.—Richard M. Fagley, New York, N. Y.

I am firm in the belief that House Resolution 2910, being a bill undertaking the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany and other countries, is a distinct step for the benefit of humanity and should be amongst the laudable objectives of our Nation's program.—Judge J. J. Mears, Portland, Oreg.

How splendid it would be if every act and policy of our Government and of our national leaders matched their professions of concern for the peace and freedom of the world. To permit several hundred thousand qualified displaced persons to enter the United States as immigrants would not in any way violate the quota law; they could be absorbed into our economy without any great disturbance, and, indeed, they would render important and useful services needed to keep our Nation strong.—Paul E. Pfuetze, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.

* * * **I am heartily in sympathy with the purposes of H. R. 2910 and believe that our country should undertake responsibility for the resettlement of these people. I hope the bill will be passed—and quickly.**—Lucy R. Mason, Congress of Industrial Relations, Atlanta, Ga.

I am heartily in favor of H. R. 2910 and am urging everyone I know to support it.

I am convinced that our country has more to gain through such an act than we could possibly lose by it.—Jeannette F. Stetson, 1555 Norman Avenue, Muskegon, Mich.

It has long seemed to me that this country should do something more than simply give good advice to other nations. And, in the world's present desperate need, I feel strongly it is our duty to give asylum to some of these suffering persons.—G. Ashton Oldham, bishop, Albany, N. Y.

I am heartily in favor of the passage of H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act).—A. A. Berle, Jr., 70 Pine Street, New York, N. Y.

I am in favor of H. R. 2910 in the House of Representatives of the United States, and I will urge my Congressman to support it.—Constance Warren, North Waterford, Maine.

It is my earnest hope that the bill H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act) will be passed. It is my conviction that the measure is very much needed now.

It is difficult for me to understand how we can call ourselves a Christian and democratic Nation unless we take prompt action to try to help the displaced persons in other countries.—Cecil E. Hinshaw, president, William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa.

I am heartily in favor of the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act (H. R. 2910).—Kenneth D. Claypoole, minister, First Congregational Church, Walla Walla, Wash.

Not only are we expressing our understanding of the human need involved and the personal suffering which it is our duty to alleviate, but every consideration of the great principles at the foundation of our democracy urges acceptance of these dispossessed persons, on the basis of unused quotas.—Mrs. Verne Dusenbery, State public affairs chairman, Portland, Oreg.

The Minnesota Chapter of the American Christian Palestine Committee heartily endorses the principles behind H. R. 2910, the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Act, and hopes the Eightieth Congress will enact the bill into law.—John A. Weeks, State chairman, American Christian Palestine Committee, Minneapolis, Minn.

Accepting 100,000 of these victims of European fascism is the least that we can do. Anyway, if we are not willing to do this, we must quit asking other countries and other areas to take them. The terrible alternative is, of course, that they must spend the balance of their days behind barbed wire. If we permit that, I feel for the future of so-called western civilization.—Hubert Phillips, dean of lower division and professor of social science, Fresno State College, Fresno, Calif.

I am heartily in favor of H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act), and am doing all possible to promote public sentiment demanding this measure. Certainly the principles behind the measure are such that every American must be stirred by them.—Raymond B. Walker, minister, First Congregational Church, Portland, Oreg.

Please list me as supporting H. R. 2910, the bill for emergency temporary displaced persons admission.—Charles E. Houston, attorney, Washington, D. C.

Of course I am in favor of H. R. 2910 and have written to my Congressman, John Kennedy, telling him so and urging him to support the bill.—Alice D. Cope, Cambridge 38, Mass.

In my daily work with the foreign-born in Massachusetts I meet many relatives of DP's who are receiving anxious letters from those who seek a haven with their kinsfolk here. The letters clearly reveal that repatriation will never be successfully carried out for the Poles, Lithuanians, and other Balts, whose real fears are based on practical experience. Since repatriation is impossible,

resettlement seems not only the best hope for the DP's but the most economical method of meeting the issue. Their continuance in idleness, or with made work, as sojourners in a hostile land is neither economical nor just. It will benefit both our pocketbooks and our consciences to give them a chance in this great land of ours which has so often in the past helped the victims of tyranny to life and hope.—Alice M. O'Connor, supervisor of social service, division of immigration and Americanization, Boston, Mass.

Last year I spent 6 months in Italy and was brought face to face with this problem of displaced persons. I therefore know the utter misery and hopelessness of these people. The United States is certainly big enough to absorb a few hundred or thousand of them without disturbing our social, economic, or religious status; moreover, I fail to see how we can urge any other nation to do something about displaced persons unless we ourselves do our share.—Rev. Howard V. Yergin, synod of New York of the Presbyterian Church, New York, N. Y.

I am glad to say that I am wholeheartedly in favor of the passage of this bill and strongly hope that it will find speedy enactment.—Clarence Streit, editor, Freedom and Union Journal, Washington, D. C.

I am glad to indicate my support of H. R. 2910, which seems to me a very desirable and important bill, from the standpoint of both human decency and of the position of the United States in the eyes of the people of the world.—Thomas H. Eliot, attorney, Boston, Mass.

It seems to us that instead of spending indefinitely on DP camps in Europe it would be better to relieve the pressure of population there and to transfer some of the unfortunate to our own country. My understanding is that four out of five are Christians; but, regardless of religion, we are faced with a very critical human problem which, if properly solved, should tend toward the avoidance of all those conditions in which subversive elements thrive. We should be able easily to absorb our share of these unfortunates, who are said to number 850,000.—Edwin J. Heath, president, Moravian College for Women, Bethlehem, Pa.

It would appear that such a bill to authorize the United States to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of such displaced persons would assure the greatest good to these unfortunate people who so vitally need the help of this country at the present time. I heartily endorse the Stratton bill.—B. F. Ashe, president, University of Miami, Coral Gables 34, Fla.

I wish to assure you that I am in accord with the aims of that legislation and shall be glad to cooperate with whatever relationship you may deem most appropriate.—George H. Black, provost, Rutgers University, Newark, N. J.

I am very glad to give my full endorsement to H. R. 2910 (the Stratton bill), and you may use my endorsement in any way that seems appropriate.—Harold E. Nicely, pastor, Brick Presbyterian Church, Rochester, N. Y.

I fully realize the importance of this bill, since I saw at first hand, while a soldier in Europe, the sufferings endured by these people who no longer have homes or countries.

I am wholeheartedly in favor of such a bill and appreciate your letter on the subject.—deLesseps S. Morrison, mayor, New Orleans, La.

As a Nation, we seem willing to spend billions of dollars for a war and yet seem very reluctant to spend the small amount necessary to build the kind of world in which war would not develop. This is one of the acts which would, I believe, help to build that kind of world.—Roscoe L. West, president, State Teacher's College, Trenton, N. J.

I am in favor of the Stratton bill, known as the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act, which will permit the resettlement in each of four emergency years of 100,000 persons displaced in Germany, Austria, and Italy in the United States of America.—Alexander Guerry, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.

I think this is only making good on one of our obligations.—A. L. Strand, president, Oregon State College, Corvallis, Oreg.

I will be glad to do anything within my power to encourage the passage of this bill by Congress.—Paul Dawson Eddy, president, Adelphi College, Garden City, N. Y.

I am glad to associate myself with those who are in support of this measure, which seems to me to be wise and just legislation.—Elias Gilbert, bishop, Cathedral Heights, N. Y.

As I understand the situation, I believe you are fully right in pressing the matter as hard as possible. You may quote me as being entirely sympathetic in this undertaking.—L. W. Webb, Jr., director, College of William and Mary, Norfolk, Va.

Any proposal to improve the status of displaced persons at less cost to the United States, I am for.—Wat Tyler Cluverius, president, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester 2, Mass.

I am in full sympathy with the purposes of your committee.—Theodore R. McKeldin, mayor, Baltimore, Md.

I should be glad to be quoted as supporting H. R. 2910, as a bill that is not only in line with the profoundest teachings of Christianity but will definitely enrich our national life.—William A. Shimer, president, Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio.

I beg you to enroll me among those who endorse with all possible emphasis the Stratton bill.—Russell Henry Stafford, president, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Conn.

I certainly am for House bill H. R. 2910.—Rt. Rev. Clinton S. Quin, Diocese of Texas, Houston 5, Tex.

Of course, I am very much interested in the fate of displaced persons, and I am therefore in favor of bill H. R. 2910.—Dr. Wiktor Labunski, director, Conservatory of Music, Kansas City, Mo.

I am pleased to extend my unqualified endorsement to the provisions of H. R. 2910 relating to the resettlement of displaced persons.—Judge Gerald R. Corbett, Territory of Hawaii, Honolulu 9, T. H.

You may quote me as Abbot of St. Benedict's Abbey and as president of Mount Angel College and Seminary as being in favor of H. R. 2910, the Stratton bill. This statement represents the decision likewise of our entire membership. It is but in keeping with the traditions of our American heritage that we help these unfortunate human beings. As members of a religious body likewise we hold fast to the tenet that all men are created to the image of God and are entitled to their human rights and the sympathy and help of their fellows, regardless of race or creed.—Thomas Meier, O. S. B., Abbot, St. Benedict's Abbey, Mount Angel, Oreg.

It is my personal opinion that much is to be said in favor of H. R. 2910 dealing with admission of displaced people in Germany, Austria, and Italy under the provisions of this bill as introduced in the House of Representatives.—Fred H. Leinbach, president, South Dakota State College, Brookings, S. Dak.

* * * This bill has inestimable merit, and I trust that all of us may use our influence on the Congress to pass it. Surely a nation that thinks of itself as Christian can do little else than assist these displaced persons. We will gain much in bringing to our country some of these people and their talents, to add to the wealth that is America's.—Harry L. Dillin, president, Linfield College, McMinnville, Oreg.

I am writing to plead with you to support H. R. 2910, a bill introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman Stratton, on the basis of the Christian and democratic principles which have made our country great.

America has the God-given resources to support a larger number of people, and a great number of displaced persons must find a home here if they are to live decent and useful lives.—O. A. Geiseman, pastor, Grace Lutheran Church, River Forest, Ill.

The Lutheran Churches of the National Lutheran Council are using said council as an agency to voice our interest in this matter, and I have already signed a petition and sent it to the headquarters of the National Lutheran Council.—T. O. Burntvedt, president, Lutheran Free Church, Minneapolis, Minn.

I assure you that I am heartily in favor of bill H. R. 2910 and I am writing to several Members of the House of Representatives urging them to vote for it.—Walter N. Roberts, president, Bonebrake Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio.

I have read the bill and wish to record my approval and endorsement of such a program.—John B. Dougall, president, New Jersey State Teachers College, Newark, N. J.

I most heartily endorse House bill H. R. 2910, and any other legislation which may relieve this situation. We are in great sympathy with these unfortunate people and wish we knew a way to help them.—Grover Van Duyn, president, Olivet Nazarene College, Kankakee, Ill.

It appears to me from study of this bill that it is an excellent piece of legislation and worthy of all possible support. I shall be happy to do what I can to urge its passage.

As I understand the bill, it does not affect our immigration quotas, but merely affords an opportunity to utilize the unused share of the quotas from the war years. It is my opinion that America will be enriched by opening its doors to those persons who meet the qualifications under our immigration laws, and even more than that, this would be a clear-cut demonstration of our humanitarian

concern as to the welfare of thousands of our friends beyond the seas.—Hubert H. Humphrey, mayor, Minneapolis, Minn.

This is one of the most urgent and most pathetic problems of the day, involving some 850,000 human beings confined to camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Their presence in these camps nearly 2 years after VE-day is a hazard to world peace, a challenge to each individual, and a responsibility which every person must face.

* * * * *

Having been bishop of eastern Oregon for 25 years, may I add a personal word. In that great section of Oregon lying east of the Cascade Mountains, there are 65,000 square miles, a potential empire with excellent resources. In it there live approximately 200,000 people. For its development, there are needed agriculturalists mostly but some industrial workers when hydroelectric power gives the necessary facilities for building up varied and different kinds of industries.

I am now a bishop in the great city of Philadelphia, diocese of Pennsylvania. None of our large metropolitan cities need an additional population. The tendency on the part of immigrants is to crowd into the large cities. Why could they not be directed and told where they must go in order to fill real needs and give them opportunities for the exercise of their special abilities? For many years I have felt this would be the solution of our labor problems. Why should the holders of this goodly portion of God's earth deny to other struggling human beings the right to homes and a living? America has ever been the promised land for displaced persons. Are we going to fence off our broad acres and guard them with a gun just because we happen to be in possession?—The Right Reverend William P. Remington, Suffragan Bishop, Diocese of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

I endorse most heartily the Stratton bill.—Paul Wooley, registrar and secretary, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

I want to let you know how heartily I support H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act), which seems to me a most important step in alleviating the tragic plight of the displaced persons of Europe and in taking our share of responsibility for the solution of the problem which they present. The proposal in the bill is fair and reasonable and will impose no burden upon this country, but on the contrary will bring us many brave spirits whose fight for democracy cannot but inspire us here.—Dorothy Kenyon, lawyer, New York, N. Y.

I am glad to join in support of this program.—E. F. Adcock, executive secretary, Church Extension and Home Missions, Anderson, Ind.

I am entirely in accord with the bill of the Honorable William G. Stratton.—John J. Sheinin, dean, The Chicago Medical School, Chicago, Ill.

I want to take this opportunity to enthusiastically endorse and support the Stratton bill H. R. 2910.

I speak for the whole Meharry faculty, staff, and student body when I say that we feel this bill must be given speedy passage.—M. Don Clawson, president, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.

As long as these displaced persons are maintained unproductively in shelters in Europe they must still be supported, and principally by the United States, whereas if some of them were admitted to the United States they would promptly find useful work here and would be self-sustaining. Conditions being what they are over here we actually need their labor.—Bryn J. Hovde, president, The New School for Social Research, New York, N. Y.

This is a matter of vital importance to humanity, to our position of leadership in the world, and of very great value to the national welfare.—Gordon K. Chalmers, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.

I am in complete sympathy with the purpose of H. R. 2910, concerning which I have already submitted my report to the House Committee on the Judiciary.

* * * —Tom Clark, Attorney General, Washington, D. C.

I heartily endorse H. R. 2910, authorizing the United States to admit displaced persons.—Horace M. Bond, president, Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pa.

You may record me as an endorser of H. R. 2910.—S. P. Capen, chancellor, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.

It is difficult to believe that a nation, built by immigrants, will much longer continue without revising its present immigration laws which are among the most discriminatory in the world. More difficult still is it to believe that the American people should be so selfish and the American Government so deaf to the needs of homeless and starving Europeans, as to continue its rigid policy of restriction;

the more so when the annual immigrant quotas have for decades not been filled.

The faculty and student body of Viterbo College, therefore, urge our Representatives and Senators in Congress to promptly pass the bill H. R. 2910 introduced by William G. Stratton.—Sister M. Josins, F. S. P. A., Viterbo College, La Crosse, Wis.

I am heartily in sympathy with giving all possible assistance to displaced persons and I shall be glad to help in any appropriate way.—Herbert G. Espy, president, State Teachers College, Geneseo, N. Y.

I innocently thought that Americans had meant it when they heralded one of the four freedoms. Freedom from want. I thought we expected the Statue of Liberty to extend welcome. I thought most of the residents of America were new enough, through their fathers' pioneer spirit, that they would want more pioneers to keep us young and zestful.

I thought you didn't need to know I want these people here.

Now I'm worried. I don't like my country to talk liberalism but act with such restrictions as refusal of the Stratton Act would indicate. I don't understand why the people—the very same perhaps—who might have normally come over in ordinary immigration quotas of 1938–46 must now be refused because they have been made homeless through war's greed. I don't understand why if we were capable then of absorbing certain numbers from certain countries we aren't still capable of absorbing them.—Mrs. James S. Jackson, Ira, Ohio.

You may quote me as very strongly in favor of H. R. 2910. The object of immigration restriction, as I understand it, is twofold. Quantitatively, to prevent a glut in the labor market or a swamping of American standards. Qualitatively, to maintain the quality of the Nation at a high level. Now, the admission of 100,000 refugees a year to a nation of 140,000,000 occupying an area comparable in area to all Europe and richer in national resources, cannot be considered a quantitative danger at all, especially since in many recent years our quotas (under our present very restrictive laws) have not been filled, and our labor market shows no present signs of a surplus of workers.

As for quality, I covet for our country the heroic men and women who defied the devils of nazism and fascism for so many years. They are of the brave, self-reliant type of our own Pilgrim Fathers. Among them are many scientists, scholars, physicians, artists, and other leaders of human progress. As an American whose ancestors came here 300 years ago I want the honor of having them for my fellow citizens.—Preston Slosson, Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan.

* * * Let me assure you at once that I find myself in hearty sympathy with the project you have set forth there concerning the care of displaced persons.

What the proposed bill introduced into the House of Representatives plans to do is little enough. By all means, I wish to go on record unqualifiedly as supporting this program.—L. M. Gould, president, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.

I concur in the proposal to render assistance to these homeless and innocent victims of war and intolerance.—Gael Sullivan, executive director, Democratic National Committee, Washington 6, D. C.

I understand that hearings in connection with H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act) are scheduled to commence June 4 before the Subcommittee on Immigration of the House Judiciary Committee, and I am writing to you in support of that bill.

At the level of principle there are the most fundamental reasons for passing this legislation. We have professed a deep interest in the status and fate of the displaced persons in Europe and in a number of ways have indicated that we are concerned in what happens to them. That interest and concern do not seem to have reality if our only contributions to the problem consist of suggestions for resettlement of these persons in various parts of the world other than the United States.—Louis S. Weiss, attorney, New York, N. Y.

You may count on my active endorsement and support of bill H. R. 2910.—Raymond S. Hauptert, president, Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa.

The Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Act should be passed at once, both as a measure of simple humanity, and as a most important part of our general world policy. It proves that America has not abandoned her position as leader of humane democratic action. It frees our hands and our finances for their vitally essential tasks. It will give great satisfaction to members of these ethnic groups who are already good Americans.—H. N. MacCracken, former president, Vassar College, New York, Poughkeepsie.

* * * Please be assured of our wholehearted support and approval of H. R. 2910, the proposed Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act. In

view of the awful need presented by these displaced persons the United States cannot escape a tremendous moral obligation, and it seems to me that the Stratton bill is a reasonable proposal as to the manner in which we as a Nation may meet this moral obligation or a part of it.—Stephen W. Paine, president, Houghton College, Houghton, N. Y.

We, the faculty of New Jersey State Teachers College at Paterson, heartily endorse the principles behind H. R. 2910 (the Stratton Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act) and urge the passage of the measure.—Christie Jeffries, corresponding secretary, New Jersey State Teachers College, Paterson, N. J.

* * * Whatever we do will be too little; and however much we do the outlay of effort and funds will be more than repaid in economic advantages.

I am therefore, glad to be counted among those who endorse the bill recommended by the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, namely, H. R. 2910, introduced by Congressman Stratton.—James Creese, president, Drexel Institute of Technology, Philadelphia, Pa.

My understanding is that the Stratton bill provides that persons seeking entry to the United States under its terms must comply with all provisions of our immigration laws with respect to health, moral character, financial resources, literacy, and political beliefs. I believe this is a proper provision.

Also, I am in accord with the provision of the legislation which grants priority of relatives of American veterans of World Wars I and II, and to relatives of United States citizens. In short, I am in sympathy with the principle embodied in this legislation.—Dwight H. Green, Governor, Springfield, Ill.

The College of St. Mary-of-the-Wasatch wishes to go on record as favoring H. R. 2910 authorizing the United States to undertake its fair share in giving refuge to the displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy. We believe that these victims of injustice have the right of refuge—a right sacred in both our history and our culture, and that it is the responsibility of the more fortunate states to provide these unfortunate persons with the opportunity to begin life over again.—Sister M. Benedictus, president, St. Mary-of-the-Wasatch College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

I am in favor of the purposes of the bill which you have mentioned and have written to my Senators and my Representative in Washington to advise them of my hope that they will give favorable consideration of the bill.—J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga.

* * * am most willing to join with you in support of the Stratton bill.—Aubrey Williams, publisher, Southern Farmer, Montgomery, Ala.

I shall write a letter endorsing H. R. 2910 to our Senators and Representatives in Washington.—Rt. Rev. Alcuin Deutsch, president, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.

* * * I want to reassure you that we at home feel that this bill is worthy of every support.—Charles E. Moore, mayor, Stamford, Conn.

Beg to advise that I find myself in complete harmony with the bill.—Lester Hunt, Governor, Cheyenne, Wyo.

The Women's Association of the First Presbyterian Church of this city went on record as favoring bill H. R. 2910.—Mrs. T. G. Hine, secretary, Women's Association, First Presbyterian Church, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

Catholic Daughters of America, Court Ave Maria, Des Moines, Iowa (an affiliate of N. C. W. C.) endorsed H. R. 2910 at meeting May 15.—Catholic Daughters of America, Des Moines, Iowa.

I am very much interested in the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons. I am very much in favor of the work being done for them. I am glad to lend all the support I can to the furtherance of this splendid work.—Kenneth A. Rondarmel, executive secretary, Baptist Missionary Convention, Syracuse, N. Y.

I shall be very happy to endorse the Stratton bill to aid displaced persons. It seems to me that the bill is very well drawn and that it will serve to aid in one of the most serious of our European problems.—Harold Taylor, president, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y.

I am certainly in favor of H. R. 2910 which authorizes the United States to undertake its fair share of the resettlement of displaced persons over a 4-year period.—Mark Ellingson, president, Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, N. Y.

* * * I hope the Stratton bill will be successful.—Harold W. Stoke, president, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H.

Our club has sent letters of endorsement to the Senators and Representatives of Connecticut on the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910.—Florence Heath, recording secretary, Political Science Club, Hillyer Junior College, Hartford, Conn.

I am glad to give my personal endorsement to a policy under which the United States would do its part in providing haven and opportunities for the displaced persons of Europe.—John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

It seems to me that the bill introduced by Congressman Stratton, (H. R. 2910, which would authorize the United States to undertake its fair share by the resettlement in each of four emergency years of 100,000 persons in this country, is sound both from the economic and the social point of view. In addition, it would be a great humanitarian act and should strengthen our position in international relations.—Carl R. Woodward, president, Rhode Island State College, Kingston, R. I.

I should like to offer my most enthusiastic endorsement in support of H. R. 2910 to permit immigration into this country of certain numbers of displaced persons. We should be ready and glad to do this in any case as the only country which suffered almost not at all from the war and certainly by now far the wealthiest country in the world.—Donald F. Gaylord, minister, First Congregational Church, Martinez, Calif.

The board of management of the Des Moines branch of the Association of University Women, after careful consideration, believes that the emergency temporary legislation included in House file 2910 (immigration) should be passed.

We are aware of the objections on the basis of housing, but believe that since most of these displaced persons will become domestics or farm laborers, housing will not be seriously affected. Many AAUW members are housewives and, as such, realize the shortage of domestic help. Furthermore living in the heart of the agricultural Midwest where the shortage of farm labor is acute, we are in a position to appreciate this, too.

* * * * *

We believe that bringing these displaced persons into our country will create better relations with other nations and that it is our duty to take the lead among the more privileged nations of the world to absorb these people.—Mrs. Ralph Bance, president, Association of University Women, Des Moines, Iowa.

This bill has my hearty support.—Emma Rogers, Evanston, Ill.

* * * wish to assure you of my interest in the legislation which has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman William G. Stratton of Illinois.—Mills Ten Eyck, mayor, Schenectady, N. Y.

My associates and I are in hearty agreement with the program, which you and your fellow members are carrying out with such energy and distinction. * * *—E. M. O'Byrne, president, Manhattanville College, New York, N. Y.

I am very happy to join with you in urging the passage of the bill sponsored by Congressman William G. Stratton of Illinois. I am writing him to that effect today. We trust that the effort that he is making will be successful in securing the passage of this bill which can mean so much to people and will show that America still has some concern for the sufferings of other people.—Merlin G. Smith, president, Roberts Junior College, North Chill, N. Y.

President Fred wishes you to know that he is happy to endorse H. R. 2910.—LeRoy E. Luberg, assistant to the president, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

* * * I have gone over the copy of the bill H. R. 2910, which anticipates receiving into the United States a maximum of 400,000 of the displaced persons in Europe, especially those who have kinfolk in the United States, and I am writing to state that I fully sympathize with the intent of the bill and approve the passage of same.—D. T. Gregory, executive secretary, Evangelical United Brethren Church, Dayton 2, Ohio.

Under the conditions of H. R. 2910, the United States of America stands to gain rather than lose by admitting the relatively small number of displaced persons.—E. K. Higdon, United Christian Missionary Society, Indianapolis, Ind.

I want you to know that I heartily endorse the bill and am in full sympathy and agreement with its objectives.—Edward C. Fuller, president, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.

I am very much interested in the prompt passage of this bill, which seems to me to be the least our country can do for these unhappy victims of the war, and I can perceive no sound argument against it. I am quite familiar with the

caliber and standing of those responsible persons in our country who have taken up this matter, prepared the bill, and are actively supporting it.—Ernest Angell, Spence, Hotchkiss, Parker & Duryee, New York, N. Y.

This country should assume its fair share of the task of resettling those displaced persons. The bill in question * * * would provide full compliance with the immigration-quota clause by allowing the entry of these people for the years during which the statute was suspended because of war conditions. It would comply with all the provisions of the present immigration laws, and, in addition, provide priority to those displaced persons who had relatives in the United States, and would allow no discrimination because of creed or race.

In view of all the circumstances, I am pleased to endorse the principles involved in H. R. 2910.—Sidney P. Osborn, Governor, Phoenix, Ariz.

* * * For the last 6 years my work has taken me overseas, and so I have had first-hand knowledge of the untold suffering and hardship of these people.

The bill, H. R. 2910, proposes to admit into the United States as nonquota immigrants, provided they are qualified under all immigration laws of the United States for admission for permanent residence, not more than 100,000 displaced persons each year for a period of 4 years. The total of 400,000 for 4 years represents less than three-tenths of 1 percent of our total population. It is my opinion that such qualified refugees would, in large measure, contribute to the economic wealth of the country and would not become public charges. Our country has been a haven for the oppressed since our founding ancestors came here, because they believed in freedom and were willing to risk the unknown to win freedom of thought, action, and worship. The major part of the human race is looking to us, as the richest and most powerful country in the world, for leadership in removing the causes of economic and political unrest abroad. One of these causes is the pressing problem of displaced persons. We must and shall live up to our full responsibilities.

You may include me as one of the legion of supporters of the principle embodied in the bill H. R. 2910.—W. A. Harriman, Secretary of Commerce.

EXHIBIT II. LETTERS OF GOVERNORS, MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, AND MAYORS ON
H. R. 2910

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

SPRINGFIELD, May 20, 1947.

MR. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: This replies to your letter of May 9 relative to H. R. 2910, the bill introduced in the National House of Representatives by Representative William G. Stratton, of Illinois, to authorize the United States to share in the resettlement of displaced persons from Germany, Austria, and Italy.

While I am not entirely familiar with the details of this legislation, I can advise you that I am in accord with the thought that our country has a responsibility to assist in furnishing sanctuary for as many homeless and worthy displaced persons of Europe as we reasonably can assimilate.

My understanding is that the Stratton bill provides that persons seeking entry to the United States under its terms must comply with all provisions of our immigration laws with respect to health, moral character, financial resources, literacy, and political beliefs. I believe this is a proper provision.

Also, I am in accord with the provision of the legislation which grants priority to relatives of American veterans of World Wars I and II, and to relatives of United States citizens. In short, I am in sympathy with the principle embodied in this legislation.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT H. GREEN, Governor.

STATE OF MAINE

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

AUGUSTA, May 12, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington 6, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HARRISON: I am in receipt this date of your letter of May 9 urging my assistance by endorsing the bill H. R. 2910, authorizing the United States to undertake its fair share of displaced persons.

You may not know that the Maine Legislature, now in session, has passed a bill which directs the Maine Development Commission to take steps to assist in the settlement of displaced persons in Maine.

We have had visits from representatives of groups interested in the settlement, particularly of Lithuanian and Polish people.

Prior to the receipt of your letter, I had agreed to write to our Representative in Washington who is on the committee before which hearings will be held pending action on this type of bill.

I sincerely hope that it will be possible to make the necessary provisions whereby displaced persons of desirable intelligence and character are permitted to enter this country. We hope that we will be able to be helpful to some of these people in finding a real home in Maine.

Sincerely yours,

HORACE HILDREDTH.

STATE OF NEW YORK

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER

ALBANY, June 11, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear MR. HARRISON: On behalf of Governor Dewey I acknowledge your kind letter of May 9 and must regret the unavoidable delay.

On October 6, 1946, at the annual dinner of the United Palestine Appeal in New York City, Governor Dewey made a clear and unequivocal statement on the subject of the admission of displaced persons to the United States. For your information, I take pleasure in supplying you herewith a copy of the address which is, of course, a matter of public record and from which you are entitled to quote.

With appreciation of your interest and courtesy, I am,
 Sincerely yours,

PAUL E. LOCKWOOD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

STATE HOUSE

PHOENIX, ARIZ., June 17, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington (6), D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HARRISON: My illness has prevented an earlier reply to your letter of May 9, in which you suggest my endorsement of H. R. 2910, a bill introduced by Congressman William G. Stratton, of Illinois.

This bill, as you stated in your letter, would authorize the entry into this country of 100,000 displaced persons now in Germany, Austria, and Italy.

This country should assume its fair share of the task of resettling those displaced persons. The bill in question, according to your letter and my analysis,

would provide full compliance with the immigration quota clause by allowing the entry of these people for the years during which the statute was suspended because of war conditions. It would comply with all the provisions of the present immigration laws, and in addition provide priority to those displaced persons who had relatives in the United States, and would allow no discrimination because of creed or race.

In view of all the circumstances, I am pleased to endorse the principles involved in H. R. 2910.

With all good wishes, I am,
Sincerely,

SIDNEY P. OSBORN, *Governor.*

STATE OF WYOMING

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

CHEYENNE, WYO., May 22, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington (6), D. C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of May 9. Beg to advise that I find myself in complete harmony with the bill; however, I am reluctant to constantly make suggestions to our congressional delegation. They are men who, by virtue of their positions, probably have information I do not have on so many subjects, and I deem it rather presumptive for me to be continually advising or making suggestions to them. I hope, however, you will find them sympathetic.

With best wishes and kind personal regards, I am,
Yours very truly,

LESTER C. HUNT, *Governor.*

CITY OF PASSAIC

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

MAY 12, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington (6), D. C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I am in hearty accord with the provisions of H. R. 2910, providing for the admission of displaced persons at the rate of 100,000 per year for four emergency years.

I will be glad to write our representatives and urge their support.
Sincerely yours,

NICHOLAS MARTINI, *Mayor.*

CITY OF ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

MAY 12, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington (6), D. C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I am in receipt of your letter of May 7, enclosing copy of H. R. 2910.

I am in full sympathy with your viewpoint regarding displaced persons and feel your legislation is sound and just.

I shall contact our Congressmen from this district and our two Senators.
Friendly yours,

JOSEPH ALTMAN, *Mayor.*

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

MAY 14, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,

*Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,**Washington 6, D. C.*

DEAR MR. HARRISON: Thank you for your letter of May 7, calling to my attention H. R. 2910, a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman William G. Stratton, of Illinois, which bill authorizes the United States to participate in the resettlement of displaced persons.

I fully realize the importance of this bill, since I saw at first hand, while a soldier in Europe, the sufferings endured by these unfortunate people who no longer have homes or countries.

I am wholeheartedly in favor of such a bill, and appreciate your letter on the subject.

Very truly yours,

DELESSEPS S. MORRISON, *Mayor.*

CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

MAY 19, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,

*Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,**Washington 6, D. C.*

DEAR MR. HARRISON: This is to acknowledge your letter of May 7 in which you have brought to my attention H. R. 2910.

It appears to me from study of this bill that it is an excellent piece of legislation and worthy of all possible support. I shall be happy to do what I can to urge its passage.

As I understand the bill, it does not affect our immigration quotas, but merely affords an opportunity to utilize the unused share of the quotas from the war years. It is my opinion that America will be enriched by opening its doors to those persons who meet the qualifications under our immigration laws, and even more than that, this would be a clear-cut demonstration of our humanitarian concern as to the welfare of thousands of our friends beyond the seas.

I am most happy to support you in this effort.

Sincerely yours,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, *Mayor.*

CITY OF STAMFORD, CONN.

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

MAY 22, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,

*Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,**Washington 6, D. C.*

DEAR MR. HARRISON: Enclosed herewith please find copy of letter forwarded to our Senators and Congressman re your letter of May 7.

Cordially yours,

CHARLES E. MOORE, *Mayor.*

MAY 21, 1947.

Hon. BRIEN McMAHON,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR McMAHON: I write your urging your support of bill H. R. 2910, which I understand is now before Congress. This bill, as you probably know, would authorize the United States to undertake its fair share of the burden and responsibility of the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy. It is to be noted particularly that priority is given under the bill to relatives of American veterans of World Wars I and II and to relatives of United States citizens.

I am reliably informed that this bill is supported by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, National Jewish Organizations, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace, Catholic War Veterans, Jewish War Veterans, American Veterans Committee, the National Council of American Veteran Organizations, and many others.

I am confident that you will be in back of this great humanitarian effort and I want to reassure you that we at home feel that this bill is worthy of every support.

Your support of this legislation will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially yours,

CHARLES E. MOORE, *Mayor.*

(Similar letter sent to Senator Raymond E. Baldwin and John Davis Lodge, Congressman, Fourth District.)

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., May 12, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York City, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I am in receipt of your letter of May 7 and wish to assure you of my interest in the legislation which has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman William G. Stratton, of Illinois.

As our representative, Mr. Kearney, will be in our city very shortly, I will be very glad to discuss the matter with him and urge his support.

Very truly yours,

MILLS TEN EYCK, *Mayor.*

MAY 19, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: Thank you for your recent letter.

I am in full sympathy with the purposes of your committee and, as requested, have written to the Members of Congress from Maryland endorsing House bill No. 2910.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE R. McKELDIN, *Mayor.*

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I appreciate your letter of May 9, 1947, regarding the securing of legislation to authorize the admission of European displaced persons into the United States.

I am glad to give my personal endorsement to a policy under which the United States would do its part in providing haven and opportunities for the displaced persons of Europe.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. SNYDER.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 21, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington 6, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HARRISON: This is in response to your letter of May 9, 1947, relative to the Stratton bill (H. R. 2910) for the relief of displaced persons.

I am in complete sympathy with the purpose of H. R. 2910, concerning which I have already submitted my report to the House Committee on the Judiciary, and with the views expressed in your letter regarding these unfortunate victims of war and persecution.

Moreover, it is my hope that permanent relief may also be extended to those displaced persons who have found only temporary haven, and to those who may not be displaced in the literal sense of the word but who are, nevertheless, displaced in the sense that they are the victims of constant oppression because of their race, religion, or political opinion.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

TOM CLARK, *Attorney General.*

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25, June 19, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
Washington 6, D. C.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I am grateful to you in soliciting my aid and assistance in furthering the humanitarian effort of your organization to meet the urgent and pressing problem of the some 850,000 displaced persons of Europe. For the last 6 years my work has taken me overseas, and so I have had first-hand knowledge of the untold suffering and hardship of these people.

Recently, in his address on the state of the Union, President Truman expressed his approval of accelerated immigration of displaced persons in this country. The President urged congressional assistance in the formulation of new legislation whereby we can fulfill our responsibilities to these homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths. I am wholeheartedly in support of such a program.

The bill H. R. 2910 proposes to admit into the United States as nonquota immigrants, provided they are qualified under all immigration laws of the United States for admission for permanent residence, not more than 100,000 displaced persons each year for a period of 4 years. The total of 400,000 for 4 years represents less than three-tenths of 1 percent of our total population. It is my opinion that such qualified refugees would, in large measure, contribute to the economic wealth of the country and would not become public charges. Our country has been a haven for the oppressed since our founding ancestors came here, because they believed in freedom and were willing to risk the unknown to win freedom of thought, action, and worship. The major part of the human race is looking to us, as the richest and most powerful country in the world, for leadership in removing the causes of economic and political unrest abroad. One of these causes is the pressing problem of displaced persons. We must and shall live up to our full responsibilities.

You may include me as one of the legion of supporters of the principle embodied in the bill H. R. 2910.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. HARRIMAN, *Secretary of Commerce.*

EXHIBIT III

LATEST LIST OF EDITORIALS, MAY AND JUNE 1947

City and State	Paper	Editorial	Date
Alabama:			
Anniston.....	Anniston Star.....	Europe's Homeless.....	June 3, 1947
Montgomery.....	Advertiser.....	H. R. 2910 Should Be Adopted....	June 25, 1947
Covering Alabama and northwestern Florida.	Mobile Diocese Weekly (Catholic Week).	Displaced Persons.....	May 23, 1947
California:			
Fresno.....	Bee.....	Decline in Foreign Born.....	May 15, 1947
San Francisco.....	Examiner.....	The Displaced Persons.....	May 31, 1947
Redwood City.....	Tribune.....	VE-Day Plus 2 Years.....	
San Francisco.....	Chronicle.....	Action or They Starve.....	June 17, 1947
Florida: Jacksonville.....	Florida Times-Union....	Should the United States Take a Share of Europe's DP's?	June 4, 1947
Georgia:			
Atlanta.....	Journal.....	More Immigrants?.....	
Do.....	Chronicle.....	Displaced Persons.....	June 17, 1947
Do.....	do.....	Time Is Running Out.....	June 15, 1947
Columbus.....	Inquirer.....	Homeless Millions Across the Sea.	June 11, 1947
Do.....	Ledger.....	Compelling Need.....	June 16, 1947
Iowa:			
Davenport.....	Democrat and Leader....	Solution Imperative.....	June 11, 1947
Do.....	do.....	DAR Stand.....	June 5, 1947
Des Moines.....	Tribune.....	Replacing the Displaced.....	June 18, 1947
Fairfield.....	Ledger.....	Shall We Make Room for 400,000 Europeans.	June 19, 1947
Iowa City.....	Daily Iowan.....	How Brightly Burns the Lamp of Liberty.	June 17, 1947
Do.....	do.....	DP's Do Not Threaten the "American Way."	June 19, 1947
Do.....	do.....	Immigration Bill Deserves Sup- port.	(1)
Illinois: Chicago.....	Sun.....	Founded and Built by Immigra- tion.	June 12, 1947
Indiana:			
Indianapolis.....	Times.....	Legion, DAR, and Immigration....	May 28, 1947
Garrett.....	Clipper.....	Human Wreckage of War.....	May 26, 1947
Kentucky:			
Louisville.....	Courier Journal.....	Authoritative Rebuttal of the Jobs Argument.	June 16, 1947
Do.....	do.....	Relief Rolls Contain No Dis- placed Persons.	June 7, 1947
Kansas:			
Iola.....	Register.....	Sympathy Only.....	June 4, 1947
Topeka.....	Capital.....	AFL Views on DP's.....	June 22, 1947
Louisiana: Lake Charles.....	American Express.....	Homeless Millions.....	June 11, 1947
Maine:			
Bangor.....	News.....	Displaced Persons.....	May 16, 1947
Portland.....	Express.....	Mr. Winant on the DP's.....	June 14, 1947
Do.....	do.....	The DP Bill.....	June 18, 1947
Do.....	Press Herald.....	Let 'Em In.....	June 19, 1947
Do.....	Telegram.....	Displaced Persons.....	June 15, 1947
Maryland: Baltimore.....	Sun.....	With Reference to the Statue of Liberty.	June 10, 1947
Massachusetts:			
Boston.....	Herald.....	Still the DP's.....	June 15, 1947
Do.....	Globe.....	People Without Homes.....	May 23, 1947
Lynn.....	Item.....	Haven for the Homeless.....	June 4, 1947
Pittsfield.....	Eagle.....	A Practical Way to Show Sym- pathy for DP's.	June 3, 1947
Michigan: Detroit.....	News.....	Who Are the DP's.....	June 19, 1947
Minnesota:			
Duluth.....	Herald.....	The Displaced.....	May 29, 1947
Minneapolis.....	Morning Tribune.....	Displaced Persons.....	June 28, 1947
St. Paul.....	Pioneer Press.....	Support for Stratton Bill.....	June 30, 1947
Missouri:			
St. Louis.....	Globe Democrat.....	Haven for DP's.....	June 15, 1947
Do.....	Post Dispatch.....	The Darkened Lamp.....	(2)
Do.....	do.....	America Should Lead.....	June 7, 1947
Do.....	Star-Times.....	Big Heart or Big Talk.....	June 12, 1947
Nebraska:			
Falls City.....	Journal.....	America Could Do More.....	May 28, 1947
Omaha.....	Morning WorldHera.....	The DP's.....	May 20, 1947
Do.....	Public Ledger.....	"Send These, The Homeless, Tempest-Tossed, to Me."	May 9, 1947

1 End of May.

2 Late May.

LATEST LIST OF EDITORIALS, MAY AND JUNE 1947—Continued

City and State	Paper	Editorial	Date
New York: Brooklyn.....	Citizen.....	Letting Down the Immigration Bars.....	May 28, 1947
Do.....	Eagle.....	Opposition to Any Immigration Lacks Traditional Sympathy of United States.....	May 25, 1947
New York.....	Herald Tribune.....	The American Way.....	June 29, 1947
Do.....	Journal American.....	The Displaced Persons.....	June 2, 1947
Do.....	Post.....	Displaced Persons.....	May 27, 1947
Do.....	Times.....	People Without Homes.....	June 26, 1947
Syracuse.....	Herald-Journal.....	An Appealing Proposal.....	June 14, 1947
Troy.....	Record.....	Our Fair Share.....	June 16, 1947
New York.....	Times.....	UNRRA to IRO.....	June 29, 1947
Do.....	Post.....	Courageous Reversal.....	June 28, 1947
Do.....	do.....	Tinkling Symbols.....	Do.
North Dakota: Devil's Lake.....	Journal.....	Solution Imperative.....	June 18, 1947
Ohio:			
Ashland.....	Times Gazette.....	Views on DP's.....	June 20, 1947
Dayton.....	News.....	Time for Action.....	June 12, 1947
Mansfield.....	News Journal.....	Homeless Millions Awaiting Aid.....	June 7, 1947
Salem.....	News.....	There's No Question.....	June 10, 1947
Oregon: Astoria.....	Astorian-Budget.....	For Letting in Some of Europe's Homeless.....	June 2, 1947
Pennsylvania:			
Chambersburg.....	Public Opinion.....	For Letting in Some.....	June 14, 1947
Philadelphia.....	Inquirer.....	To Do Our Fair Share, Pass Stratton Bill.....	June 10, 1947
Do.....	Presbyterian.....	400,000 DP's for America.....	June 7, 1947
Scranton.....	Catholic Right.....	DP's Look to United States.....	June 13, 1947
Sharon.....	Herald.....	For Europe's Homeless.....	June 11, 1947
Tennessee: Kingsport.....	Times.....	The Nation's Shame of Displaced Persons.....	June 8, 1947
Texas:			
Victoria.....	Advocate.....	Homeless Millions.....	June 9, 1947
Denton.....	Record-Chronicle.....	No Charge for Sympathy.....	June 2, 1947
Vermont: Burlington.....	Free Press.....	Hearing on Refugee Bill.....	June 7, 1947
Virginia:			
Bristol.....	News Bulletin.....	Displaced Persons.....	June 5, 1947
Lynchburg.....	Advance.....	Admitting DP's.....	June 14, 1947
Norfolk.....	Pilot.....	Prompt Action Needed on the Refugee Problem.....	May 18, 1947
Washington: Seattle.....	Post Intelligencer.....	Helping Soviet Persecution.....	June 17, 1947
West Virginia:			
Huntington.....	Advertiser.....	Displaced Persons.....	June 23, 1947
Wheeling.....	News Register.....	Admitting Displaced Persons.....	June 28, 1947
Wisconsin:			
Madison.....	Capital-Times.....	Things We Don't Understand.....	June 23, 1947
Wausau.....	Record-Herald.....	Wassau Takes an Interest.....	June 14, 1947
Wisconsin Rapids.....	Daily Tribune.....	The Homeless.....	June 1, 1947
Wyoming: Rock Springs.....	Miner.....	Europe's Unfortunates.....	Do.

CARTOONS

District of Columbia: Washington.....	Post.....	"Don't You Know There's A Housing Shortage Here?".....	June 17, 1947
Iowa: Des Moines.....	Register.....	America's Iron Curtain.....	(*)
Maine: Bangor.....	Daily Chronicle.....	"Go Back! Wrong Boat!".....	June 2, 1947
Missouri:			
St. Louis.....	Post Dispatch.....	Consulting Our Beginnings.....	June 7, 1947
Do.....	Star-Times.....	"Is My Face Red?" (Displaced Persons).....	June 12, 1947
Kentucky: Ashland.....	Daily Independent.....	Nullified—Immigration Quotas.....	June 16, 1947

* Late May or June 1.

EXHIBIT IV. IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION POLICY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION POLICY

Officers

Chairman: Earl G. Harrison.

Honorary vice chairman: Dr. Emory G. Bogardus, Albert D. Lasker, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman, Donald W. Nelson, James G. Patton, Dr. George N. Shuster, the Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker.

Treasurer: Read Lewis.

Executive board: John L. Bernstein, Allen T. Burns, Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain, Edward L. Corsi, Malcolm W. Davis, Mrs. Irving M. Engel, Hon. Phillip Forman, Lester Gutterman, Adolph Held, Miss Mary E. Hurlbutt, Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs, Dr. Robert I. MacIver, Hon. Nathan D. Perlman, William Rosenwald, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., Edward S. Skillin, Jr., L. Hollingsworth Wood.

Executive director: Dr. William S. Bernard.

The National Committee on Immigration Policy was organized in 1945 by thoughtful and public-spirited citizens from the spheres of business, labor, agriculture, religion, education, social work, and public affairs.

Its aim is to study the conditions and facts relating to immigration in the postwar period; to examine the relationship between present policy, the social and economic needs of the United States, and the basic ideals of American democracy; and to educate the public so that the question of postwar immigration can be dealt with in a spirit of objectivity, rather than of bias and fear.

There is much that is known to the scientist and specialist in immigration matters that is unknown to the general public. Impartial findings in many fields have a direct bearing upon immigration policy and would be instrumental, if available, in forming sound and reasoned attitudes. The committee believes it can perform a distinct educational service by interpreting terms of the scientist into the language of the layman.

This is the second of a series of studies to be issued by the committee in the furtherance of its educational objective. It deals with the relationship of immigration to population. The first study published by the committee was *Economic Aspects of Immigration*. Subsequent studies will include an analysis of the operation of the quota system, the international implications of immigration, and others.

The material herein represents the findings of the National Committee on Immigration Policy but naturally does not necessarily represent the views of organizations or associations with which its members are affiliated. It was prepared by Prof. Henry Miller, assistant director of the social research laboratory, sociology department, City College of New York, edited by Dr. William S. Bernard, and reviewed by its research committee of distinguished scholars, including Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain, Dr. Maurice R. Davie, Dr. Max Gottschalk, Miss Mary E. Hurlbutt, Dr. Alvin Johnson, Dr. Samuel Joseph, Dr. Philip Klein, Dr. Robert S. Lynd, Dr. Robert I. MacIver, Dr. Leland Rex Robinson, Miss Marian Schibsy, Dr. Hans Simons, Dr. Sterling Spero, and Dr. Donald R. Young.

IMMIGRATION'S SHARE IN OUR POPULATION GROWTH

Current population trends

An intelligent attitude toward immigration necessarily depends on an understanding of problems of population. An immigration policy such as our restriction or quota system is inevitably a policy affecting population. It is a commonplace that the population of a country can increase in only two ways: through a surplus of births over deaths, or through immigration. Furthermore, whether the population of a country is increasing, remaining static, or declining will affect our attitude toward the desirability of immigration in general and the amount of immigration that should be permitted.

Fortunately, our study of population has reached a point where we have fairly precise information concerning population trends, past, present, and even future, for the United States and for the principal countries of the world. We can demonstrate statistically that the rate of population increase for the United States is slowing down, so that it will in all probability reach a maximum figure in about 40 years, and then decline. Population totals for the United States can be predicted with considerable accuracy in advance. Thus, the statisticians missed an exact prediction of the 1940 population of 131,669,275 by only 150,000. The estimate made by the United States Bureau of the Census, in the spring of 1946, for 1990 is about 165,000,000. According to present American population trends this will represent the maximum figure we shall reach, after which our population will begin to decline.

The present era marks a new and significant development in European and American population, the importance of which is incompletely realized. The slowness with which the current trends have been recognized may be seen from the fact that as late as 1911, the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in its article on population states that "Population is continually in a state of motion and in large aggregates the direction is inevitably toward increase * * *."

Instances of general decline are confined to wild and comparatively small communities brought into contact with alien and more civilized races."¹ This quotation is clearly in error since first Europe and subsequently the United States have been confronted with a static and ultimately declining population.

Modern western civilization has gone through three population stages. The first stage extended from the Middle Ages to about the middle of the eighteenth century, when there were cycles of population increase and decrease without any definite trend. Plagues, famines, and wars periodically decimated the population. The second stage dates from about 1750 to the latter part of the nineteenth century. This period of the Industrial Revolution is characterized by a most remarkable increase in the population of Europe and the United States. Expansion of the food supply, rise in the standard of living, and development of modern medicine and sanitation led to a decrease in the appalling death rate of earlier times. From 1800 to 1915, the European population and its offshoots in other hemispheres increased from 210,000,000 to 645,000,000. This was 2½ times as great an increase as in the previous 800 years.² The third stage which seems to be typical of modern industrial society is characterized by a falling birth rate. This stage, which many European countries entered some decades ago and which the United States is now entering, foreshadows a static and eventually declining population.

The United States, following the second and third European stages of population development, experienced a phenomenally high birth rate in the colonial period which, however, began to decline slightly as early as 1830. A huge area of free or cheap land stimulated population growth in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is significant that heavy immigration, in the latter part of the nineteenth century and opening decades of the twentieth century maintained a high level of increase in spite of the industrialization of the United States and resulting decline in actual birth rates.

From 1890 up to 1924, the years when restrictive immigration policies were proposed and finally enacted in the quota system, population factors were hardly considered. Insofar as population factors figured at all, public opinion assumed that the American population would grow indefinitely, even though population experts and statisticians had already discerned the decreasing rate of growth, which meant an ultimately stationary and declining population.

In Europe, birth rates of various European nations reached their peak between 1860 and 1890, and in France, as early as 1850.³ Perhaps the most precise index of actual population trends is the net reproduction rate. This tells us the ratio of the size of the next generation to this one, providing fertility and mortality rates remain constant. If it is below 1.0, the population is not reproducing itself. Our net reproduction rate in 1935, while considerably above those of European countries such as France and England, was 0.96, or 0.04 less than the figure needed to insure the present population reproducing itself.⁴ The fact that our population is still increasing, though at a decreasing rate (between 1920 and 1930 our rate of population increase was 16.1 percent and between 1930 and 1940, 7.2) is a result of the surplus of younger adults who, in turn, are a product of the higher birth rates of earlier decades. The heavy immigration of the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century contributed substantially to the number of adults in the younger age groups, and therefore helped maintain the population increase in spite of the decline of the net reproduction rate.

Two other indexes of our population trend are the decline in the proportion of children and the increase in the proportion of older persons to the total population. In 1930, there were fewer children of school age than in 1920, and in 1940, still fewer. The median age of our population, which was 20.2 in 1870, was 26.5 in 1930 and 29.0 in 1940. In the United States in 1880, 11.8 percent of the population were over 50 years of age; in 1940, this figure had grown to 20.4 percent.

It is small wonder that European countries such as France, where the net reproduction rate was 0.87 in 1935, and England, where it was 0.78, are developing programs to increase the birth rate: family allowances, marriage loans, differential taxation, stimulation of immigration, and other devices are being tried.

¹ Cited by Reddaway, W. B., *The Economics of a Declining Population*, 1939.

² *Population Problems in the United States and Canada*, Dublin, Louis S. (ed.), 1926, p. 77.

³ Dublin, op. cit., p. 91.

⁴ Lorimer, Frank, Ellen Winston, and Louis K. Kiser, *Foundations of Population Policy*, 1940, p. 15.

However, students of population are inclined to believe that the trend toward a static and declining population is deeply rooted in present society, and is probably irreversible. The specter of overpopulation conjured up by Malthus at the end of the eighteenth century has given way to the fear of underpopulation, at least as far as European civilization and its off-shoots are concerned.

Recently there has been a conspicuous increase in marriages and in the number of births, which may be attributed to prosperous conditions and the psychological effect of the war; but these changes are most probably temporary, and will not greatly affect the long-term trend toward a static and declining population.

A realistic immigration policy must take into consideration our current population trends, for the subject of immigration has an important bearing on our general population problem. The history of immigration to the United States, its contribution to our population, its role in the present and in the future, take on new significance in the light of our new, clearly defined, population pattern.

How many immigrants have come to the United States?

The population growth of the present area of the United States has been the most rapid in recorded history. Inhabited by a few hundred thousand Indians in the early seventeenth century, continental United States in 1947 contains more than 141,000,000 inhabitants. By 1700, the colonial population had grown to 275,000; by 1750, to 1,207,000; by 1790, to 3,929,000. There was continuous immigration from Europe during this period and the native birth rate was at an extremely high level. The fairly high rate of increase until 1890, the slow decline until 1920, with the sharp decline for the decade 1930-40, are seen in table I (p. 12).

No official records were made of immigration prior to 1820. However, a reliable estimate places the number of immigrants between 1790 and 1820 at 2,500,000. Between 1820 and 1945, inclusive, 38,461,395 immigrants came to the United States, according to the records of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

According to Willcox⁵ the net immigration, or surplus remaining after departures are deducted, for this period would be in excess of 27,000,000. The extent to which the United States absorbed the unprecedented European population growth of the nineteenth century can be measured by the fact that of the 60,000,000 persons who left Europe between 1920 and 1924, three-fifths settled in the United States. Also, in 1929, of the 164,000,000 persons of European stock living outside of Europe, three-fifths, or one-third as many as resided in Europe, lived in the United States.⁶

TABLE I.—*Population, amount of increase, and percent increase*

[By decades, United States, 1650-1940 ¹]

Year	Population	Increase	Percent increase	Year	Population	Increase	Percent increase
	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>Thousands</i>			<i>Thousands</i>	<i>Thousands</i>	
1650.....	52			1800.....	5,308	1,379	35.1
1660.....	85	33	64.0	1810.....	7,240	1,931	36.4
1670.....	114	30	35.0	1820.....	9,638	2,399	33.1
1680.....	156	41	35.9	1830.....	12,866	3,228	33.5
1690.....	214	58	37.2	1840.....	17,069	4,203	32.7
1700.....	275	62	28.8	1850.....	23,192	6,122	35.9
1710.....	358	82	30.0	1860.....	31,443	8,251	35.6
1720.....	474	117	32.7	1870.....	39,818	8,375	26.6
1730.....	655	181	38.1	1880.....	50,156	10,337	26.0
1740.....	889	234	35.7	1890.....	62,948	12,791	25.5
1750.....	1,207	318	35.8	1900.....	75,995	13,047	20.7
1760.....	1,610	403	33.4	1910.....	91,972	15,978	21.0
1770.....	2,205	595	37.0	1920.....	105,711	13,738	14.9
1780.....	2,781	576	26.1	1930.....	122,775	17,064	16.1
1790.....	3,929	1,148	41.3	1940.....	131,669	8,894	7.2

¹ Data to 1790 from National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, 1938. Data from 1800 on from Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1946.

⁵ Willcox, Walter F., *Studies in American Demography*, 1940, pp. 389-393.
⁶ Willcox, Walter F. (ed.), *International Migration*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931, vol. II, p. 82.

Immigration swelled in volume through the nineteenth century from the 1840's up to 1910. However, as we will note shortly, the percentage of immigration to the population reached its peak in the decade between 1840 and 1850. The decade between 1880 and 1890 had an immigration of 5,247,000. In the next decade immigration declined to 3,688,000. However, in the following decade it rose to the maximum figures of 8,795,000. Between 1900 and 1920 it declined to 5,736,000 and in the decade between 1920 and 1930 it was 4,107,000. The restrictive immigration legislation enacted in this decade made itself evident in the immigration for the years 1930 and 1940 when immigration was reduced to 528,000. From 1941 to 1945 the immigration figure was 170,952. The average annual immigration for the period of 111 years from 1820 to 1940 inclusive was 345,000. The average net immigration (as calculated by Willcox) was 243,000.

TABLE II.—*Reported gross immigration and estimated net immigration, by decades*¹

Period	Immigra- tion reported	Reported or assumed percent net immi- gration was of gross	Estimated net increase from immi- gration	Period	Immigra- tion reported	Reported or assumed percent net immi- gration was of gross	Estimated net increase from immi- gration
	<i>Thousands</i>		<i>Thousands</i>		<i>Thousands</i>		<i>Thousands</i>
1820-30.....	152	100	152	1891-1900.....	3,688	65	2,397
1831-40.....	599	95	569	1901-7.....	6,219	61	3,794
1841-50.....	1,713	90	1,542	1908-14.....	6,709	61	4,092
1851-60.....	2,598	85	2,208	1915-22.....	2,717	47	1,277
1861-70.....	2,315	80	1,852	1923-30.....	2,992	85	2,543
1871-80.....	2,812	75	2,109	1931-40.....	528	13	69
1881-90.....	5,247	70	3,673	1941-45.....	171	75	129

¹ Based on Willcox, *Studies in American Demography*, table 195, p. 390 and Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report for 1945.

There were great fluctuations in the number of immigrants arriving in specific years as well as by decades, as has already been indicated. The yearly fluctuations before the enactment of the quota law corresponded closely to the business cycles in the United States. In depression years 1843-44, 1858-59, 1894-98 and 1908-9, immigration fell off sharply, to rise again with the upward swing of the business cycle.

The depression of the early 1930's showed a decline in immigration even below the annual figure of 153,779 then permitted by the quota law. In no year since 1931 has this annual quota been filled, and for the period from 1931-45 taken as a whole, quota immigration has represented only about one-fourth of that permitted under the quota law. It is worth noting that from 1930 to the present, immigration has not made a net addition to the American population, since the number of aliens who have left the United States plus those who have died among the foreign born is considerably greater than the number of immigrants who have entered the United States.

Size of immigration in relation to total population at different periods

Even in the periods of heavy immigration, immigration has represented a minor percentage of our total population. As Table III indicates, the ratio of immigration to population in our history was highest for the decade centering at the census year 1850 (1845-55), when it was 1.28 percent. It did not go above 1 percent again until the decade centering at 1910 when average annual immigration was 1.02 percent of the population. In the decades centering at 1920 and 1930 it dropped to 0.37 percent and 0.14 percent respectively. From 1935 to 1945 average annual immigration represented only 0.04 of the 1940 population. Under the present yearly quota of 153,929 the maximum possible percentage which annual quota immigration can be of our present population is slightly more than 0.10 percent. For a 10-year period, assuming the quota would be completely filled, quota immigration would amount to a little more than 1 percent of the population.

TABLE III.—Average annual immigration compared with population, by decades¹

[Average of 10 years immigration centered at July 1 of census year]

Date of census	Population, number	Average annual immigration		Date of census	Population, number	Average annual immigration	
		Number	Ratio to population			Number	Ratio to population
	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>Percent</i>		<i>Thousands</i>	<i>Thousands</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1830.....	12,866	34	0.26	1890.....	62,948	439	.70
1840.....	17,069	77	.45	1900.....	75,995	540	.71
1850.....	23,192	296	1.28	1910.....	91,972	942	1.02
1860.....	31,443	158	.50	1920.....	105,711	389	.37
1870.....	38,558	338	.88	1930.....	122,775	169	.14
1880.....	50,156	406	.81	1940.....	131,669	48	.04

¹ Data for 1820-1920 in Jerome, Harry V., *Migration and Business Cycles*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926. New York, p. 49.

Data for 1930, 1940 based on U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report for 1945.

The year with the largest immigration was 1907 when 1,438,000 immigrants entered, or 1.67 percent of the population. The percentage of immigration remained at about 1 percent or a little above until 1914, when it dropped sharply, reaching 0.23 percent in 1919.⁷ Even though immigration rose considerably in volume after 1870, the actual ratio of immigration to population experienced little change because of the increased size of the population in the later decades. Immigration in the last 20 years has been so small that it has added a scarcely perceptible percentage to our population, as the table makes clear.

The composition of immigration from the point of view of nationality will be discussed more in detail in the next section. However, we may say here that beginning about 1890 there was a shift from what is called the old immigration to the new immigration; the old being represented by the countries of northern and western Europe, and the new being the countries of southern and eastern Europe. In 1880, 50 percent of the European immigrants came from the British Isles, and 20 percent from Germany. But in the years from 1890 to 1914, two-thirds of the immigrants came from the countries of southern and eastern Europe. Between 1897 and 1914 there were more than three times as many new immigrants entering the United States as old—10,057,000 new immigrants, and 2,983,000 old.⁸ In 1907, the year of heaviest recorded immigration, Austria-Hungary, supplied 26.3 percent; Italy, 22.2 percent; and Russia, 20.1 percent of the total number of immigrants in contrast with 11.8 percent for the United Kingdom and Germany.

Analysis of the total flow of immigration to the United States since 1820 reveals that countries from both of these areas of Europe have made important contributions. Graph 1 compares the proportions of our total immigration from 1820 to 1945 coming from different parts of the world and from the most important immigrant-sending countries. Of individual countries Germany has sent us the largest number of immigrants, totaling 6,029,000. Great Britain with 4,269,000 and Ireland with 4,593,000 have been the other chief sources of our immigration from northern and western Europe. From southern and eastern Europe Italy with 4,720,000, Austria-Hungary with 4,144,000 and Russia with 3,344,000 have also been significant contributors. In the Americas, Canada holds the most conspicuous place having sent us 3,059,000 immigrants during this period.

Table IV (p. 17) gives the total immigration to the United States from all countries of the world from 1820 to 1945. Of the grand total of 38,461,395 for the period of 126 years, 32,678,000 came from Europe, 922,000 from Asia, 4,511,000 from the Americas. Of this latter figure, about three-fourths came from Canada, and about 800,000 from Mexico. The figures for Asiatic immigration indicate that 383,541 came from China and 277,949 from Japan. These latter figures may be compared with the present population of 77,504 Chinese and 126,947 Japanese in 1940, indicating the smallness of the residue of Orientals now in the United States.

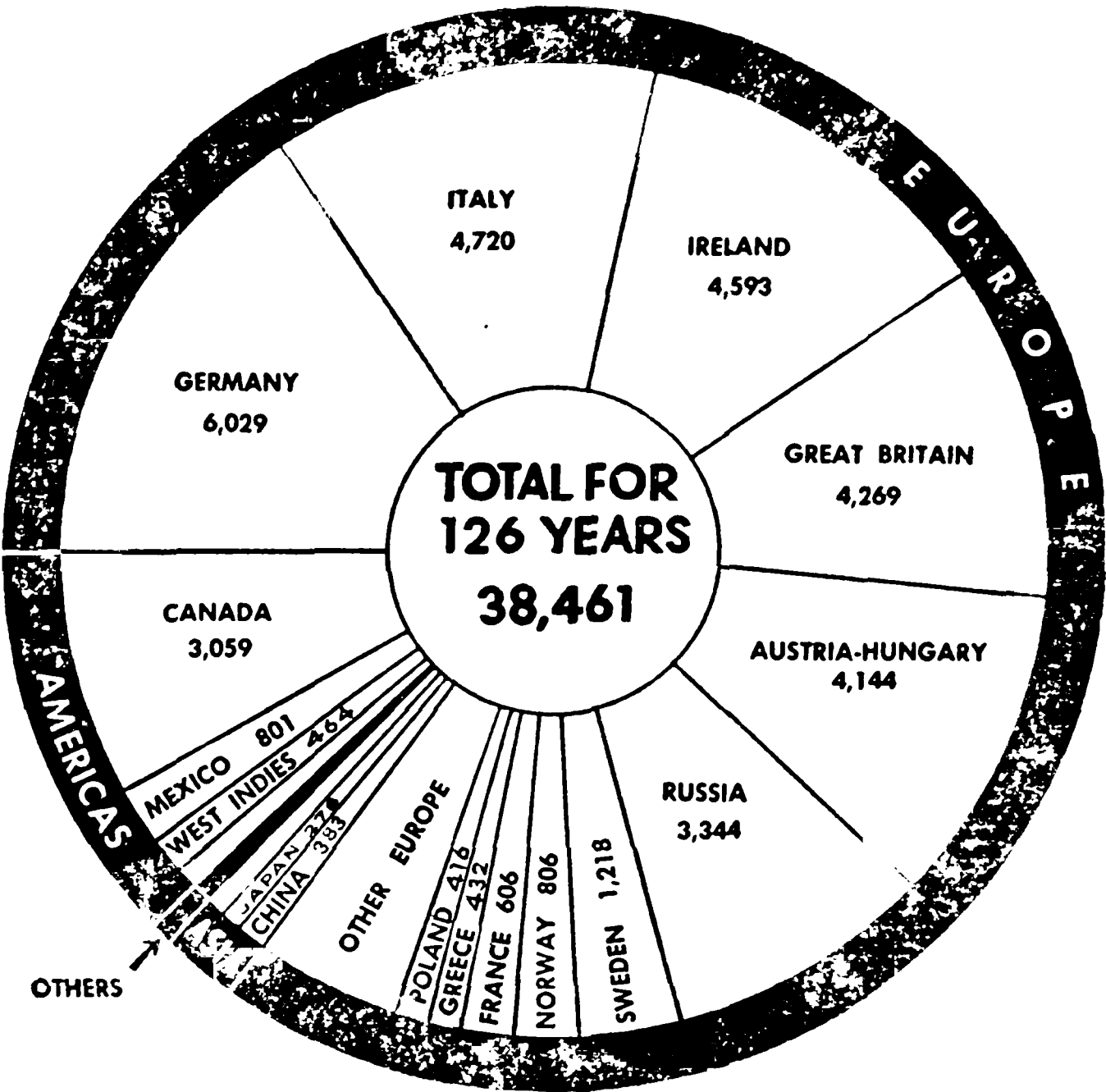
⁷ Jerome, Harry, *Migration and Business Cycles*, p. 49.

⁸ Abbott, Edith, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records*, 1924, p. 233.

GRAPH 1

NATIONAL ORIGIN OF IMMIGRATION TO U. S. 1820-1945

IN THOUSANDS



BAND ON ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

TABLE IV.—Immigration to the United States, 1820-1945, by countries ¹

Total—126 years
1820-1945

Europe-----	32, 677, 701
Albania-----	3, 707
Austria-Hungary-----	4, 144, 507
Belgium-----	160, 684
Bulgaria-----	66, 018
Czechoslovakia-----	120, 766
Denmark-----	355, 557
Estonia-----	2, 193
Finland-----	19, 988
France-----	606, 018
Germany-----	6, 028, 787

¹ From table 4, U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report for 1945.

TABLE IV.—Immigration to the United States, 1820-1945, by countries—Continued

Europe—Continued	Total—126 years 1820-1945
Great Britain:	
England	2, 654, 292
Scotland	734, 479
Wales	86, 533
Not specified	793, 741
Greece	431, 681
Ireland	4, 593, 167
Italy	4, 720, 158
Latvia	4, 776
Lithuania	8, 609
Luxemburg	1, 624
Netherlands	254, 919
Norway	805, 555
Poland	416, 430
Portugal	258, 978
Rumania	157, 326
Spain	171, 338
Sweden	1, 218, 332
Switzerland	297, 835
Turkey in Europe	156, 006
U. S. S. R.	3, 343, 539
Yugoslavia	57, 212
Other Europe	22, 946
Asia	921, 907
China	383, 541
India	10, 218
Japan	277, 949
Turkey in Asia	205, 474
Other Asia	44, 725
America	4, 511,180
Canada and Newfoundland	3, 059, 234
Mexico	800, 929
West Indies	464, 219
Central America	57, 824
South America	127, 969
Other America	1, 005
Africa	27, 756
Australia and New Zealand	57, 168
Pacific Islands	11, 617
Not specified	254, 066
All countries	38, 461, 395

How much has immigration increased our population?

The number of immigrants who have come to the United States both by specific periods and by countries of origin has been shown. It is clear that immigration throughout the nineteenth century and until the decade of the 1930's made a relatively important contribution to the growth of the American population. There are, however, statistical difficulties in estimating the exact increase which immigrants at various periods have added to our total population growth, owing to the fact that in the third and subsequent generations the descendants of immigration stock become statistically inseparable from the rest of the population in the census data.

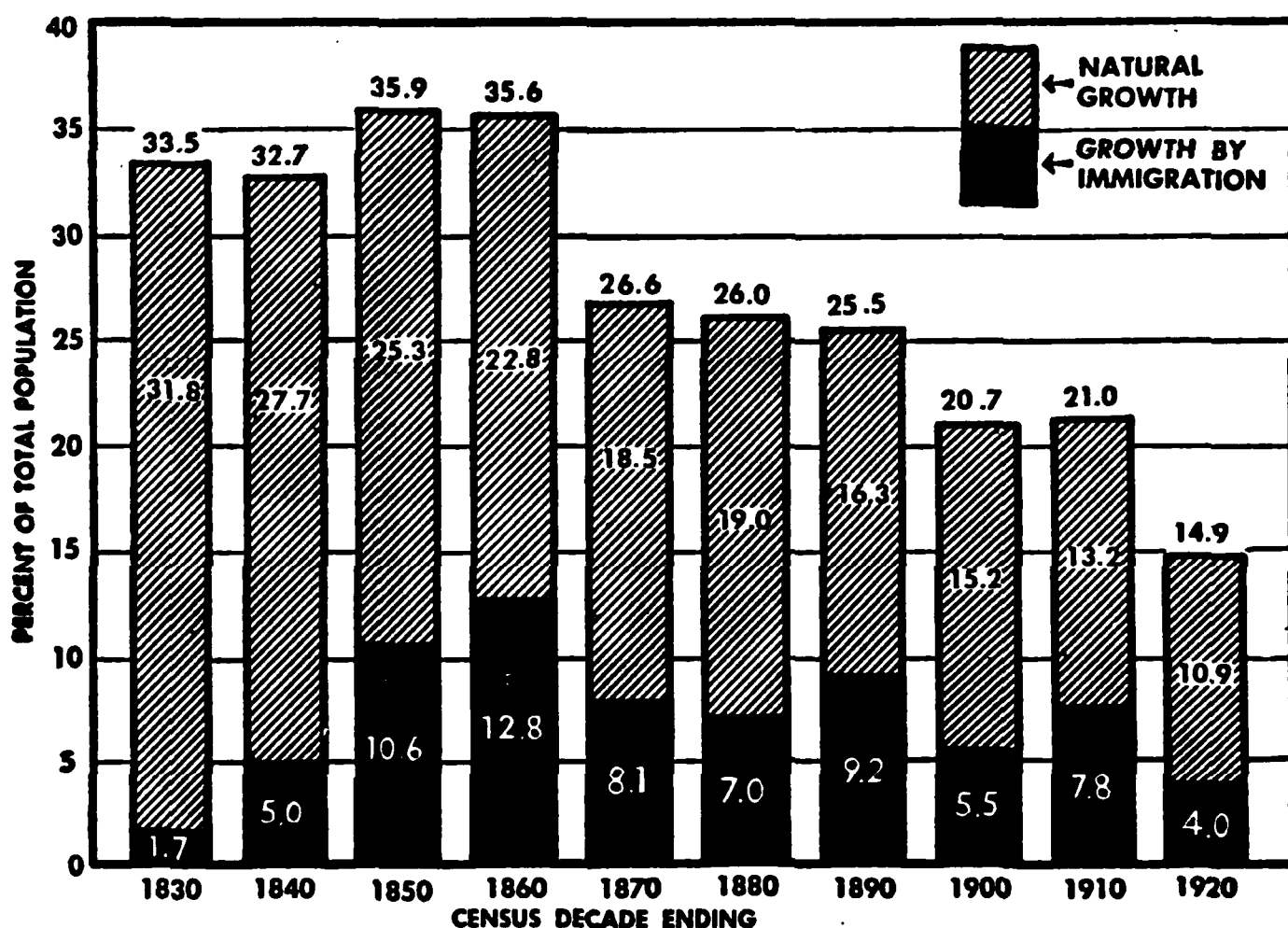
Because of these difficulties, Reuter based his analysis of the contribution of immigration to population growth since 1800 on the immigrants arriving in each decade. Graph 2, Share of Immigration in Our Population Increase, shows the results of his calculations. The total column for each decade represents the percent increase in total population over the population of the previous census. This column is broken down into its two components, natural growth and growth

due to immigration. "Growth by immigration," as calculated by Reuter,⁹ included not only net immigration but also natural increase of immigrants arriving during that period; the rate of natural increase of immigrant families was assumed to be the same as that of the total population for purposes of rough approximation. "Natural growth" was calculated by subtracting growth by immigration from total population increase. The decline in the rate of natural increase of the native population is particularly striking, dropping from 31.8 per cent in the decade ending 1830 to 10.9 per cent in the decade ending 1920.

Population increase viewed over the long range of our country's history emphasizes the importance of the role of immigration. The analysis made of the national origins of our population in 1920, used as the basis of present quotas, showed that more than half of our population is derived from immigrants coming here since 1790.

GRAPH 2

SHARE OF IMMIGRATION IN OUR POPULATION INCREASE



BASED ON E. B. REUTER, POPULATION PROBLEMS

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

There is still another aspect of the contribution which immigration has made to our population growth. Was immigration a net addition to our population, as common sense would indicate, or did immigration merely take the place of a potential native-born population? The second position, once popular, but now refuted, was maintained by Francis A. Walker, economist and Director of the United States Census Bureau in 1899. Walker's contention was that native Americans were "shocked" by the low standards of immigrants and refused to compete with them, with resultant lowering of native birth rates.¹⁰ Walker based his argument chiefly on the decline of the native birth rate, which began about 1830, after a phenomenal increase in the American population from 4,000,000 to 13,000,000 between 1790 and 1830. He pointed out that birth rates declined progressively with the swelling tide of immigration throughout the Nineteenth century. He argued that had the native American population continued to have the rate of increase of the decades before 1830, the total population of the United States in the long run would have increased more than it actually did, even with heavy immigration.

Nearly all demographers who have examined Walker's theory have held it to be incorrect. It is interesting that those writers on immigration who have given it some credence, such as Fairchild, Commons, and Ross have been, like Walker

⁹ Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems*, 1937, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰ Walker, F. A., *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, edited by D. Dewey; pp. 417-428, 429-436, 437-454.

himself, advocates of stringent restriction of the "new" immigration. Carr-Saunders has pointed out the role of bias in Walker's theory. "It is only possible to explain the prevalence of a thing so contrary to common sense and so lacking in factual support by supposing that it is used as a ready-made argument with a respectable ancestry to attack freedom of entry, which is disliked for reasons that cannot be conveniently disclosed."¹¹

Such statistical analysis as is possible also refutes Walker's position. Thus Willcox after showing that the decrease of the birth rate was not uniform as Walker supposed, calculates the rate of annual increase for identical enumeration areas between 1790 and 1830, and finds that these declined much less, and much more slowly than the rate for the country as a whole. Walker ignored the fact that between 1800 and 1860 the enumeration of population included areas which had not counted 10 years previously. The rate of increase per 10,000 people for identical enumeration areas shows practically no change from 1790 to 1860.¹²

Perhaps the most careful statistical analysis of Walker's position has been made by Thompson and Whelpton,¹³ who conclude that immigration was not the initial or basic cause that set off the decline in the birth rate, which was produced by many complex factors.

The most likely causes for the decline in the native birth rate are not mentioned by Walker. In the first place the lessening availability of cheap agricultural land was one plausible explanation. Secondly, the trend toward urbanization in the Nineteenth century undoubtedly influenced decline in the birth rates, since the birth rate of urban populations is much smaller than that of rural. In the third place, countries in Europe which had no immigration also have had declines in birth rates similar to that in the United States. Thus, in England and Wales, the birth rate declined from 34.6 in the period 1841-1850, to 23.6 in the period 1911-1915. It is also true that the continuous stream of immigrants tended to push native classes upward in the economic scale and into white-collar occupations. In the long run this would not fail to push the rate toward a conformity to the lower birth rates typical of an improved occupational status.¹⁴ Insofar as the immigrant birth rate also dropped, even though at a slower rate, it reflects the adjustment of the foreign-born to American conditions in general and to the conditions of an urban, industrialized, and highly competitive life.

In conclusion, the evidence does not sustain the extreme position maintained by Walker and it may be accepted that immigration has made a considerable contribution to our net population growth. It is particularly difficult to conceive of the development of our urban centers from 1890 up to the present without the steady influx of immigrants.

THE FOREIGN-BORN AS PART OF OUR POPULATION

National origins of our population

So far we have been considering chiefly the effect of immigration as a whole on our population. We turn now to the consideration of the ethnic composition of our population as it has been affected by immigration. Our knowledge of the national origin of the American population as a whole is a result of the passage of the 1924 quota law. Under the provisions of this law, Congress had to determine the national origins of the population. This arduous task was undertaken by the Bureau of the Census, which later was assisted by the Council of Learned Societies. A distribution was made of immigrant stock in relation to descendants of original native stock.

TABLE V.—Distribution of white population, by decades, 1890-1920, into original stock and immigrants¹

Census year	Total	Original native stock	Immigrant stock
1890.....	55, 101, 258	30, 432, 466	24, 668, 792
1900.....	66, 809, 196	34, 272, 951	32, 536, 245
1910.....	81, 731, 957	38, 101, 175	42, 630, 782
1920.....	94, 826, 915	41, 288, 570	53, 532, 345

¹ Thompson and Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, p. 86.
¹¹ Carr-Saunders, Alexander M., World Population, 1936, p. 205.
¹² Wilcox, W. F., Studies in American Demography, pp. 397-399.
¹³ Thompson, W. S., and Whelpton, P. K., Population Trends in the United States, 1933, p. 811.
¹⁴ Thompson, W. S., Population Problems, 3d ed., 1942, pp. 381-382.

Of the total white population in 1920, 53,532,345, or little more than one-half, were descended from immigrant stock, that is, from persons coming to the United States after 1789.

The descendants of immigrant stock were further subdivided into immigrants, children of immigrants, and grandchildren and later generations. In 1920, 18,712,754 were immigrants, 19,190,372 were children of immigrants, and 20,629,219 were grandchildren and later generations. (See table VI, p. 24.)

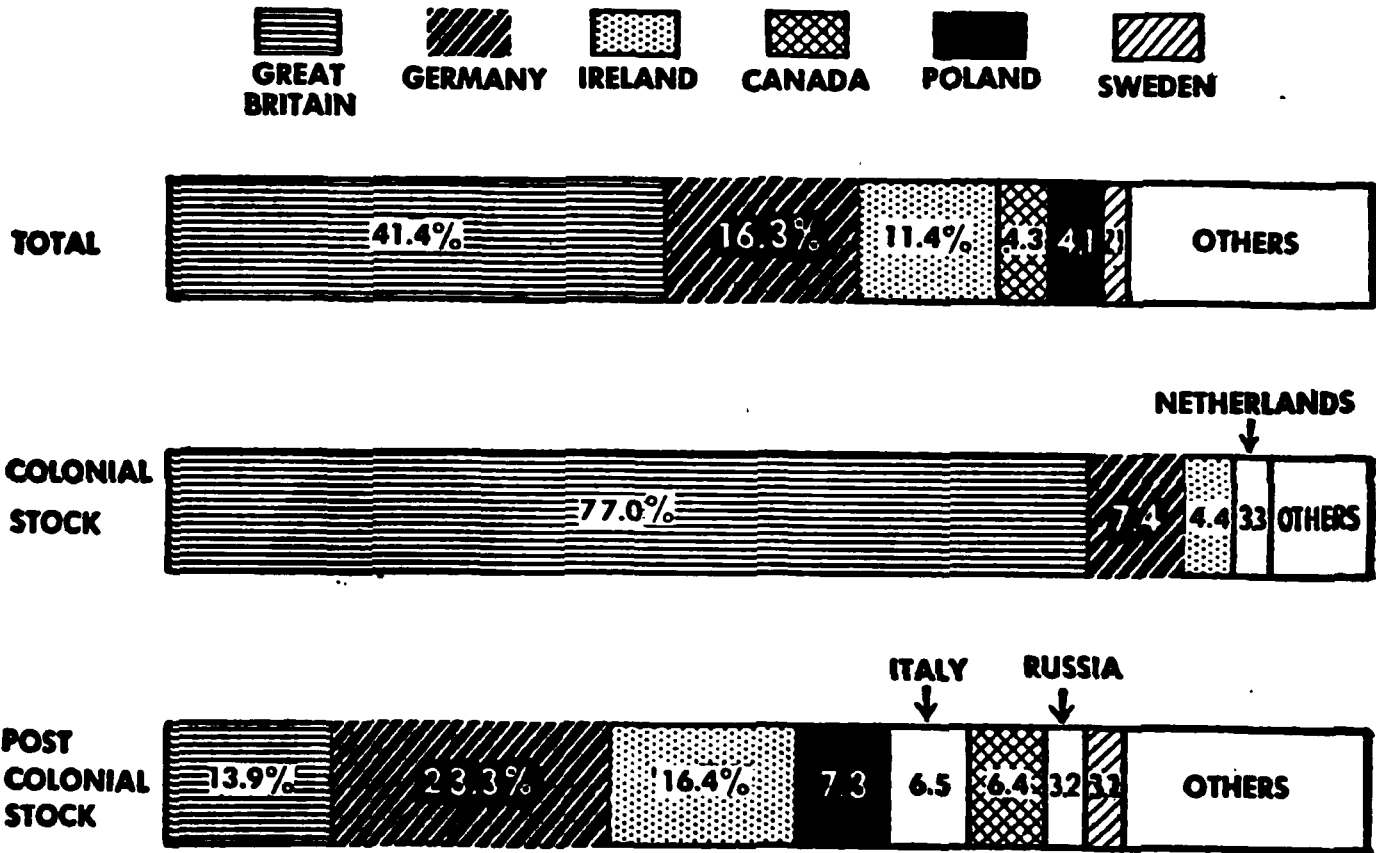
The countries of origin of the population were also estimated as accurately as possible. The proportional representation of the various nationalities in our colonial and postcolonial population and in our total 1920 population are shown in graph 3. It was found that nearly all our colonial stock were derived from the countries of northern and western Europe, 77 percent from Great Britain, 7.4 percent from Germany, and 4.4 percent from Ireland. Of our postcolonial stock, derived from immigrants coming here since 1790, only 13.9 percent were derived from Great Britain, 23.3 percent from Germany, and 16.4 percent from Ireland. The countries of southern and eastern Europe, chiefly Poland and Italy, were also clearly represented in this new stock.

TABLE VI.—Immigration stock, by decades, 1890–1920, divided into immigrants, children of immigrants, and grandchildren and later generations ¹

Census year	Total	Immigrants	Children of immigrants	Grandchildren and later generations
1890.....	24,668,792	9,121,867	9,794,374	5,752,78
1900.....	32,536,245	10,213,817	13,139,149	9,183,79
1910.....	43,630,782	13,345,545	15,907,074	14,378,163
1920.....	53,532,345	13,712,754	19,190,372	20,629,219

¹ Thompson and Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, p. 87.

GRAPH 3
NATIONAL ORIGIN OF WHITE POPULATION OF U. S. IN 1920



BASED ON THOMPSON AND WHELPTON, POPULATION TRENDS

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

The results as applying to our total 1920 population may be summarized as follows: "Great Britain and Northern Ireland have been the immediate source (combining figures for descendants of colonial stock, descendants of immigrants arriving after the Revolutionary War, and immigrants now living) of 41.4 percent of the total white population of the United States in 1920, according to the committee appointed to determine immigration quotas. If persons of English descent but born in nonquota countries (chiefly Canada) had been included, this figure would have been raised three or four points to about 45 percent. Ireland, as represented by the Irish Free State, is officially estimated to have contributed directly 11.2 percent, Germany 16.3 percent, and the Netherlands 2 percent of our total white population. It is therefore evident that the four nationality groups which predominated in the American Colonies before the Revolutionary War have directly supplied more than 70 percent and indirectly about 75 percent of the present white population of the United States."¹⁵ The detailed distribution of the 1920 population by colonial and postcolonial stock according to country of origin is given in table VII.

TABLE VII.—*Apportionment of the white population of the United States, by country of origin, 1920*¹

Country of origin	Total	Percent	Colonial stock	Percent colonial	Post-colonial stock	Percent post-colonial stock
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Thou- sands		Thou- sands		Thou- sands	
Total.....	94, 821	100. 0	41, 289	100. 0	53, 532	100. 0
Quota countries.....	89, 507	94. 4	40, 324	97. 7	49, 182	91. 9
Austria.....	843	. 9	14	0	829	1. 5
Belgium.....	778	. 8	602	1. 5	176	. 3
Czechoslovakia.....	1, 715	1. 8	55	. 1	1, 660	3. 1
Denmark.....	705	. 7	93	. 2	612	1. 2
Estonia.....	69	. 1			69	. 1
Finland.....	339	. 4	4	0	335	. 6
France.....	1, 842	1. 9	767	1. 9	1, 075	2. 0
Germany.....	15, 489	16. 3	3, 037	7. 4	12, 452	23. 3
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.....	39, 216	41. 4	31, 804	77. 0	7, 412	13. 9
Greece.....	183	. 2			183	. 4
Hungary.....	519	. 6			519	1. 0
Irish Free State.....	10, 653	11. 2	1, 822	4. 4	8, 832	16. 4
Italy.....	3, 462	3. 6			3, 462	6. 5
Latvia.....	141	. 2			141	. 2
Lithuania.....	230	. 2			230	. 5
Netherlands.....	1, 881	2. 0	1, 367	3. 3	515	1. 0
Norway.....	1, 419	1. 5	75	. 2	1, 343	2. 5
Poland.....	3, 893	4. 1	9	0	3, 884	7. 3
Portugal.....	263	. 3	24	. 1	239	. 5
Rumania.....	176	. 2			176	. 3
Russia (European and Asiatic).....	1, 661	1. 8	4	0	1, 657	3. 2
Spain.....	150	. 2	38	. 1	112	. 2
Sweden.....	1, 977	2. 1	217	. 5	1, 760	3. 2
Switzerland.....	1, 019	1. 1	389	. 9	630	1. 2
Syria and Lebanon.....	73	. 1			73	. 1
Turkey.....	135	. 1			135	. 2
Yugoslavia.....	504	. 5			504	. 9
All other.....	171	. 2	4	0	167	. 3
Nonquota countries.....	5, 314	5. 6	964	2. 3	4, 350	8. 1
Canada.....	4, 037	4. 3	646	1. 6	3, 391	6. 4
Newfoundland.....	48	. 1	8	0	40	
Mexico.....	1, 126	1. 2	294	. 7	832	. 6
West Indies.....	66	. 1	10	0	56	. 1
Central and South America.....	37	0	6	0	31	

¹ Based on 70th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 289, Immigration Quotas on the Basis of National Origin, p. 5.

¹⁵ Lorimer, Frank, and Frederick Osborn, *Dynamics of Population*, 1934, pp. 88-89.

Twenty years later the picture had changed somewhat: The distribution by national origin of the foreign-born white population of 1940 shows the effect of the more recent or new immigration. The countries of northwestern Europe account for 24.8 percent; those of central Europe for 34.5 percent; eastern Europe, 12.9 percent; southern Europe, 16.6 percent; and Canada and Newfoundland, 9.3 percent of the total. (See table VIII.)

TABLE VIII.—Percentage distribution, by countries, of birth of foreign-born population of United States in 1940¹

Country of birth:	Percentage
Northwestern Europe-----	24.8
England and Wales-----	5.8
Irish Free State-----	5.0
Scotland-----	2.5
Norway-----	2.3
Sweden-----	3.9
All others-----	5.3
Central Europe-----	30.5
Germany-----	10.8
Poland-----	8.7
Czechoslovakia-----	2.8
Austria-----	4.2
Hungary-----	2.6
Yugoslavia-----	1.4
Eastern Europe-----	12.9
Russia (U. S. S. R.)-----	9.1
All others-----	3.8
Southern Europe-----	16.6
Italy-----	14.2
All others-----	2.4
Canada and Newfoundland-----	9.3
All others-----	5.9
Total-----	100.0

¹Based on Thompson, *Population Problems*, 1942 ed., p. 117, table 21.

Supplementary light on the ethnic make-up of our population is seen in the statistics of mother tongues of the white population. In 1940, 78.6 percent of the total population gave English as the mother tongue. Of the native population of foreign or mixed parentage, 52.6 percent listed English as their native tongue; of the foreign-born, 22.6 percent gave English as their mother tongue. Among the foreign-born, 14.3 percent gave German as their mother tongue, 14.1 percent gave Italian, 7.2 percent gave Polish, and 8.3 percent gave Yiddish. (See table IX on the next page.)

The percentage distribution of the foreign-born by mother tongue for 1940 is shown in table IX. (Mother tongue is defined by the census as the principal language spoken in the home in earliest childhood. It does not mean that the persons giving languages other than English as their mother tongue did not also have some knowledge of English.)

The fact that more than twice as large a percentage of the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage as of foreign-born gave English as their mother tongue is indicative of the assimilative influence of the American environment.

TABLE IX.—Percent by mother tongue of foreign-born population—1940 ¹

Mother tongue:	Percent by mother tongue
English-----	22.6
German-----	14.3
Italian-----	14.1
Polish-----	7.2
Spanish-----	3.9
Yiddish-----	8.3
French-----	3.2
Swedish-----	3.8
Norwegian-----	2.1
Russian-----	3.2
Czech-----	1.4
All others-----	13.7
Not reported-----	2.2
Total-----	100.0

¹ Based on Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population : Nativity and Parentage of the White Population—Mother Tongue, p. 2, table I.

Even though it does not bear directly on the problem, of parallel interest to the question of national origins of the immigrants is that of their religious affiliation. Most of the early colonial stock was of Protestant denomination, but many Catholics came over to Louisiana, Maryland, and elsewhere and even some Jews. Estimates of the immigrants by religious preference at the present time are admittedly difficult to make for many reasons, but the following breakdown of the foreign-born population by religious affiliation may be considered a rough approximation.

TABLE X.—Foreign-born white population by religious preference—1940 ¹

	Percent
Protestant-----	35
Catholic-----	40
Jewish-----	9
Others and unreported-----	16
Total-----	100

¹ Estimates based on data, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, vol. II, Population : Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, General Characteristics and Mother Tongue and Jewish Year Book, 1945-46, American Jewish Committee.

The declining number of foreign-born

As can be deduced from the sharp decline of immigration, percentages which the foreign-born constitute of our total population have decreased rapidly in the last two decades. In 1920 the foreign-born white population was 13 percent of the total. In 1930, this percentage had dropped to 11.4 percent, and by 1940 it had dropped to 8.6 percent. Likewise, the native white of foreign or mixed parentage shows a decline from 21.1 percent in 1930 to 17.5 percent in 1940. (See table XI.)

TABLE XI.—White population, by nativity and parentage, 1880-1940 ¹

[By percentages of total]

Class	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Total white-----	86.5	87.5	87.9	88.9	89.7	89.8	89.8
Native white-----	73.5	73.0	74.5	74.4	76.7	78.4	81.2
Native white native parentage-----	57.0	54.8	53.9	53.8	55.3	57.3	63.7
Native white foreign or mixed parentage-----	16.5	18.3	20.6	20.5	21.5	21.1	17.5
Native white foreign parentage-----	12.7	12.8	14.0	14.0	14.8	14.2	11.5
Native white mixed parentage-----	3.8	5.4	6.6	6.5	6.6	6.9	6.0
Foreign-born white-----	13.1	14.5	13.4	14.5	13.0	11.4	8.6

¹ Based on Statistical Abstract of United States, 1944-45 (66th Number), Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, p. 34, table 31.

Between 1930 and 1940, for the first time in recent decades, there was a decline in the number of foreign-born white persons, amounting to 2,564,267, or an actual decrease of 18.3 percent. Similarly, the native white of foreign or mixed parentage declined by 2,744,803, or a decrease of 10.6 percent. Since 1927 there has been a continuous excess of deaths over net immigration. With a continuation of the present trend of immigration, the number of foreign-born persons in the population will be reduced with great rapidity.

The distribution of the foreign-born population according to the years in which they entered the United States reinforces the picture of an aging and declining foreign-born population. Thus, 32.7 percent of the foreign born came to the United States in 1900 or earlier and another 27.5 percent between 1901 and 1910.

TABLE XII.—*Percentage distribution of year of immigration of foreign-born white population of United States in 1930*¹

1925-30.....	7.2
1920-24.....	11.6
1915-19.....	4.1
1911-14.....	12.8
1901-10.....	27.5
1900 or earlier.....	32.7
Unknown.....	4.0
Total.....	100.0

¹ Based on Fifteenth Census of United States, 1930, vol. II, Population: General Characteristics, p. 9.

As might be expected, the downward trend in the number of foreign-born is accompanied by an increase in the older age groups among them. In 1940, 6 percent of the native-born were aged 65 or over, compared to 18 percent of the foreign-born in this category.¹⁶

The number of aliens in the United States has similarly declined sharply. The national registration of aliens completed in December 1940 indicated that there were 4,889,770 aliens in continental United States. Aliens who had represented 7 percent of our population in 1920 had dropped to 2.7 percent by 1945 when they numbered about 3,050,000.¹⁷

The age distribution of the alien population shows that in 1940 one-fifth of all aliens were 60 years of age or above, and children under 10 years of age were less than one-half of 1 percent of the total. The distribution of the alien population of 1940, according to the size of the community in which aliens lived, is shown in table XIII. While 33.4 percent of aliens live in cities of 1,000,000 or over, nearly as great a percentage, 30.6, live in cities under 50,000 and in towns and rural areas, indicating a broad distribution.

TABLE XIII.—*Distribution of aliens in continental United States in 1940*¹

Size of community	Number of aliens	Percent distribution
1,000,000 or above.....	1,631,007	33.4
500,000 to 1,000,000.....	616,331	12.6
250,000 to 500,000.....	401,698	8.2
100,000 to 250,000.....	417,939	8.6
50,000 to 100,000.....	324,375	6.6
Cities under 50,000 and in towns and rural areas.....	1,498,420	30.6
Total.....	4,889,770	100.0

¹ Based on Monthly Review, Immigration and Naturalization Service, May 1946, p. 311.

The birth rate of the foreign-born is going down

Recent data have corrected the once prevalent notion that foreign-born families were much larger than native-born. It is true the earliest studies revealed a considerably higher birth rate for immigrant families than for native families.

¹⁶ Thompson and Whelpton, *Estimates of Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000* (for National Resources Planning Board), 1943, p. 34.

¹⁷ Monthly Review, United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, October 1945, p. 209.

At the time of the investigations of the Immigration Commission in 1907, the fecundity of foreign-born women was nearly twice that of native-born, though infant mortality rates were also higher for foreign-born than for native-born. However, the birth rate of the foreign-born has dropped sharply since that period. From 1920 to 1929, the standardized birth rate of foreign-born white women declined 32 percent, while that of native white women declined 20 percent.¹⁸ Other studies indicate that the decline in the birth rate of foreign-born women has been more rapid than that of native-born and that if there is any disparity between the two groups at the present time, it is very small. Specific birth rates for 1940 were as follows: ¹⁹

	Native white	Foreign-born white
Age group:		
20 to 24.....	123.8	121.8
25 to 29.....	116.7	211.7
30 to 44.....	78.1	84.8

Various factors have worked to decrease the birth rates of the foreign-born. Thus, since immigrant restriction has been in effect the younger age groups among the foreign-born have decreased rapidly. Even more important, the foreign-born are city residents to a greater extent than the native-born. Since the birth rates of cities are considerably lower than that of rural areas, this tends to swell the rate of increase of the native-born and to decrease the rates of the foreign-born. In general, the statistical trends in respect to birth rates would seem to confirm the statement: "In the United States the birth rates of the immigrant stocks fall in the degree to which people are assimilated to the culture." ²⁰

Geographic distribution of the foreign-born

We have a fairly good statistical picture of the current geographic distribution of the foreign-born. In the nineteenth century, the foreign-born were a larger proportion of the population of the Pacific States than they were of the Middle Atlantic or of the Eastern States. However, by 1890 New England had the highest proportion of foreign-born in its population, or 24.3 percent. In 1930 New England still had the largest percentage of foreign-born among its people, or 22.6 percent, followed closely by the Middle Atlantic region with 20.4 percent. The smallest proportion of foreign-born is found in the East South Central States, where they were only 0.6 percent of the population in 1930.

TABLE XIV.—*Foreign-born, by geographic divisions, 1850, 1890, 1930,*¹

Divisions	1850	1890	1930	Divisions	1850	1890	1930
New England.....	11.2	24.3	22.6	West North Central.....	11.3	17.3	8.2
Middle Atlantic.....	17.3	21.6	20.4	West South Central.....	9.3	4.6	3.6
Pacific.....	21.6	27.2	17.6	South Atlantic.....	2.2	2.4	2.0
East North Central.....	12.2	18.6	12.9	East South Central.....	1.5	1.6	.6
Mountain.....	5.8	21.2	10.4				

¹ Based on Willcox, *Studies in American Demography*, p. 151, table 61.

There is a heavy concentration of persons of foreign stock in urban areas. In 1940, the foreign-born were distributed as follows: 80 percent in urban areas, 12 percent in rural nonfarm, and 8 percent in rural farm areas; the foreign or mixed parentage showed a distribution of 74, 14.4 and 11.6 percent, respectively. And the respective distribution for native-born is 55.1, 22, and 22.9 percent.

¹⁸ National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 127.
¹⁹ *Vital Statistics Rates, 1940*, United States Bureau of the Census, p. 698, table 52.
²⁰ Reuter, *op. cit.*, pp. 830-844.

The foreign-born population of some of our largest cities in 1940 constituted the following percentages of the total population: Chicago, 19.8; Detroit, 19.8; Boston, 23.5; New York, 27.9; Philadelphia, 19.8; Newark, N. J., 21; Cleveland, 20.4. Yet since 1910 the percentage which the foreign-born constitute of all urban areas has declined from 24.2 to 13.4 percent.

TABLE XV.—Percent of native and foreign-born whites of urban, rural farm, rural nonfarm population, by nativity ¹

	1910		1920		1930		1940	
	Native	Foreign-born	Native	Foreign-born	Native	Foreign-born	Native	Foreign-born
Urban.....	75.8	24.2	79.5	20.5	82.6	17.4	86.6	13.4
Rural, nonfarm.....			89.4	10.6	92.1	7.9	94.5	5.5
Rural farm.....			94.5	5.5	95.2	4.8	96.4	3.6

¹ Based on Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, vol. II, Characteristics of Population, p. 20.

The proportion of foreign-born whites in cities is about three times that of the country districts. However, a careful study of the distribution of the foreign-born since the latter part of the nineteenth century shows a tendency for the foreign-born to distribute themselves more widely over the country and also more evenly in all cities, except possibly the very largest. It should be realized that the movement of the foreign-born toward cities was paralleled by the movement of the native-born from rural to urban centers, with a resulting decrease in the proportion of the population living in rural areas as compared to cities. Tables XVI and XVII, showing the distribution by size of community for the foreign-born white population and the native white population of foreign or mixed parentage, indicate the manner in which the second generation has distributed itself more widely, particularly in more recent decades. The city, where the foreign-born immigrant comes on his arrival, is a way station from which he is dispersed to other regions in the course of time.²¹

TABLE XVI.—Foreign-born white population and percentage distribution by size of community, 1870-1930 ¹

Size of community	Percentage distribution				
	1870	1890	1910	1920	1930
1,000,000 or over.....		14.9	23.2	23.3	30.6
500,000 to 1,000,000.....	11.0	2.9	5.8	10.6	8.3
250,000 to 500,000.....	7.3	7.7	7.2	5.6	6.7
100,000 to 250,000.....	8.4	8.0	7.4	8.3	7.9
25,000 to 100,000.....	9.2	10.8	12.4	12.7	12.8
10,000 to 25,000.....	8.0	7.9	7.2	7.2	7.6
2,500 to 10,000.....	9.6	8.6	8.3	7.9	6.4
Rural.....	46.6	39.3	28.6	24.5	19.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Farm.....				10.4	8.1
Nonfarm.....				14.0	11.6

¹ Thompson and Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, 1933, p. 48.

²¹ Wilcox, Walter F., Studies in American Demography, 1940, pp. 152-158.

TABLE XVII.—Native white population of foreign or mixed percentage and percentage distribution, by size of community, 1890–1930 ¹

Size of community	Percentage distribution			
	1890	1910	1920	1930
1,000,000 or over.....	11.5	17.1	17.8	21.8
500,000 to 1,000,000.....	2.7	5.6	9.4	7.7
250,000 to 500,000.....	7.8	7.4	5.9	7.1
100,000 to 250,000.....	7.6	7.2	7.8	7.7
25,000 to 100,000.....	9.9	11.5	12.1	12.7
10,000 to 25,000.....	7.5	7.2	7.5	8.6
2,500 to 10,000.....	8.8	8.8	8.7	7.8
Rural.....	44.2	35.3	30.8	26.6
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Farm.....			16.5	13.0
Nonfarm.....			14.3	13.6

¹ Thompson and Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, p. 70.

OUR POPULATION IS GROWING OLDER AND WILL GROW SMALLER

We have studied the contribution immigration has made to our population history and indicated the abrupt decline in the number of immigrants and foreign born in the last two decades. We have also noted briefly the integration of the immigrant into the American population patterns. We now have to consider our current population trend in detail to determine particularly whether this trend points toward or away from the desirability of further immigration. The question we are concerned with is whether on the basis of actual population estimates for the balance of the twentieth century, it is desirable that immigration should play a part in our population pattern. Furthermore, we can anticipate to a degree what the specific role of immigration might be in the unfolding American population pattern.

The latest forecast of future population trends for the United States predicts the following population by decades, beginning 1950: ²²

July 1, 1950.....	145,460,000	July 1, 1980.....	163,877,000
July 1, 1960.....	153,375,000	July 1, 1990.....	164,585,000
July 1, 1970.....	159,847,000	July 1, 2000.....	163,312,000

The end of our population growth

The peak population of 164,585,000 (based on estimates of median fertility, median mortality, no net immigration) will be reached in 1990, after which there will be a slow decline. This forecast represents an expected increase of about 25 percent in the next 50 years compared with an increase of 100 percent in the 50 years before 1940.

It is true that there has been a spurt in the birth rate from 1941 to 1945 inclusive, when there were nearly 15,000,000 births or 2½ million more than in the period between 1936 and 1940. Nevertheless, the indications are that this is a short-term trend, which, while it will raise the population peak over previous estimates by some 7,000,000, will not interfere with the long-term trend. A careful study of a similar rise in the English birth rate comes to the conclusion that the rise in that country is due to the increase in the number of marriages resulting from war and postwar factors; moreover, this study concludes that this rise will not stem the decline of the British population, which in 1970 will be several million less than now. ²³

Between 1920 and 1924 an average of 1½ million persons were added to the population each year by natural increase and another 400,000 through immigration. A decade later, immigration had practically ceased and the number of persons added by natural increase had dropped to less than 1,000,000. The cessation of immigration by cutting off of younger adults has hastened the decreasing rate of population growth. While perhaps not the major factor in the general trend of population decline, the falling off of immigration to a negligible figure has moved closer the day of the declining and static population in the United States.

²² Population Special Report No. 7, September 1946, U. S. Bureau of the Census.
²³ Enid, Charles, Post War Demographic Problems in Great Britain, American Journal of Sociology, vol. XI, No. 5, October 1946, pp. 578–590.

We have already referred to the decrease in the net reproduction rate to 0.96, or less than the 1 percent needed for the population to reproduce itself. In urban centers, in the period 1935 to 1940, the rate fell to 0.74; in rural nonfarm areas it was 1.14; and in rural farm areas it was 1.44. Obviously, it is the rural areas which bolster the low net reproduction rate of the cities.

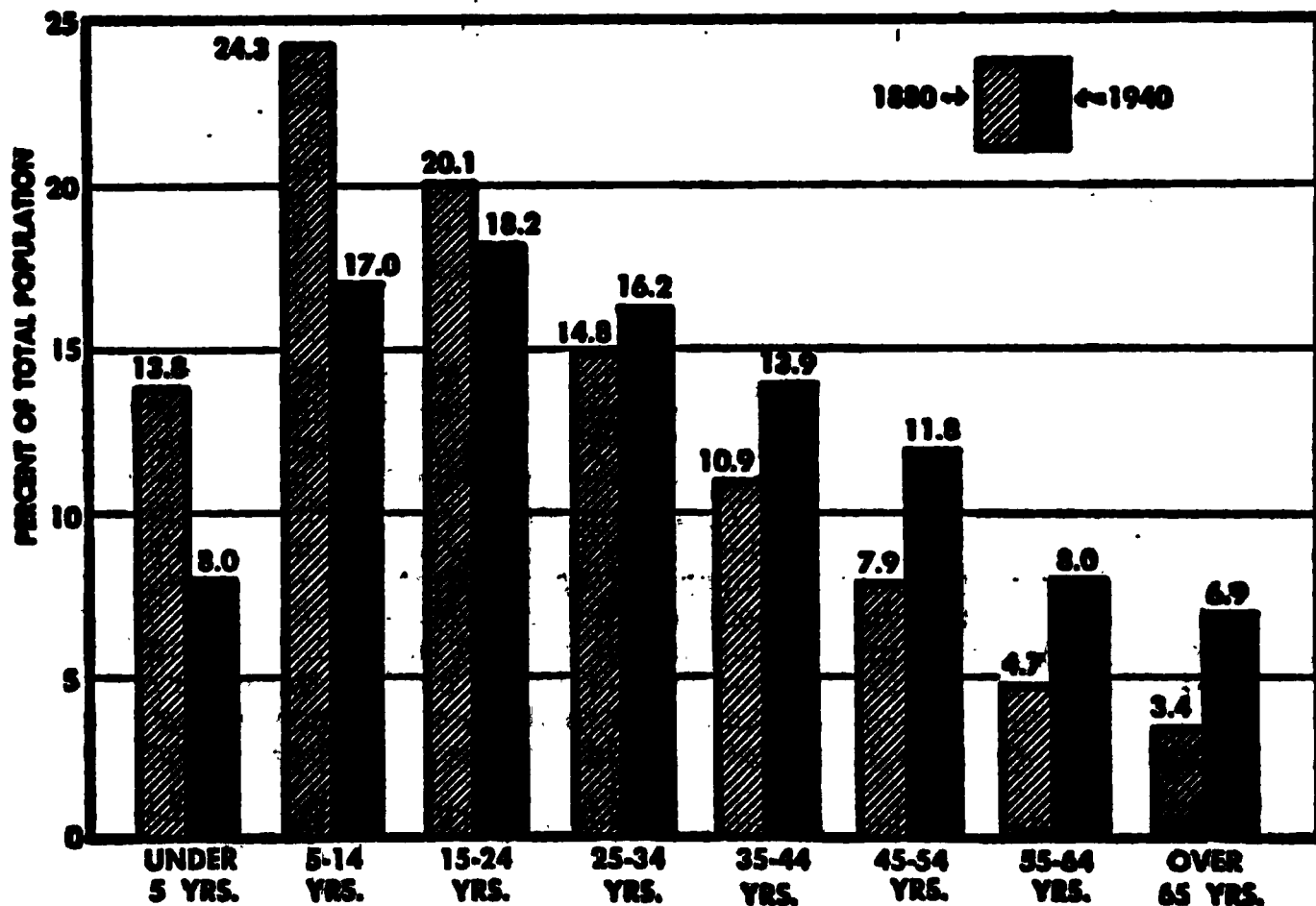
The aging of our population

A declining rate of population increase means an aging population; it means that there are fewer young persons and more old persons proportionately in the total population. The aging of the population carries serious social implications. In 1930 there were 21,000,000 children in elementary schools in the United States. By 1938 the number had dropped to about 20,000,000. Graph 4 compares the age groups of the American population of 1880 with 1940. In this 60-year period, children under 5 decreased from 13.8 percent of the total population to 8 percent. Persons 65 years of age and over increased from 3.4 percent in 1880 to 6.9 percent in 1940. Between 1930 and 1940 the number of persons 65 or over in the United States increased by 35 percent, while the total population increased only 7.2 percent. Life expectancy at birth in 1900 was 47 years; in 1945 it was 64 years.

The most recent population forecasts predict that by the year 2000 over 13 percent of the United States population will be made up of persons over 65 years of age, or almost twice the present percentage. Children under 15 years of age were, in 1945, about 25 percent of the population. According to the above forecast, in the year 2000, they would be only 19 percent. According to the same prediction, the median age of our population will increase from its present figure, which is slightly under 30 years, to 37 years.

GRAPH 4

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF U. S. POPULATION: 1880 AND 1940



BASED ON THOMPSON, POPULATION PROBLEMS

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

The interrelationship between the aging of a population and a static or declining population has been described as follows: "After the trend toward population decrease has become well established, the preponderance of aged persons in the population will bring about an age distribution unfavorable to natural increase. Just as the age distribution of an increasing population creates a momentum in the direction of continued decrease."²⁴

²⁴ Lorimer, Winston and Kiser, *Foundations of American Population*, p. 12.

TABLE XVIII.—Age of immigrants at arrival, at 10-year intervals ¹

Year	Percent under 15 years	Percent 15 to 40 years	Percent over 40 years	Year	Percent under 15 years	Percent 15 to 40 years	Percent over 40 years
1820.....	14.8	68.1	17.1	1880.....	19.1	71.6	9.3
1828.....	27.5	62.2	10.3	1890.....	19.0	69.2	11.8
1840.....	23.7	68.1	8.2	1900.....	15.5	73.8	10.7
1851.....	21.9	67.3	10.8	1910.....	14.9	74.7	10.4
1860.....	16.0	74.6	9.4	1920.....	18.4	66.8	14.8
1870.....	23.0	64.8	12.2	1930.....	16.3	68.2	15.5

¹ Based on Willcox, *Studies in American Demography*, p. 412.

The aging of the American population and the probability of its further aging in ensuing decades makes the age distribution of immigrants arriving in this country of special interest. As table XVIII indicates, during most decades approximately 90 percent of our immigrants were less than 40 years of age, thus making a heavy contribution of youth to the population as a whole, as well as contributing to the birth rate. Immigration would normally appear to be a factor which would slow down the aging of our population.

The sex ratio and immigration

The population of the United States has in the past been characterized by a relatively high ratio of males to females. In recent decades the ratio of males to females reached a maximum of 106 in 1910, when there were nearly 2,700,000 more males than females. Two-thirds of this surplus of males was made up of foreign-born men. Statistics of immigration show males made up approximately 65 percent of the total immigration from 1820 to 1924.²⁵

By 1930 the sex ratio had dropped to 100.6, and at the present time it is about equal. However, in the next few decades, the diminishing number of foreign-born persons in the United States will tend to make the sex ratio less than 100, with a slowly increasing preponderance of females in the population. Between 1965 and 1970 it is estimated that the sex ratio will decline to 98.9. With favorable fertility trends, however, at the end of the century the ratio between males and females would again be about equal.²⁶

WHAT SIZE POPULATION DO WE WANT?

The question of an optimum population

The problem of what the ideal population of the United States should be is intriguing, if difficult. In recent years population statisticians have tried to set up a standard of optimum population. This is the number of people which at any given period, under a specific system of technology and with existing natural resources, would create the maximum standard of living for the population as a whole. The optimum is the golden mean between underpopulation and overpopulation. The hypothetical optimum figure, from the economic point of view, would result in full employment and a high-average economy.²⁷ Contrary to the theory of Malthus, until a population reaches the optimum, additions to the population do not lower the standard of living but, on the contrary, raise it to a high level in our society. Additions to the population, whether through surplus births or through immigration, add producers and consumers to our economy.

Carr-Saunders defines the optimum as follows: "This is the number which, taking into consideration the nature of the environment, the degree of skill employed, the habits and customs of the people concerned, and all other relevant facts, gives the highest average return per head. The optimum is not fixed once and for all. On the contrary, it is constantly varying as the conditions referred to vary, and, as skill has tended to increase throughout history, so has the number economically desirable tended to increase."²⁸

²⁵ Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles*, p. 39, table 2.
²⁶ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Estimate of Future Population of the United States, 1940-2000*, p. 31-32.
²⁷ Dublin (ed.), *Population Problems*, ch. 5.
²⁸ Quoted by Thompson, *Population Problems*, 3d ed., 1942.

It is easy to demonstrate that our production capacity and our standard of living have risen rather than fallen with the increase of population. In 1947, our population is at its highest level so far in our history, and our production capacity and standard of living have also reached an unprecedented level.

It is true that the population of the United States has grown with a rapidity which is not paralleled elsewhere. This phenomenal population increase was stimulated by the open spaces of a huge continent and free land policy—between 1872 and 1890 some 250,000,000 acres, or one-eighth of the total land area of the United States was transferred from public to private ownership. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the era of free or cheap land is nearly two generations behind us, the United States is still one of the lesser populated regions of the earth, insofar as the major countries of the world are concerned.

TABLE XIX.—*Persons per square mile of arable land—selected countries, 1937–39*¹

Canada -----	121	Italy -----	883
Australia -----	137	Germany -----	927
United States -----	259	Java and Madura -----	1,394
Spain -----	427	Belgium -----	2,126
Sweden -----	442	Switzerland -----	2,153
France -----	524	Netherlands -----	2,210
New Zealand -----	557	Great Britain -----	2,421
British India -----	780	Japan -----	3,131
Greece -----	796		

¹ Cited by Thompson, *Populations*, 3d ed., 1942, p. 265, table 101.

The United States has the smallest number of persons per square mile of arable land of all the countries in table XIX, with the exception of Canada and Australia. The figure of 259 for the United States compares with 557 for New Zealand and 927 for Germany. The number of persons per square mile of arable land for Great Britain is 2,421, or almost 10 times that of the United States.

If we compare the crude population density of various countries, we get the figure of 38 persons per square mile for the United States as compared with 339 for Germany (before the war) and 374 persons per square mile for Japan.²⁰

Is there a definite optimum figure for our population? Recent estimates of an optimum population for the United States have varied greatly. In 1923, the Department of Agriculture, applying the standards of industrial efficiency and the food consumption of Germany at that time, estimated that a population of 350,000,000 would be possible in the United States. Applying this estimate to the American standard of living, it reduced the figure to about 300,000,000.²¹ An Indian student of population has accepted the latter figure and suggested that this estimate would give the United States an additional immigrant capacity of 178 to 228 millions.²¹ The lowest figure has been given by an American writer, who suggests that 200,000,000 would be the most satisfactory estimate.²² Even if we accept the last and lowest figure, according to the population forecast already cited, it is still 35,000,000 more than the peak which the American population will reach in 1990. Thus, in comparison with the population densities of the other great nations as well as within the limits of the optimum population itself, the United States would appear to have room for additional population.

Population growth in other countries

Population trends in the United States can be fully evaluated only when compared with population trends of other great nations. The net reproduction rates of various countries just before World War II are indicated in graph 5. The rate for the United States, even though slightly below the figure required to reproduce itself is considerably higher than other European countries such as Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, The United Kingdom, Norway, and France. However, the American rate of .96 may be compared with the rate of 1.70 for the U. S. S. R. or 1.44 for Japan.

It is possible to estimate the future population of countries for which net reproduction rates are available. In the case of areas, such as the countries of

²⁰ Wilcox, *Studies in American Demography*, p. 110, table 1.

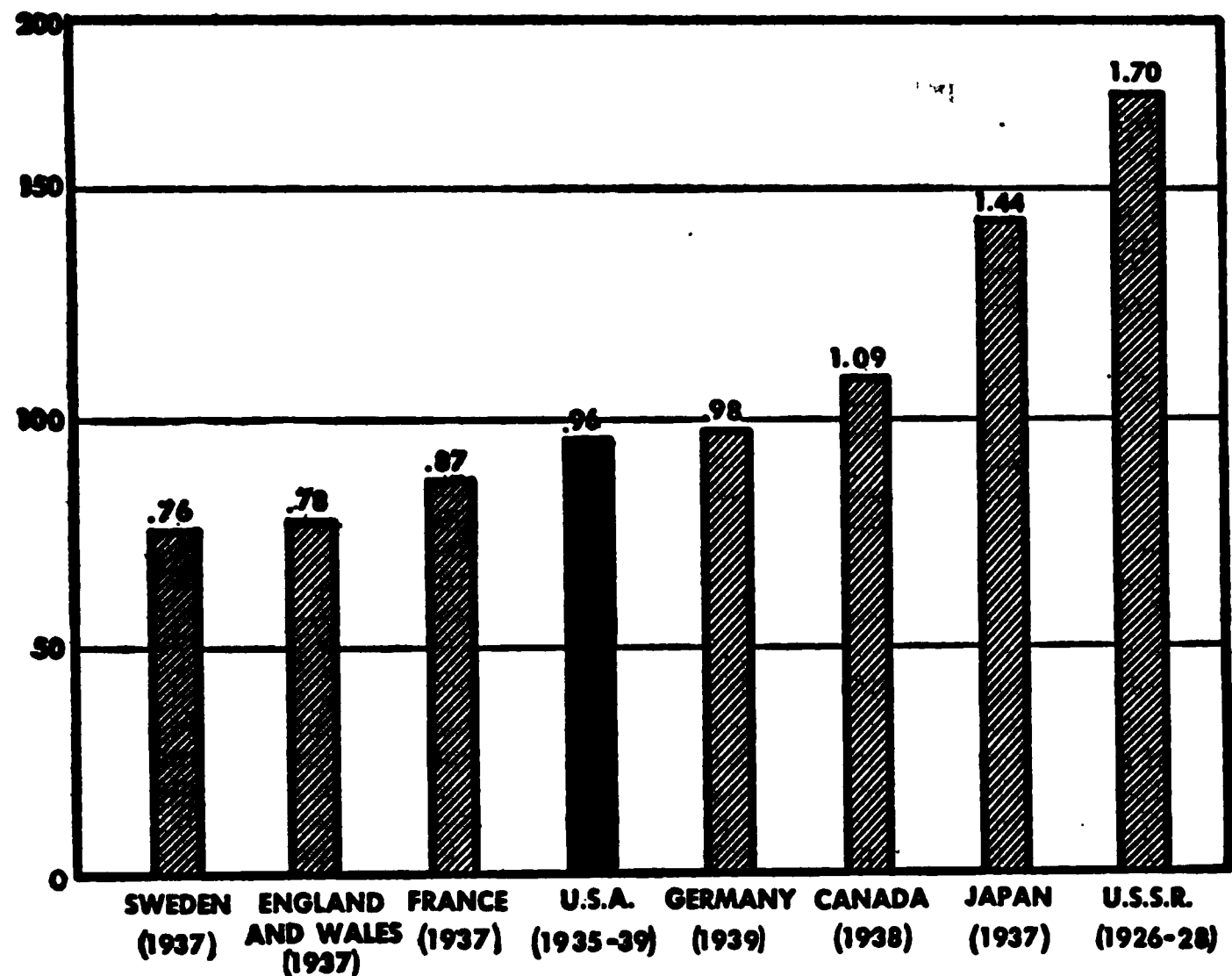
²¹ Dublin, *Population Problems*, ch. 6, p. 156.

²² Mukerjee, R., *The Political Economy of Population*, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1945, p. 366.

²³ East, Edward M., *Mankind at the Crossroads*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1924.

GRAPH 5

NET REPRODUCTION RATES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES.



BASED ON THOMPSON, POPULATION PROBLEMS

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

South America, for which accurate vital statistics are not available, no sound predictions can be made. Table XX (p. 44) gives the population projections for the countries of Europe from 1940 to 1970. As a point of comparison, it may be kept in mind that the population forecast for the United States in 1970 is 159,848,000.

TABLE XX.—Population projections—European countries, 1940–70¹
[In thousands]

	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970
Population trend downward:							
Austria.....	6,660	6,720	6,720	6,680	6,580	6,450	6,280
Belgium.....	8,310	8,350	8,340	8,270	8,160	7,980	7,760
England and Wales.....	40,900	41,100	40,900	40,400	39,600	38,400	37,100
Estonia.....	1,130	1,130	1,120	1,100	1,070	1,040	1,000
France.....	41,200	40,800	40,300	39,700	39,000	38,100	36,900
Sweden.....	6,330	6,380	6,370	6,310	6,210	6,050	5,840
Switzerland.....	4,220	4,260	4,260	4,220	4,150	4,050	3,920
Population approximately stationary:							
Albania.....	1,100	1,100	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,300	1,300
Denmark.....	3,820	3,930	4,010	4,050	4,060	4,040	3,990
Finland.....	3,850	3,950	4,000	4,020	4,010	3,980	3,920
Germany.....	69,500	71,200	72,000	72,200	71,800	71,100	69,800
Hungary.....	9,160	9,320	9,440	9,510	9,530	9,470	9,330
Ireland.....	3,020	3,060	3,140	3,190	3,230	3,240	3,240
Northern Ireland.....	1,300	1,330	1,360	1,370	1,380	1,390	1,380
Latvia.....	1,990	2,010	2,010	2,000	1,980	1,950	1,910
Lithuania.....	2,460	2,530	2,580	2,630	2,660	2,670	2,660
Norway.....	2,630	2,980	3,010	3,020	3,000	2,950	2,870
Scotland.....	5,050	5,150	5,210	5,230	5,220	5,170	5,090

¹ Based on Notestein, Frank W., et al, Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union—Population Projections, 1940–70, League of Nations Publication, Geneva, 1944, p. 56, table 2.

TABLE XX.—*Population projections—European countries, 1940-70—Continued*

	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970
Population increasing:							
Bulgaria.....	6,320	6,550	6,790	7,000	7,170	7,280	7,320
Greece.....	7,180	7,530	7,830	8,100	8,350	8,570	8,640
Italy.....	44,200	45,700	47,000	48,100	48,900	49,400	49,500
Netherlands.....	8,840	9,230	9,550	9,780	9,950	10,000	10,000
Poland.....	35,200	36,700	38,100	39,400	40,400	41,000	41,400
Portugal.....	7,620	7,980	8,290	8,550	8,780	8,960	9,090
Rumania.....	20,300	21,300	22,200	23,100	24,000	24,800	25,300
Spain.....	25,600	26,400	27,000	27,500	27,800	28,000	27,800
U. S. S. R.....	174,000	189,000	203,000	216,000	228,000	240,000	251,000
Yugoslavia.....	15,200	15,800	16,400	17,100	17,700	18,200	18,500

As the table shows a number of important European countries¹ have already entered a period of population decline or will reach this stage before 1970. Among the countries which in all probability will have a smaller population in 1970 than at the present time are France, England and Wales, Sweden, Belgium, and Austria. Another large group of countries, such as Germany, Hungary, Denmark, and Ireland, have a population which is approximately stationary and will not have changed appreciably in size by 1970. On the other hand, the population of several European countries including Italy, Poland, and Rumania is increasing. But, as the table shows, none of these countries is situated in northern or western Europe, with the exception of the Netherlands. The country which, according to this prediction, will have the largest population in 1970 is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with 251,000,000. The birth rate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is estimated at from 44.1 to 47, more than twice that of the United States and nearly three times the birth rate of France and England.² It is predicted that the population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will reach a peak of 350,000,000 before it begins to decline.

According to present estimates, between 1940 and 1970, the population of the United States will increase 19 percent, that of Canada 22 percent. The population of western Europe will increase about 5 percent, and that of the United Kingdom will increase about 7 percent. During the 30 years from 1940 to 1970, the population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, and India will probably increase 40 percent and upward. At the end of the century, the population of the United States will be proportionately smaller in relation to the population of Russia, China, and India than it is now. Furthermore, the population of the United States will, according to our prediction, be declining, whereas the population of these regions will still be increasing at a rapid rate. Whatever the future of world organization, the relative population of the various nations and regions will be a matter of profound importance in determining the shape of things to come.

TABLE XXI.—*Trends of population of Europe, 1900-70¹*

Year	Population	Percentage increase (+) or decrease (—) in decade	Year	Projected population	Percentage increase (+) or decrease (—) in decade
1900.....	310,000,000		1940.....	399,000,000	
1910.....	339,000,000	+9.4	1950.....	415,000,000	+4.0
1920.....	345,000,000	+1.8	1960.....	421,000,000	+1.4
1930.....	376,000,000	+9.1	1970.....	417,000,000	-1.0
1939.....	399,000,000	+6.1			

¹ Based on Notestein et al Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union, p. 45, table I.

² Population Index, vol. 12, No. 8, July 1946.

TABLE XXII.—Population trends—Asiatic countries ¹

	Present population (estimate by Willcox)	1975-85 population estimate
China.....	350,000,000	500,000,000-600,000,000
Japan.....	73,000,000	85,000,000-95,000,000
India.....	388,988,000	680,000,000

¹ Based on Thompson, W. S., Population and Peace in the Pacific, 1945, p. 219, 94-9.

TABLE XXIII.—Population of selected South American countries and birth rates ¹

Year	Country	Population	Birth rate	Death rate
1944.....	Argentina.....	13,909,950	22.0	21.1
1940.....	Brazil.....	41,356,605		
1943.....	Mexico.....	21,153,321	39.2	22.4

¹ Based on Statesmen's Year Book and Pan American Year Book, 1945.

Consequences of a static or declining population

The problem of the changing relative population of nations is important for the future, but of more immediate concern is the prospect of a static or declining population within individual countries. This has caused considerable speculation among European economists and sociologists since they are already confronted with this situation. Myrdal has pointed out that capitalistic economy with its free and unregulated market has hitherto always depended on a rapidly growing population. It is the expanding population which has made it possible for a large number of entrepreneurs acting independently to function with some degree of efficiency. When the basic condition of rapid population growth is not present, an unregulated economic system becomes wasteful and centralized planning and control become necessary.³⁴

The ultimate economic effects of a regressive population are illustrated by Myrdal as follows.³⁵

- 1. A decline of investment in production.
- 2. Poorer position for labor.
- 3. A decline of agriculture.
- 4. A decline in demand for capital goods.
- 5. Increased risk of investment.
- 6. Lower standard of living.
- 7. Free enterprise giving way to social planning.

We have already noted the fact that a static and declining population means an aging population. This represents a decrease in the number of children and an increase in the number of older persons who have passed the years of productive capacity. It means a greater share of society's wealth devoted to the care of the aged. It means that there will be greater emphasis on security and less on adventure as a goal of life. Also social and economic mobility for individuals and classes will decrease.

In the United States we have had experience of an expanding economy tied to an expanding population, but we have had no experience of a prosperous economy tied to a static or declining population. It has been suggested that the difficulty which the United States experienced in recovering from the depression of 1929 was in some measure due to the slowing down of population increase, which process adversely affected the demand for new capital.³⁶

The relationship between governmental control and the type of economic system has been explored by Thompson who states that "An automatically expanding economy is closely related to a growing population." He believes that when the latter ceases to grow the economy can only be kept expanding by conscious community efforts; that the success of our laissez-faire economy owes far more than is generally realized to the fact that it operated in a rapidly expanding population; that many of its qualities are not inherent in the nature of economic activity but are to a very great extent an outgrowth of the great expansion of population which has taken place in the western world since 1700. "Since this

³⁴ Myrdal, Gunnar, Population : A Problem for Democracy, 1940, p. 154.
³⁵ Ibid., ch. 6.
³⁶ Mukerjee, R., The Political Economy of Population, 1945, p. 225.

expansion of population is nearing an end in many countries we would argue that our economy must undergo much change to keep it effectively functioning in the new stage of human growth into which we are now entering." ²⁷ Those who are concerned with avoiding governmental control of our economic life have a special interest in preventing or postponing as long as possible a static and declining population.

IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION POLICY

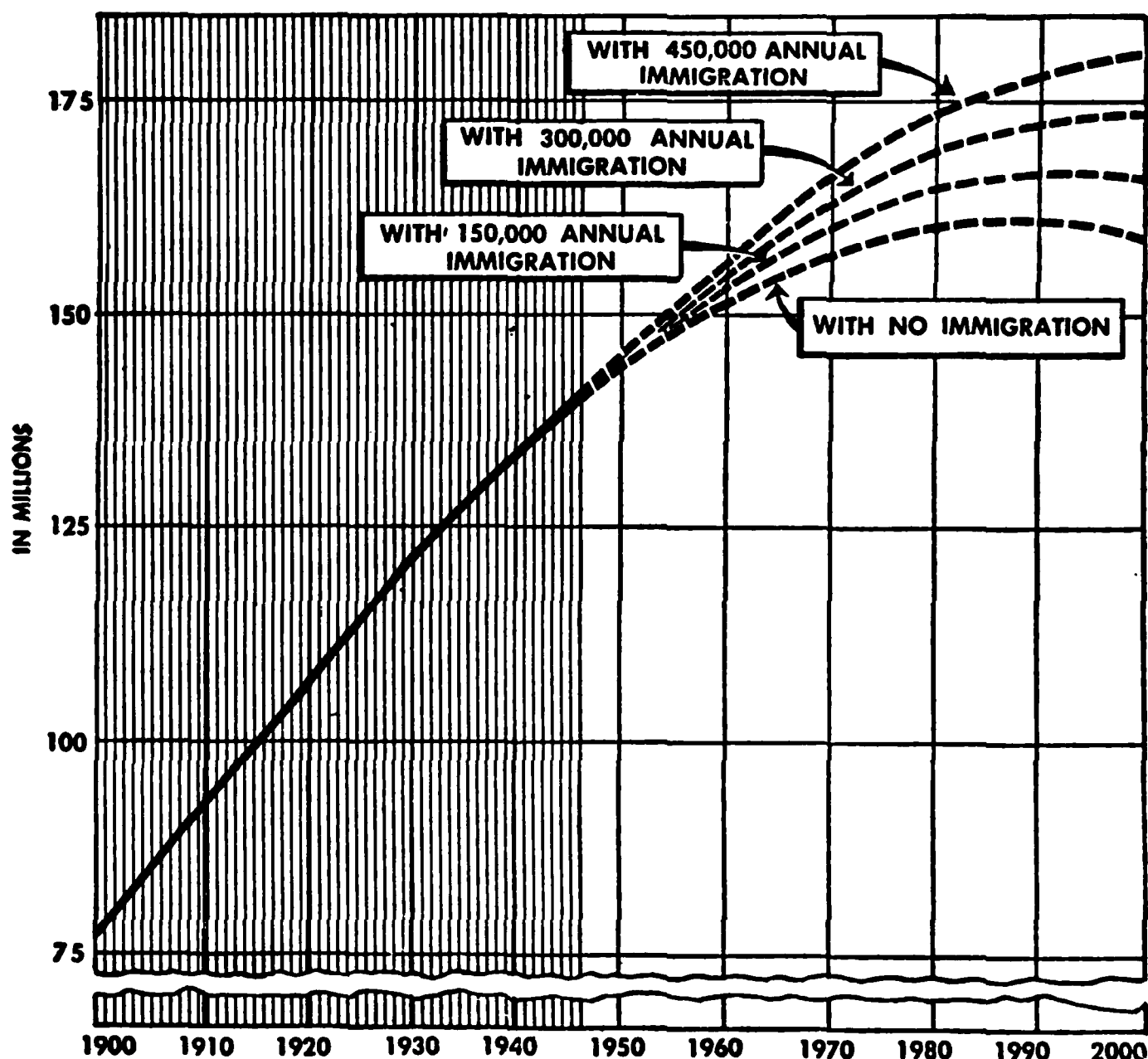
How immigration would affect our population trend

We are now in a position to answer the question concerning the effect immigration might have on our population trends as we have outlined them above. In the first place, it is clear that the United States no longer faces a rapid increase of population in the remaining decades of the twentieth century, but rather a gradually decreasing rate of increase, and then a static and a slightly declining population. We may grant that the changes produced by our fairly well ascertained population trend will not be catastrophic in nature, but gradual and cumulative. We may also grant that, for the most part, the social and economic changes entailed by this trend will also be gradual. Nevertheless, looking ahead, it seems probable that the United States, like Europe today, will desire to adopt a policy which will avert a population decline as long as possible.

In the light of such a policy, immigration would constitute one way of maintaining the level of population. Immigration in itself would not be able to reverse completely the trend of population, unless it were of gigantic proportions, but it would have considerable effect in offsetting the deficit in births.

GRAPH 6

ESTIMATE OF OUR FUTURE POPULATION



GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

²⁷ Thompson, W. S., *Population Problems*, 1942, p. 303.

Thanks to our statistical techniques of predicting population growth, we can get fairly accurate information about how much a specific number of immigrants would add to our population over a stated period. This is pictured in graph 6. Assuming that we have an annual immigration of 150,000, from 1940 to 2,000, the population gain over no immigration has been estimated for 5-year periods. As is made evident by table XXIV, column B, in 1960 the addition made by annual immigration of 150,000²⁸ would be 1,709,000. In 1980 the addition to the population made by admission of 150,000 immigrants annually would be 4,452,000; and by 2000 the number added would be 7,211,000. However, even with an annual immigration of 150,000 our population would decline in the last decade of the century.

TABLE XXIV.—*Estimate of total population at 5-year intervals, 1945–2000, showing difference between estimates with no immigration and with immigration of 150,000, 300,000, and 450,000 annually*¹

[Assumption of medium fertility, medium mortality]

Years	With no immigration (A)	With immigration of 150,000 annually (B) ¹	With immigration of 300,000 annually (C)	With immigration of 450,000 annually (D)
1945.....	138, 482, 000	138, 482, 000	138, 482, 000	138, 482, 000
1950.....	143, 896, 000	144, 396, 000	144, 896, 000	145, 396, 000
1955.....	148, 186, 000	149, 262, 000	150, 338, 000	151, 414, 000
1960.....	151, 646, 000	153, 355, 000	155, 064, 000	156, 773, 000
1965.....	154, 694, 000	157, 068, 000	159, 442, 000	161, 816, 000
1970.....	157, 442, 000	160, 494, 000	163, 546, 000	166, 598, 000
1975.....	159, 597, 000	163, 339, 000	167, 081, 000	170, 823, 000
1980.....	160, 906, 000	165, 358, 000	169, 810, 000	174, 262, 000
1985.....	161, 385, 000	166, 559, 000	171, 733, 000	176, 907, 000
1990.....	161, 209, 000	167, 096, 000	172, 983, 000	178, 870, 000
1995.....	160, 532, 000	167, 101, 000	173, 670, 000	180, 239, 000
2000.....	159, 420, 000	166, 631, 000	173, 842, 000	181, 053, 000

¹ Adapted from Thompson and Whelpton, *Estimates of Future Population of the United States*, National Resources Planning Board, Washington, D. C., 1943, table F1, p. 29.
² See footnote 38.

It would take an annual immigration of 300,000 to have our population continue its growth to the end of the century, at which time it would presumably reach the figure of 173,842,000 (column C). Immigration maintained at this 300,000 level would, according to the estimates of our table, raise our population in the year 2000 by 14,062,000.

The additions which would be made by an annual immigration of 450,000 are indicated in column D. By the year 2000 this level of immigration would raise our population, according to the estimates of the table, to 181,053,000. This would make an addition of 21,573,000 to our population at the turn of the century.

While these estimates might be revised upward a little by the higher birth rate of the last few years, they may be taken as a good indication of the effect immigration would have in postponing our population decline and in making additions to our population during the balance of the century.

Immigration and population planning

After the Quota Act had been passed the then United States Immigration Commissioner, W. W. Husband, wrote as follows:

“In my opinion, our immigration problem will soon resolve itself into the question of whether or not the country needs additional population, and, if so, for what purpose. In the past our immigration has been influenced more by the necessities or desires of the peoples of foreign countries than by the demonstrated need of the United States.”²⁹

If we are to have an immigration policy based on realistic considerations and on the needs of our country, certainly a thorough knowledge of current population

²⁸ This is gross immigration and represents the number of immigrants admitted. Not all of them would remain and contribute to our population, however. The calculation in table XXIV, therefore, is predicated on the assumption that a gross immigration of 150,000 would not actually equal more than a net immigration of 100,000.
²⁹ Dublin (ed.), *Population Problems in the United States and Canada*, ch. VI, A Rational Immigration Policy.

trends must occupy an important place in the formulation of such a policy. Our present immigration laws and the manner of their enforcement, the prescribed quotas, and the degree to which the quotas are filled or not filled, determine the size of our population not only in the present but for several generations ahead.

The declining birth rate, the aging of the population, the sex ratio, the static and ultimately declining population by the end of the century, are scientific data which must be taken into account in any discussion of immigration policy. Similarly the effect which immigration has had in the past on our population growth and would most likely have in the near future, are known with some accuracy. We must likewise consider the implications of the fact that toward the close of the century we will have a considerably smaller population proportionately compared to the U. S. S. R. and the countries of the East, such as India and China, than we have now. Also to be considered are the social and economic results of a regressive population, many of which are regarded by experts as highly undesirable.

It is not suggested that all our major problems of population can be solved through immigration. However, if we decide that we want to stimulate population growth, and moderate or avoid, at least for the near future, the effects of the declining birth rates which now seem endemic in western civilization, a planned and purposeful immigration policy would be a method promising appreciable success.

(Statements favoring H. R. 2910 submitted by Earl G. Harrison, chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, to the House Subcommittee on Immigration)

STATEMENT OF MRS. HARPER SIBLEY BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON
IMMIGRATION IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2910

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I appear here this morning as national president of the United Council of Church Women to speak for my organization representing 10,000,000 women affiliated with Protestant churches throughout America. I also have the honor and privilege of submitting for the record the written statements of other great American women's organizations, who support the Stratton bill. These are the League of Women Voters, the Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (United States section), and the National Council of Jewish Women.

The church women of America, the women's organizations whose statements I have presented for the record, and, for that matter, the women of America with few exceptions, are overwhelmingly in favor of H. R. 2910. In addition to the organizations previously mentioned the following are on record in support of the Stratton bill:

- American Association of University Women.
- Catholic Daughters of America.
- National Board of the YWCA.
- National Council of Catholic Women.
- National Council of Women of the United States.
- Women's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- Women's Division of the Methodist Church.

Copies of resolutions adopted by some of these groups are attached to my written statement.

We are concerned about the problem of the displaced because we see in the problem a challenge—not as to whether the United States can afford to let displaced persons into the country but rather whether we can afford to leave more than 850,000 refugees from tyranny, from nazism, from fascism, and from communism as an unsolved problem in Europe without doing anything to help. In the words of a very commendable editorial in the Washington Evening Star for May 8, 1947, the many women's groups supporting this bill say:

"Of course, if we want to do it, we can keep on trying not to think about the DP's. We can try to forget that they exist, for they cannot reach us directly with appeals for help. But the fact remains that we can do for them the things provided in the Stratton bill. If we do not do this much, if we close our hearts and our minds, their voices nevertheless will continue to reproach our consciences for the rest of our lives."

Two years have passed since we halted the Nazi hordes and little has been done to alleviate the pain and suffering of those who suffered most from the brutality

of these would-be world conquerors. Is human conscience off on a holiday waiting for death to solve the problem?

The United Council of Church Women feels that of all the miseries found in the aftermath of war, none is more moving to the heart than the pathetic plight of the men, women, and children in the camps of Europe. However, the displaced urgently need something more than sympathy. The DP problem offers the victorious western world and the United States, especially, an opportunity to prove its faith in Christian brotherhood. We believe that the resettlement of the survivors of the Nazi concentration camps more than 50 percent of whom are women and children is an undertaking for the benefit of humanity. It is a program to carry into action our professions of concern for the peace and freedom of the world.

I am fully aware of the objections to this bill based upon housing and employment. Most of the displaced are women and children and they will not enter the competitive employment market. These DP's will be bound for the farms, to homes of relatives, or they will be directed to noncompetitive housing by the many interested church organizations. When you stop to consider the small number who will be admitted under this bill, it is obvious that the economy of the United States with all its resources, wealth, opportunities, and industrial talent could not be adversely affected.

Many of the members of the United Church Women are housewives and as such they are keenly aware of the shortage of domestic help. We know that the displaced who are qualified as domestics and in other occupations, such as farming and nursing, will not take jobs away from Americans or American veterans. Nor will they aggravate our housing problem. I hardly think that it can be asserted with any conviction that the 275,000 women and 150,000 children in the displaced persons camps of Europe are the immediate rivals of veterans "for a job, for an apartment, for a house, for a suit of clothes, or for a hard to get new automobile."

The New York Times put the matter simply: "Can a sane person be alarmed by a possible infiltration of a little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of our population each year? Can a humane person turn his back on the remnants of Hitler's tortured and heroic enemies?"

And the official magazine of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, The Clubwoman, in an article which I am appending to my statement, pointedly responds:

"The answer lies with us. Do we turn our backs on 150,000 displaced children, half of them under 5 years of age, all of them homeless, many of them orphaned and unclaimed? Do we reject 77,000 willing farm laborers when there is a shortage of farm hands in our country? Do we reject several hundred thousand women when we have a shortage of domestic workers? Our own self-interest would be served by bringing in a goodly number of these people."

There are many mothers and even grandmothers, like myself, among the United Council of Church Women and the women's organizations supporting the Stratton bill.

Some of us are the mothers of veterans. Some of us are the parents and relatives of sons and nephews who died on the battlefields of Europe or who lie in graves in the Pacific. We are deeply interested in the welfare of veterans and of Americans. We are interested not only in their welfare but as women we are also interested in the welfare of the children of America—our children and our grandchildren. We expect to see a better and more peaceful world take shape for them to live in. The experience of the war has reaffirmed our fundamental American belief in liberty and freedom for all—has taught us that we can no longer live in several worlds but must work toward one world. Wherever the liberties of free people are threatened, our liberties are threatened as well. Accepting 100,000 displaced refugees from totalitarianism in each of 4 years is the very least we can do to demonstrate that as a world leader we are realistically concerned about the freedoms for which we fought World War II.

There are some who hesitate about taking our share of the displaced into the United States; there are some who want further investigation which only means further delay; but as for the church women and most of the women of America, we are ready for action now. And for such action we are ready to answer with clear hearts and free minds to our conscience, to our country, and to our God.

MARCH 18, 1947.

WOMEN'S DIVISION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH, DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

Displaced persons and immigration

Since estimates indicate that there will be about 850,000 of the remaining one and a quarter millions of displaced persons still in Europe who will be unable or unwilling to return to the countries of their birth, humanity and world stability require that the more favored nations assume their moral obligation to help provide a haven and a home for these people uprooted by war and persecution. A particularly heavy responsibility rests upon the United States by reason of its democratic heritage and present resources, to receive a generous share of the remaining persons.

We therefore reaffirm the women's division recommendation:

"We urge that the United States prepare itself spiritually and legally to receive its proportionate share of refugees and displaced persons, and to integrate them into its normal life."

Also, we urge Methodist women as individuals and through their church groups to cooperate in efforts to receive, distribute, and integrate such persons, sharing financial responsibility for them when necessary and to support the displaced persons project of the Church World Service.

STATEMENTS ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN, APRIL 14-16, 1947

(The National Council of Catholic Women is a federation of Catholic women's organizations whose membership totals more than 5,000,000)

Displaced persons

Nearly a million displaced persons of many nationalities and faiths are now residents in camps in Germany and Austria and Italy. To force the repatriation of any of these displaced persons to their countries of origin against their wishes would be a blot on the record of the Allies who fought in the name of freedom. To allow them to suffer in the destroyed economies of Germany or other devastated lands would be inhuman. Resettlement in other areas of the world presents the only real solution to the problems of displaced persons.

We urge the United States to set an example to the rest of the world by accepting a sizable proportion of the displaced persons. This can be done by proper legislation and we endorse congressional action.

IRO

We also urge effective financial support of the International Refugee Organization by the Government of the United States so that interim care will be assured for the displaced persons pending resettlement. We believe the IRO should be liberal in its interpretation of the eligible categories of refugees, so that undue hardships will not be wreaked on innocent and defenseless people possessing neither homes nor homelands.

RESOLUTION, WOMAN'S AUXILIARY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, FEBRUARY 1947

Whereas we believe that the only hope for abolition of war lies in mutual understanding and cooperation among the nations of the world; and

Whereas the United Nations is at present the machinery for effecting such mutual understanding and cooperation: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church hereby reaffirm our faith in the United Nations as an instrument of lasting peace; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of the resolution be sent to the women's auxiliaries in the dioceses and missionary districts of the Episcopal Church with a request that they take similar action.

Whereas two matters of special concern to Christian citizens are scheduled to come before the Congress in the near future, namely, the extension of reciprocal trade agreements; the relaxation of our immigration laws to permit the entrance into the United States of our fair share of the displaced persons now in camps in Europe; and

Whereas each of these has significance for peace and world order, and affects our country's whole-hearted participation in the United Nations: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxillary go on record as favoring the extension of reciprocal trade agreements; and be it further

Resolved, That the National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxillary favors the admission to the United States of a greater number of displaced and stateless persons than is provided under the present quotas; and be it further

Resolved, That the National Executive Board calls upon the women of the church to exercise their Christian citizenship by learning about these matters, forming their own opinions, and expressing those opinions to their Senators and Representatives in Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That in addition to the report of this action by the Provincial Representatives, Miss Stabler be asked to call it to the attention of Diocesan Chairmen of Christian Social Relations, and to list for them available sources of information.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES RELEASED BY THE CATHOLIC DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA AT ITS SEMI-ANNUAL BOARD MEETING FEBRUARY 1947

The basis problem of the world today is that of reaching a common agreement on the rights and duties of the individual human being. Women of the world wield a tremendous and powerful influence and must assume the leadership in promulgating by precept and by example the principles which recognize man as an individual and as a member of society.

As Catholic women we recognize that a sound and stable society is based upon the family and that simple justice demands that the wage earner receive a wage adequate for proper housing, proper living, proper education, and a security for his family.

We believe that World War II has not been won, nor is a just and lasting peace possible until the inalienable rights and duties of man are acknowledged in the councils of the nations of the world.

We commend His Excellency President Harry S. Truman for his broad and humane interest in the plight of the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children in the displaced persons camps of Europe, who cannot return to the countries of their origin, but whose human rights are being ignominiously violated by propaganda and falsehoods aimed to force their return to countries now under totalitarian dictatorships. We recommend that the President of the United States be empowered to allocate some of the thousands of unused quotas of European countries to these freedom-loving people in order that a fair sampling of them may be admitted into the United States, where they will be given a chance to begin life anew and in order that this generous act of our Government may serve as an example for other resettlement areas of the world.

LIVES, LAWS, AND THE UNITED NATIONS

[Reprinted from the Clubwoman GFWC, March 1947]

Like the relay runner who turns over the field to the next man at the appointed goal, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will turn over the whole problem of displaced persons to the International Refugee Organization on June 30, 1947.

The creation of the International Refugee Organization, one of the crowning achievements of the United Nations General Assembly, is in itself a triumph for human rights and freedom. But, although its constitution is now approved, its ratification by the United States and the IRO's big job are still ahead.

This is not a facts-and-figures proposition that can be handled in routine fashion. The IRO must deal with human beings whose plight becomes more desperate each day—close to a million men, women and children from a dozen different countries who are living in the displaced-persons camps of Germany and Austria.

Swept from their native lands by the tides of war, 500,000 Catholics, 250,000 Jews and 100,000 Protestants still await "liberation." Authorities call them the "hard core of unreparables." In human terms, this means that they cannot

go back to the countries where they were born. Homes destroyed, families broken or lost, memories of persecution, fear of return to political dictatorship—all these barriers stand in the way. Thousands of the displaced persons survived concentration camps and slave labor battalions, risked torture and death in the cause of freedom. They shared the agonies of war with us. Are they not entitled to share the fruits of peace?

Aside from humane considerations, the continued support of almost a million displaced persons is a heavy financial drain on the United Nations. In addition, prolonged confinement of the displaced persons can only result in a steady deterioration of their ability to return to normal independent living. The cost of delay, both in dollars and cents (\$100,000,000 for the United States alone) and in wasted human resources is a challenge which the International Refugee Organization must meet. And the responsibility rests most heavily upon the United States, leader among nations today. Talk will get us nowhere. We must act to practice what we preach. The logical first step is to adopt temporary measures which will permit the United States to accept a fair share of their war victims.

Just what is the picture in our country at the present time? Under the law, approximately 154,000 newcomers may enter each year to take up permanent residence. But this figure is divided into quotas for individual countries, with more than 50 percent of the total allotted to England and the Scandinavian countries. Very few people from these areas avail themselves of the allotted quotas. On the other hand, the central and eastern European countries, where most of the displaced persons were born, are allowed very small quotas. For example, 98,000 displaced persons come from Latvia. But our quota for Latvia is only 236. To bring over half of the displaced Latvians would take 200 years. The difficulty is that the unused quotas from a country like England cannot be utilized for the displaced persons. Quotas may not be transferred from one country to another.

During recent years, immigration to the United States reached a new low. In the war years alone, over half a million quota entries went unfilled—half a million cold numbers that could be used to rescue half a million human beings—if the necessary emergency temporary measures were enacted by our Congress. The New York Times put the matter simply: "Can a sane person be alarmed by a possible infiltration of a little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of our population each year? Can a humane person turn his back on the remnants of Hitler's tortured and heroic enemies?"

The answer lies with us. Do we turn our backs on 150,000 displaced children—half of them under 5 years of age—all of them homeless, most of them orphaned and unclaimed? Do we reject 77,000 willing farm laborers when there is a shortage of farm hands in our country? Do we reject several hundred thousand women when we have a shortage of domestic workers? Our own self-interest would be served by bringing in a goodly number of these people.

On December 22, 1945, President Truman directed that 39,000 displaced persons from central Europe, who wished to come to the United States, should be allowed and helped to do so. More recently, in his annual message to Congress, the President said: "Insofar as admitting displaced persons is concerned, I do not feel that the United States has done its part. * * * Only about 5,000 of them have entered the country since May 1946. * * * New legislation is needed. I urge the Congress * * * to * * * fulfill our responsibilities to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

Unless Congress enacts emergency legislation now, our efforts to aid the displaced persons must, of necessity, bog down. Many Americans realize that we must come to grips with the problem. Earl G. Harrison, internationally known authority on refugees and former Commissioner of Immigration, recently announced the formation of a national Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons "dedicated to seeing that America accepts its fair share of Europe's displaced persons—the forgotten survivors of fascism, the war and its tragic aftermath." The committee is pressing for emergency legislation to permit the United States to rescue some of the unfortunate displaced persons.

If the International Refugee Organization is to solve its problems, the United States must play a leading part. We can do so only if we take the first essential step. Our own Congressmen look to the folks back home for the go-ahead signal. Here, as in so many other situations, international action must begin with the conscience and the voice of the individual citizen.

STATEMENT OF DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE, DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, BEFORE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION ON H. R. 2910, JUNE 27, 1947

The American Friends Service Committee adopted at its meeting on April 9, 1947, a strong statement in support of legislation to admit 400,000 displaced persons to the United States. On the basis of its 8 years of experience in conducting programs for the orientation of refugee immigrants, the committee is convinced that additional immigrants of this type would be an asset to our country in many ways, that humanitarian considerations make imperative a quick solution of their problem, and that the major responsibility for such a solution rests with the United States. I stand squarely behind the sentiments expressed in this resolution. A copy is appended.

The Stratton bill seems to me to put before the Congress of the United States one of the most important moral questions of the postwar world. The question is the kind of leadership which the United States is prepared to offer. We are the richest country in the world, we have the greatest military power, we have the atomic bomb. The question is whether our humanitarianism is going to be equal to our military strength.

The economic arguments for admitting displaced persons are in my opinion very strong. In their number would be many skilled workers, many representatives of the various professions, many agriculturists. The choice of those to be admitted would be, of course, in the hands of our consular officers. In my opinion, however, the humanitarian argument is stronger than any argument that can be drawn from the field of economics.

The Stratton bill proposes no change in our immigration laws. It is simply a question of adopting emergency legislation to meet an emergency in Europe. There are something over 1,000,000 displaced persons in Europe for whom homes must be found, and the proposal is that 400,000 of them should be admitted to the United States. I should like to give my unqualified endorsement to this proposal.

Obviously the United States cannot do the whole job, but I should like to see us take the leadership in the relief of these displaced people. I think we owe this to the Christian people of the United States and to our youth who have had experience in Europe. I am aware that the American Legion and the DAR are opposed to this bill. I should like to call your attention to the fact that the newest organization of American veterans, the AVC, of which Mr. Chat Patterson is the president, has come out strongly in its favor. I think this is an occasion when we should listen to the voice of youth.

I think we should also listen to the voice of the religious groups in the United States. Approximately one-quarter of the displaced persons are Jews, one-quarter are Protestants, and one-half Catholics. There are, approximately speaking, no Communists, but there are a great many deserters from the Russian Army who are heartily opposed to communism.

Because of our position as the occupying power in the parts of Germany and Austria where most of the displaced persons are located we are carrying the greatest burden in their maintenance. Resettlement is therefore not only a humanitarian solution but also a means of relieving us of this responsibility and sharing it more widely. We are not the only country asked to receive those from our zone. There are other countries which are prepared to do their part in accepting these refugees.

As far as the general immigration picture is concerned, a recently published study by the International Labor Office, based on information up to January 1947 regarding present and proposed immigration policies of the various countries indicates in many a trend toward liberalization. Argentina, for instance, has outlined a policy for recruitment in the next 5 years of 250,000 immigrants with fares advanced by a semigovernmental agency and arrangements for facilitating land settlement. Brazil's new constitution, adopted in 1946, provides a more flexible system of immigration regulation, with a general plan for selected immigration. In Chile, a bill prepared by a commission on immigration for submission to Congress would substantially liberalize present immigration laws, and provide funds to assist the immigration of a considerable number of selected European immigrants. Similar trends are noted in a number of other South American countries.

Within the British Commonwealth, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have all gone on record, in statements of their long range planning, in favor of increased population through immigration, largely on the basis that national defense and

economic expansion call for a larger population. According to a recent statement by the Prime Minister, Canada received between the end of the war and December 31, 1946, as many immigrants as had entered during the entire period between 1935 and 1939. There are numerous indications that France intends to give active encouragement to immigration. This general trend is encouraging, indicating a reversal of the restrictive attitude that seemed to be increasing before the war, and a growing belief in the advantages of an expanding population.

On the immediate problem of resettlement of displaced persons there is also encouragement in the attitude of other countries and indications that many are prepared to receive considerable numbers and in fact are already doing so without waiting for action on the part of the United States. In a statement on May 1, 1947, the Prime Minister of Canada said that his country was prepared to recognize the moral obligation to assist in meeting the problem of refugees and displaced persons and that the government had accordingly taken steps toward the admission of some thousands. New Zealand also made the statement, in the ILO report, that some obligation on her part in connection with displaced persons was inescapable. Throughout the British Commonwealth, friends are making representations to their respective governments on behalf of admission of larger numbers of displaced persons, just as we in the United States are doing.

Figures, based mainly on information secured from the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and supplemented by reports from the American Friends Service Committee delegation in France indicate that other countries have plans to receive approximately 385,000 displaced persons. (See attached table.)

While these figures show the willingness of other nations to absorb displaced persons according to their capacities, they also show that the problem is certainly not going to be solved without generous and decisive action by the United States. If, however, we admit our fair share of approximately 400,000 there is every indication that other countries will be more inclined to increase the numbers they will accept. Thus, by combined international effort, with the major share borne as it should be by the United States, a real solution of the displaced persons problem would be in sight, promising these people once more the chance to lead self-supporting, productive lives contributing to the economy of their countries of adoption, instead of being a burden to the allied economy as helpless internment camp inmates.

Objections will be made on the score of the mechanics of the admission of these refugees to the United States, transport, reception centers, housing, etc. I do not think that these details need occupy the Congress of the United States. If transport cannot be found, the refugees will not be admitted, if reception centers cannot be arranged, they need not come. In that connection, however, I wish to make the point that the American Friends Service Committee has had long experience in conducting reception centers and in training immigrants for life in the United States. Furthermore, we have a large number of abandoned Army camps which could advantageously be used for this purpose. So far as housing is concerned, it would seem to me that the type of immigrant we would admit would be individuals who could provide their own housing, given a proper opportunity. A great many of these immigrants would be farmers and housing in agricultural areas is plentiful.

It is sometimes argued that the quota system which we have at the present moment should suffice for these displaced persons. President Truman made a gallant effort in 1945 to admit displaced persons from Germany and Austria under our quotas, referring to 39,000 vacant places. Most of these proved inapplicable to displaced persons owing to the restrictions of the quota law and less than 15,000 people have been admitted. Indeed, the 400,000 people who are now proposed under the Stratton bill would be less than half the number of quotas that were unused during the war years.

The cost of moving these displaced persons to the United States and elsewhere will be borne by the displaced themselves, relatives and friends of the immigrants and by philanthropic organizations in the United States.

A country as rich as this will take care of this problem in one way or another. The real question is whether we are going to offer leadership to the world in the field of the atomic bomb and bacteriological warfare or in the field of humanitarian relief. I think the argument which should influence the Congress of the United States was stated in Matthew: "For I was hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in."

APRIL 4, 1947.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS

The American Friends Service Committee in line with its profound concern that a speedy and constructive solution be found for the world-wide problem of displaced persons and refugees, wishes to make the following statement:

On the basis of over 8 years of experience in conducting programs for the orientation and integration of refugee immigrants to the United States we are convinced that these newcomers have proven in the vast majority of cases to be an asset to this country. They have included an unusually large percentage of people of high intellectual and educational level and have brought many talents and skills of which we have made good use. Far from taking jobs away from Americans they have in many instances brought patents, processes and capital with which they have set up new industries, making products that were formerly imported from abroad, and employing large numbers of American workers. The fields of science and the arts have been particularly enriched by them. They have been eager to embrace American citizenship at the earliest possible moment and to prove their loyalty in every way open to them. There is no known case in which one of these newcomers has become eligible for deportation as a public charge.

The picture of the majority of these refugees who have been able to immigrate to the United States, now self-sustaining and happy in a new homeland, is in marked contrast to that of the thousands of refugees and displaced persons still languishing in camps and detention centers in Europe, nearly 2 years after the end of hostilities there. Their problem is admittedly one for solution on an international scale, but it is obvious that the United States, the one great power relatively unscathed by the war, will have to shoulder the major responsibility both in supporting an international refugee agency and in providing a place of resettlement. No one who is acquainted with the facts will claim that the United States has up to now, met its full share of this responsibility. Part of the reason for this is the fact that the quota numbers available for the countries of origin of most of the displaced persons are so small that immigration of the numbers provided by these quotas makes no real impression on the problem.

Therefore in view of our convictions that the admission of displaced persons would prove an asset to this country, that humanitarian considerations make imperative a quick solution of their problem, and the major responsibility for such a solution rests with the United States, we urge our Congress to enact as speedily as possible such temporary legislation as is necessary to provide, within our immigration laws but outside the present quotas, for the immigration into this country within the next few years of our fair share of the displaced persons, which is estimated to be about half of their total number, or 400,000. This number represents less than half of the quota numbers which were available during the war years but were unused because of war conditions. A large number of voluntary agencies stand ready now, as in the past, to assist these newcomers with their problems of adjustment, including economic adjustment, housing, vocational guidance, and integration into our communities and culture.

SUPPLEMENT TO STATEMENT BY DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE BEFORE THE HOUSE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION CONCERNING H. R. 2910

The following figures are based mainly on information secured from the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees as of May 19, 1947, and supplemented by reports from the American Friends Service Committee delegation in France. They indicate plans that have already been worked out by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees with various countries for the reception of displaced persons.

Country	Plan	Total number to be admitted	Number arrived up to May 19, 1947
United Kingdom.	Volunteer workers, especially miners, textile, agriculture, etc. (pay and working conditions same as British workers).	100,000.....	1,200 (1,500 to 2,000 expected per week).
	Domestics.....	Not specified.....	2,526.
	Close relatives of displaced persons.....	do.....	5,000.
	The above figures do not include 142,000 members of Polish Resettlement Corps (former members of the Polish Army) now in Great Britain. United Kingdom has assumed responsibility for the resettlement of these men and their dependents with the expectation that the Dominions will take some of them.		
Belgium.....	Miners.....	20,000.....	2,431.
France.....	50,000 workers and families 1947-48.....	150,000.....	None yet but selection commission at work in Germany.
Holland.....	.....	8,000 (plus relatives to follow later).	Selection team now in Germany.
Canada.....	Close relatives of displaced persons in Canada. (Number expected to be increased since program recently extended to include cousins and distant relatives by marriage; also extended to include Italy as well as Germany and Austria.)	4,500.....	100 (missions in Germany and Austria making selections).
Do.....	Sugar-beet workers, workers in lumbering, mining, etc.	Several thousands.	100.
Australia.....	For the present, relatives of displaced persons already there.	12,000.....	1,200.
French North Africa.....	Skilled workers.....	40,000.....	282.
South Africa.....	No specified plan.....	Not specified.....	Selection corps in Europe to select small group from Austria.
Brazil.....	Under present agreement. (Three immigration committees of technical experts studying types of additional immigrants that might be admitted from occupied zones.)	5,000.....	861.
Venezuela.....	Skilled workers and domestics during 1947.	15,000.....	Mission now making selections in occupied zones. First group expected to sail June 15, 1947.
Peru.....	Agricultural workers, tradesmen, industrial workers, etc.	Approximately 15,000.	Selection mission in Europe.
Chile.....	2,000 families in 1947.....	Approximately 6,000.	Representative in Europe.
Argentina.....	Displaced persons from Italy, Polish displaced persons and Italian wives, from England.	Approximately 10,000.	Also has mission to Austria and Germany to consider displaced persons there.
Total approximately.	.....	385,500.....	

STATEMENT OF PROF. CARTER GOODRICH BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2910, JUNE 9, 1947

Professor Carter Goodrich is executive officer of the department of economics at Columbia University. He is a graduate of Amherst College and a Ph. D. in economics of the University of Chicago. From 1924 to 1931 he taught at the University of Michigan. Since 1931 he has been a professor of economics at Columbia University. From 1936 to 1946 he represented the United States Government on the governing body of the International Labor Office during the war years. From 1934 to 1936 he was director of the Study of Population Redistribution conducted under the auspices of the Wharton School of Finance of the University of Pennsylvania. The results of this investigation were published in 1936 in a volume entitled "Migration and Economic Opportunity."

I appreciate the opportunity to testify on the economic effects of the proposed bill. The purposes of the measure are more humanitarian than economic. My testimony, however, will be limited to the economic consequences.

As an economist, I am glad to be able to assure you that the measure can be adopted without the slightest danger to the economy. The reason for this

is obvious. We are a nation of some 60 million jobs. This is a bill which might have the effect of admitting some 60 thousand workers a year. Even this is probably an overestimate; out of a hundred thousand men, women and children, the number of job-seekers would in all probability be less than this. In any case, 60,000 newcomers a year cannot upset an economy of 60,000,000 jobs. Their entrance cannot possibly cause serious unemployment.

I say this with full consciousness of the importance of taking every care to protect the American worker against mass unemployment. I regard the responsibilities which the Congress has placed upon itself and upon the executive through the Employment Act of 1946 as among the most important functions of government. But they are not relevant to the present question. The differences between a time of high employment, like the present, and a time of mass unemployment, like the thirties, do not depend on the size of the total population or the total number of persons ready and willing to work. The trouble in the thirties was not that there were too many people in the United States. There are more people now, with high employment. The number of occupied persons now is substantially greater than the total at work plus the total who were looking for work during the great depression.

It is quite impossible, also, to place any responsibility for that depression on the presence in this country of large masses of immigrant labor. It is interesting to note that this depression, by far the most serious in the country's history, did not take place until after more than a decade of immigration restriction. Moreover, during the work of the depression years, 1932, '33, '34, and '35, the number of emigrants who left the United States remained greater than the number of immigrants who came in. On this the figures are presented in table X on page 14 of the pamphlet entitled "Economic Aspects of Immigration," prepared by the National Committee on Immigration Policy, which has, I understand, been placed before the committee.

Neither theory nor past experience gives any basis for the fear that the entrance into the American economy of the small group of migrants proposed in the bill can offer any threat to the employment or to the living standards of American workers. If you should be inclined to discount this statement as the mere theorizing of a college professor, let me call attention to the fact that the ranking leaders of the American labor movement, Mr. William Green and Mr. Philip Murray, are members of the committee sponsoring the present bill.

There is, moreover, good reason to believe that the admission of these immigrants will bring more economic advantage than disadvantage to this country. Support for this may be found in information concerning the occupations represented among the displaced persons and by information concerning the part played in American life by other refugees who have arrived in recent years.

Of the displaced persons ready to come to the United States, the very great majority are farmers or farm laborers, at least in background, though many were forced to work in the German factories. A considerable proportion of the group are domestic servants. You will, I am sure, agree that this is an occupation in which we could well use more workers rather than less. Of the remainder a substantial number are professional and business men. The value of the potential contribution of this last group has been indicated by a careful study of the adjustment in the United States of the refugees who have arrived in this country since 1933. The investigation was made under the auspices of Prof. Maurice R. Davie, of Yale University. Its results have been published this year under the title, "Refugees in America: Report of the Commission for the Study of Recent Immigration From Europe." This report reaches the conclusion that the refugees "are more educated, more skilled, and more experienced in business and the professions than the ordinary run of immigrants." "Their ability and knowledge," says Professor Davie, "have been contributed to the economic advantage of the country, as seen in the introduction of new products and new processes." His report describes in detail the ways in which "refugee businessmen have opened up employment opportunities both for Americans and for refugees." In many cases these enterprises use methods and processes previously unknown in this country. Of these the importation of the diamond industry from the Netherlands is the most striking, but the full list of refugee innovations listed and described in the Davie report is a long and impressive one. We are justified, I believe, in hoping for and in expecting similar results from the admission of the somewhat larger number of refugees provided for by the bill. It is difficult to put an economic valuation on genius.

If we should gain by the legislation one great immigrant scientist, that alone might far outweigh any possible costs of the entire operation. But short of such speculation, we know that we shall be importing specialized knowledge as well as manpower. There is good reason to believe that these newcomers, like those who have just preceded them, will bring valuable skills to the service of the American economy.

A final economic consideration relates to the budget of the Federal Government. At the present time the United States Government is bearing the costs of maintaining hundreds of thousands of displaced persons in camps in central Europe. The United States is spending for this purpose \$130,000,000 during the present year. One effect of the bill, if passed, will be to reduce this cost. Each displaced person who comes to the United States under its provisions must meet the standards of the immigration acts. In particular he must satisfy the requirement that he will not become a public charge. The expense of his passage will not be borne by the Government. The displaced persons will be brought to this country either at their own expense, the expense of relatives, or at the expense of voluntary organizations acting because of philanthropic motives and because of their religious or other kinship to particular immigrants. These same organizations will assist in the vital processes of location and placement and initial adjustment to American life. Since churches and congregations with which these organizations are affiliated are scattered widely throughout the country, they are in a position to promote a wide distribution of the newcomers to occupations and communities in which they will be needed and welcome. A detailed study of 2,976 displaced persons who came to the United States during the year 1946 shows that they have settled in no less than 156 communities, large and small, in 35 States from coast to coast. A similar distribution should be expected of those who will enter under the proposed bill. Thus its effect will be to transform these people from pensioners of the United States Government abroad to self-supporting members of our own communities throughout the country.

STATEMENT BY MRS. LAFELL DICKINSON AT HEARINGS ON H. R. 2910 BEFORE THE
HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, JUNE 13, 1947

Although I am president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, I am appearing today as a private citizen. I do so because my organization will not have an opportunity to determine its position on the Stratton bill until June 23. At that time a resolution favoring the principles of H. R. 2910 will be presented at its annual convention.

My very strong personal feeling is that H. R. 2910 is urgently needed to help solve the tragic problem of Europe's displaced persons. Congress now finds itself in the position of deciding the fate of these unfortunate victims of war no matter what it does. If it acts negatively, or does not act at all, their future will be determined by that fact alone. If it acts affirmatively by passing H. R. 2910 and accepting America's responsibility, it will provide the leadership necessary to a solution of the problem.

I think the responsible, humane, and American way is to open our doors to our fair share of the displaced persons. If we reject these homeless people, we will not only set a sorry example to the rest of the world, but we will be creating an almost insuperable barrier to the solution of the problem by other nations who look to us for leadership. If we evade our responsibility one of three things must happen. The displaced persons must be forcibly repatriated, or thrown back upon the wrecked economy of the Axis Nations, or kept indefinitely in their present situation—largely at our expense.

It is one thing to incur expense, however heavy, in the course of working out a permanent solution through the International Refugee Organization. Of that expense we all approve. It would be quite another thing to attempt to buy ourselves out of the responsibility of doing anything constructive at the expense of the American taxpayer. It is our interest to make it possible for these people to contribute to, not drain, our economy.

I believe the economy of this country can easily absorb the immigration of the 400,000 refugees provided for in H. R. 2910. Manpower shortages still exist in a number of fields. Moreover, I understand that over 50 percent of the displaced persons are women and children, many of whom would not be job competitors. And for those women who might need work, there is certainly a demand in this country for domestic workers.

The longer the displaced persons remain in crowded camps in Europe, the more they deteriorate as individuals. Collectively they add to national frictions. Their restoration to normal, useful living will be a step toward the restoration of order in Europe.

No one can have heard of the conditions under which these displaced people are bravely and hopefully living without having them heavily on his conscience. Whenever I am especially happy and comfortable in this prosperous land of ours, their fates weighs upon me. The longer we allow this terrible situation to continue, the greater our guilt. And if we believe that we are our brother's keeper, as our religion teaches, then indeed we must do something about these people.

My ancestors left England because of religious persecution. Fortunately, they were received in Holland, but my great-great-great-grandmother hated to see her sons take part in the frequent wars which beset Holland, so she left for the then hospitable shores of America.

Almost all our ancestors sought refuge here, and they succeeded in building our great country. Possibly among these refugees will be people who will appreciate the opportunities for work and other advantages which a free country offers—people who will help to build an even greater America.

For these reasons—and above all because it is in the best American tradition—I hope that the Congress will act promptly and favorably on H. R. 2910.

(Resolutions favoring H. R. 2910, submitted by Earl G. Harrison, chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, to the House Subcommittee on Immigration)

STATEMENT BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2910, JULY 7, 1947

The League of Women Voters of the United States wishes to go on record in favor of H. R. 2910 which would authorize the United States to assist in the resettlement of Europe's displaced persons. Our support of this bill stems from the league's position that the United States must assume its full share of responsibility in removing this disrupting factor in international relations. It was specifically authorized by the national board, and the council endorsed this action at its meeting in Washington in May of this year.

The league believes keenly in the duty of the United States to take an active and constructive part in the settlement of international problems. The American people have clearly rejected isolationism. The problem of displaced persons has grown out of the war. It must be dealt with constructively, by an international cooperative effort, before a real peace can be attained in Europe. The attainment of this peace as speedily as possible is one of the prime objectives of American foreign policy; it is in the interest not only of Europe, but of ourselves and the entire world.

Seven of the eight million displaced persons liberated at the end of the war have been repatriated; the remaining million, who for valid reasons cannot return to the place from which they came, must be taken care of in a humanitarian way, and in a way that will provide a permanent solution to their problem. Their presence now in Germany, Austria, and Italy is naturally a disruptive factor in those countries, and because of the political issues involved has been a source of friction between the eastern and western powers. In addition to the burden which they put upon our forces of occupation and upon the relief agencies, they also involve a considerable expense to the American taxpayer, estimated at \$130,000,000 during 1947. There is no satisfactory solution other than resettling these war victims in nations of the world which are willing and able to give them a chance to build a new life. Certainly the United States, fortunate enough not to have suffered any of the physical destruction of war, and today a land of plenty in comparison with the rest of the world, would be shirking its responsibilities if it failed to contribute to the solution. Encouragingly, other nations have already volunteered to do their share of this resettlement job, and the action of the United States in accepting 400,000 persons over a 4-year period would not only take care of almost half of those remaining, but would also give a great impetus to other countries to help finish the job. Unless the United States is willing to assume its part of the obligation, the prospect of reaching any satisfactory solution is indeed slight.

During the war years immigration of necessity came almost to a stop and less than 10 percent of the quotas were filled. This bill simply authorizes entry into the United States of a part of the total number who would otherwise have entered the country during the war years. The same careful selection procedures specified for other immigrants would be applied by our consulates abroad. Over half of the group is composed of women and children, and there are large numbers of farmers, construction workers, nurses, and domestics, all of whose skills are very much needed in the United States.

The league believes that these cogent, practical, and humanitarian reasons point very plainly to the conclusion that H. R. 2910 must be passed. We would like to recommend to the committee that a provision be added to the bill for supervision of the settlement of these persons in the United States, and particularly to see that those with special occupational skills are guided to the areas where these skills are most needed.

STATEMENT ON H. R. 2910, SUBMITTED JUNE 6, 1947, TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED STATES SECTION OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM BY KATHERINE LEE MARSHALL, LEGISLATIVE SECRETARY

The broad and general objectives of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom are peace and freedom; one of the reasons for the league's continuing interest in the problem of the displaced persons has been its awareness that this is a problem affecting peace and concerning freedom.

As the divergence of Nation's views on the relative merits of repatriation and resettlement as possible solutions became more and more evident, it became increasingly apparent that this problem, unresolved, would constitute a constant source of misunderstanding and friction among nations.

Though I do not mean to imply that these frictions will lead the way straight to war, they have and will surely undermine the growth of international cooperation which we must experience is peace is to be secure.

The United States has upheld freedom in all international discussions of the problem by her continued refusal to accept forced repatriation as a permanent solution. There must be some permanent solution, however, over and beyond the creation of an international refugee organization. Until the United States can offer real help toward carrying out a program of resettlement, her stand for freedom lacks the substance necessary to make that stand sincere, meaningful, and worth while.

The league, therefore, favors prompt passage of H. R. 2910, which would permit the United States to offer real help by announcing that she will provide within her wide borders a chance for permanent resettlement of up to 400,000 of those people classified as displaced persons. Four hundred thousand has been described as our fair share. Actually the acceptance of that number—not at once but over a 4-year period—though it may appear generous to us in the United States, is little enough to offer in the face of a problem whose political nature and human impact become more critical with the passage of each day. To the league H. R. 2910 represents the least this Nation dare offer to substantiate its stand for freedom.

Testimony already presented to this subcommittee has included a thoroughgoing analysis of those facts and arguments which tend to scale down to its proper size the impact which this measure is likely to have upon the lives and interests of United States citizens. I, therefore, propose to consider very briefly only one or two aspects of this whole side of the issue, which is, of course, of as much concern to us as to other Americans.

One of the questions which has been raised most often is, How can we accept more people in the face of the present housing shortage in the United States? Several observations are worth making. First, the provisions of H. R. 2910 would be very small indeed. Less than 1 person would be added to each 1,000 of our present population. Second, it has been pointed out that many of the displaced persons are agricultural laborers and would therefore go to rural communities in the United States, where the shortage of labor is more of an operating factor than is a shortage of housing. The volunteer and welfare agencies and the individuals in the United States who would sponsor resettlement of these people would do all in their power to place them in uncrowded sections; many would undoubtedly go straight into the homes of their relatives

here. Even should some of those expectations be unfulfilled, the large proportion of women and children among the remaining displaced persons points up the fact that in learge measure it will be family units rather than individuals who will require housing. In other words, some number of separate accommodations considerably smaller than 100,000 would be required to fill the needs of the maximum number of displaced persons who could enter in any one of the next 4 years. Finally, it is the league's conviction that we have a housing shortage which demands positive action whether or not up to 100,000 persons a year are added to those now in the market for housing. The size of the addition is so small that the only difference it could make would appear to be a psychological one, which we feel it would be wisest to evaluate as just one more indication of the widespread influence over and interference in the conduct of affairs in general which our housing shortage exerts. It points up even more the need for positive action for relief.

The above brief discussion of the proposed emergency measure for helping to solve the problem of the future for the displaced persons has been done in very mechanistic terms. In conclusion, therefore, we urge that none of us forget the high human content of the situation. The displaced persons are people who have already waited years for some sign pointing toward a home and normal living for any part of their remaining lives. H. R. 2910 could be the milepost which would indicate for all of them a much smoother way, even though for some the journey will still take at least as long as 4 years.

STATEMENT OF WOMEN'S ACTION COMMITTEE FOR LASTING PEACE TO HON. FRANK FELLOWS, CHAIRMAN, HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION ON H. R. 2910

The Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace wishes to place itself on record as strongly in favor of H. R. 2910 for displaced persons, and to urge the Subcommittee on Immigration of the House Judiciary Committee to report it favorably at the earliest possible moment.

We urge speedy action, first, because of the desperate plight of the displaced persons; second, from the standpoint of what they would contribute to our national welfare if they were speedily released from the abnormal life they are leading in the displaced persons camps; third, because the solution of this problem and the permanent settlement of these men and women who have fought and suffered for our common ideals would remove a danger spot to the world and would add to the forces for lasting peace.

The displaced persons, we believe, have a particular claim to our sympathy and help. While we were fighting a war for liberty, they too were fighting against the same enemies, plus personal persecution. They fought against tyranny and oppression, against Hitlerism, not in uniform with an army, but as isolated units, determined not to submit to cruelty, loving freedom, and in that fight losing everything—family, friends, even homes, everything they held dear.

The DP's are the survivors of those conflicts, the ones who were determined enough and strong enough to survive. Now they ask only "Let us once again live a normal life; let us work; let us become self-supporting, self-respecting members of society."

Even if the displaced-persons camps were all that could be desired in physical surroundings and comforts, living day after day and month after month with hope deferred, waiting for the civilized world to decide what to do with them, cannot help but create despair.

We have not let them starve, but we have let them be filled with bitterness, and we are continuing to let hope and courage and ambition be crushed out of them. Every day longer that we keep them waiting not only makes them less able to make a new life for themselves but becomes a blot on our national conscience.

THE DISPLACED PERSONS WOULD ADD TO OUR NATIONAL WEALTH

The largest group by far are agricultural workers, eager for work. The country needs farm laborers. Here they are, ready to become good citizens as their fellow countrymen, many of whom are already in this country, have proved.

According to a survey made by UNRRA in 1946, the next largest group are domestic workers. There are 4,000 nurses and 2,000 other health workers. Many American housewives and mothers, since the war, are overworked, finding it impossible to get any kind of help in housekeeping and the care of children. Here are women eager to give such service.

Among the DP's are 18,000 construction workers, and many thousands of skilled workers in textiles, leather, and the metal trades—fields in which we have acute labor shortages.

Teachers, professional men, physicians, and engineers are another large group. There are 150,000 children under 17 years of age, 70,000 under 6. They need the care and education we can give to make them an asset to the world. Aside from the children (and about one-half of the DP's are women and children) most of them are between the ages of 16 and 40—men and women in the prime of life.

THE DP'S WOULD NOT BE A BURDEN BUT WOULD ADD TO OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY

H. R. 2910 seems to the Women's Action Committee to provide our answer to the problem.

The bill, we think, is simple and workable.

It does not repeal or interfere with the permanent immigration law, but it provides, as an emergency measure, that a part of the unused quotas of the war years be used to admit certain DP's.

Priority is given to relatives of citizens of the United States and of members of the armed forces who served honorably in World Wars I or II.

Up to 100,000 a year for 4 years, DP's who meet the high standards in our immigration laws may be admitted to become citizens of the United States.

No change is proposed in the requirements of the present immigration laws. These requirements are:

Health examinations of the strictest kind, to insure that no diseased person be admitted.

Screening for subversive political beliefs by Federal authorities. No one is permitted to enter who does not meet our standard.

Most of the DP's have fled from totalitarian or religious oppression and are eager to support our free institutions.

Guarantee of support: The support of every immigrant must be vouched for by some responsible citizen of the United States or by some organization, so there is no possibility of the immigrant becoming a public charge.

The total number who may be admitted under H. R. 2910 during the next 4 years is less than one-half the number of immigrants who could legally have entered the United States, 1941-45, but did not because of the World War.

The responsibility for leadership in restoring to normal life three-quarters of a million victims of the most terrible war in history rests on our shoulders.

The world is waiting to see what the United States will do to help solve this problem. We have the great open spaces, and the opportunities for a livelihood. One of our great States could absorb the entire number and would only be that much richer. But we are not asking that any one or two States should do so. Agencies have already been set up to insure that the newcomers be not permitted to add to congestion in our big cities, but be settled over the entire country, where they are most needed.

Many of the DP's have relatives or friends or fellow countrymen already living here as honored citizens of the United States who will help them. Only the technicalities of the immigration law in regard to quotas, and our unreasoning fear, based largely on ignorance of who the DP's are, interfere with the solution. If we open our doors to our share, the doors of other countries will be opened also.

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

We cannot let them starve to death. Shall we go on paying many millions for their support, year after year? Shall we let them deteriorate, mentally and physically, until they die off? That is unthinkable. Or, shall we tackle the problem at once, in an American way?

The Women's Action Committee for Lasting Peace looks to you, members of the Subcommittee on Immigration, to report H. R. 2910 favorably and unanimously, without delay.

TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF H. R. 2910 FOR PRESENTATION TO THE HOUSE IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, NEW YORK 23, N. Y., JUNE 6, 1947

The persons displaced by war and unbelievable persecutions sit patiently and apathetically behind barbed-wire encampments, prisoners not of Nazi brutality, but of the selfishness and disinterest of the peace-loving nations of the world. They wait hopefully for some miracle which will restore them to an active and creative life. The Congress of the United States is in the position now to perform that miracle for 400,000 of these people. The National Council of Jewish Women strongly urges this committee to act favorably on H. R. 2910, the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Act.

It is in the hands of this committee to initiate a less restrictive immigration policy that will serve as an example to the rest of the world. The United States, as a leader in international affairs, can spearhead the movement to relocate the persons displaced by the war. There is little doubt that other countries will accept immigrants as soon as we take the first step in assuming our obligations.

Simple humanity makes our course a clear one. We who have escaped the horrors of war surely owe a debt to those who fought our battle and felt its full impact. If for no other reason, let us accept them out of a feeling of guilt, because we have come through unscathed while they have undergone every horror that war can inflict. On the basis of humanity, we cannot close the doors of our country to these people.

The United States throughout its history has been a haven for the persecuted peoples of Europe. The great waves of immigration have come at those times when there were political, social, and religious upheavals in Europe. Immigrants founded our country and made it strong. They came from all over Europe; from England as well as Italy, from Russia and Holland, and Germany and France. Because they left their native lands to escape religious and political oppression, they built in this country a land of freedom and liberty. Their ability and initiative contributed to making America the wealthiest and the strongest Nation in the world. The history of America is the history of its immigrants. Let us not now reject our heritage.

Many of the opponents of H. R. 2910 say that although past immigration benefited our country an influx of immigrants now would increase unemployment, lower living standards, and otherwise burden the community. This is not a new argument. It has been used over and over again. Yet a recent study of refugee immigration into the United States from 1931-44 (Refugees in America, by Maurice R. Davie), shows clearly that none of these arguments is valid.

When we consider the economic situation, we find that the admittance of these 400,000 people is to our advantage. We are in dire need of farm labor. Eighty thousand of the displaced persons are farm laborers. We need construction workers, engineers, and medical personnel. Among the displaced persons we find over 4,000 nurses, 3,000 physicians and dentists, 2,000 other health workers, and 4,000 civil, mechanical, industrial, and mining engineers. This labor force would not take jobs away from the American worker. It would supplement him in those industries and professions where the greatest shortages exist. Economically, we would most certainly benefit from the influx of new workers and potential consumers. Our periods of greatest prosperity have come at those periods of greatest immigration.

Fortified by a long tradition of offering asylum to the oppressed, America is well prepared to take care of its new arrivals. As long ago as the beginning of the twentieth century, the National Council of Jewish Women was one of many organizations created on a national as well as a local community level to meet the needs of the foreign born. We have a long and honorable record of helping the immigrant to understand America and in helping America to understand him. Since its inception nearly 40 years ago, the program of the service to foreign-born committees of the National Council of Jewish Women has been focused on the transformation of the immigrant into an American.

Trained volunteers in 90 sections, in addition to professional staff in most of our large urban communities, are functioning on a nonsectarian basis. Council sections provide such diverse services as tracing persons in Europe for frantic relatives and friends in the United States and finding relatives in this country in behalf of displaced persons abroad. They prepare and forward affidavits and

interpret immigration requirements, in conjunction with the United Services for New Americans.

In port cities, our council sections, working with the United Service for New Americans, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, and other national organizations, conduct a port and dock program. Our women meet incoming ships, planes, and trains at the ports of entry. They cooperate with local immigration authorities, provide temporary housing and hospitality, arrange transportation, and assist the new arrivals in every possible manner.

Our service-to-foreign-born volunteers find housing and employment for the newcomers, thus assuring the community that no competition is given to citizens. In addition, our local section programs include organization of English classes, preparation of immigrants for citizenship, and orientation of the newcomer to the American way of life. Through these services, our volunteers help the new arrival to become truly an American citizen by making him thoroughly conversant with the language, customs, and history of our country. In addition, the newcomer comes to realize that he is a welcome participant in the life of his local community.

Thus the National Council of Jewish Women, an organization of over 65,000 members, assists the newcomer from the moment he lands on our shores as a bewildered, frightened person until he becomes assimilated into the community. Council continue to serve him until he attains the realization of his dreams—the privilege of assuming the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in his dearly beloved adopted land.

It is, therefore—

Because we for many years have watched the process of immigration at first hand;

Because we have seen persecuted and wretched people transformed into productive members of our society;

Because we believe that offering asylum to the oppressed is basic to our American tradition;

Because we believe that the United States as the greatest and most powerful democracy in the world must help the people of Europe to renew their democratic faith; that

The National Council of Jewish Women believes that our country must accept its fair share of displaced persons in accordance with the provisions of H. R. 2910.

STATEMENTS ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN, APRIL 14-16, 1947

(The National Council of Catholic Women is a federation of Catholic women's organizations whose membership totals more than 5,000,000)

DISPLACED PERSONS

Nearly a million displaced persons of many nationalities and faiths are now residents in camps in Germany and Austria and Italy. To force the repatriation of any of these displaced persons to their countries of origin against their wishes would be a blot on the record of the Allies who fought in the name of freedom. To allow them to suffer in the destroyed economies of Germany or other devastated lands would be inhuman. Resettlement in other areas of the world presents the only real solution to the problems of displaced persons.

We urge the United States to set an example to the rest of the world by accepting a sizeable proportion of the displaced persons. This can be done by proper legislation and we endorse congressional action.

IRO

We also urge effective financial support of the International Refugee Organization by the Government of the United States so that interim care will be assured for the displaced persons pending resettlement. We believe the IRO should be liberal in its interpretation of the eligible categories of refugees, so that undue

hardships will not be wreaked on innocent and defenseless people possessing neither homes nor homelands.

(Resolution from partial list of organizations in favor of H. R. 2910, submitted by Earl G. Harrison, chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, to the House Subcommittee on Immigration)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE

Whereas there are in the American zone of Germany, Austria, and Italy over 800,000 displaced men, women, and children who cannot return to their homes for various reasons; and

Whereas the plight of these unfortunate persons without homes and hope constitute an urgent claim upon our conscience and our security; and

Whereas the only permanent solution of this serious problem is to resettle and establish these people in countries which have not had the scourge of war; and

Whereas immigration to the United States during war years was almost 1,000,000 less than normal: Be it, therefore

Resolved, That the Board of Directors of the International Institute urge prompt adoption by Congress of temporary emergency legislation as expressed in House bill 2910 which, without modifying our present immigration system, would during the next 4 years admit to the United States as its fair share of these homeless people—approximately 400,000 displaced persons.

WINNEBAGO ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

Whereas we as Congregational Churches are concerned with bringing relief to devastated areas in portions of the world where war was waged; and

Whereas we as Congregational Churches take seriously to heart the sacredness of human life: Be it

Resolved, That we as individuals and as churches and as an association do all within our power to encourage our Nation and the Congress to accept our responsibilities in world affairs.

And to that end we further resolves that bill H. R. 2910, which provides that displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, including relatives of citizens or members of our armed forces, be permitted to be admitted into the United States; be it further

Resolved, That we urge bill H. R. 2910 be given a hearing as soon as possible, and for this purpose be it understood that we pass on this resolution to the proper authorities at Washington and elsewhere.

STATEMENT OF HIS EMINENCE, FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN

The true purpose of democracy is man's freedom. Yet, 2 years after VE-day, there are still nearly 1,000,000 people of many faiths and from many lands living in exile amidst the desolation of European camps and barracks. These displaced persons are without home or homelands. A million lives are at the mercy of the United Nations.

I pray in the name of God, Whose real name is Charity, that we not permit these misery-ridden peoples to be forced against their will to return to countries where, enslaved, their human rights will be denied them. I pray that America, in her high destiny under God, will stand stanch before the people of the earth as a shining example of unselfish devotion to the ideal that has made us a great nation—the Christian ideal of liberty in harmonious unity, builded of respect for God's image in man and every man's right to life, liberty, and happiness. For the blood in the veins of America, our heart's blood, comes from the wounds of many peoples, chalice in humanity's name upon the altar of liberty. I pray that, loyal to these God-inspired principles upon which our own Government was founded, we open our hearts and our doors to these starving, suffering peoples, and lead the way for all the United Nations to follow.

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY AMERICAN LEGION POST NO. 493, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
POST, DEPARTMENT OF MICHIGAN, JUNE 19, 1947**

Whereas the American Legion has always been outstanding in its fight for the American democratic way of life, one of the features of which has been to provide a haven of refuge for the oppressed and persecuted of the world; and

Whereas a war has just been fought successfully against forces violently contrary in political thought to that of the United States; and

Whereas nearly a million persons were left homeless due to circumstances of that war and now constitute a hard core of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, who cannot or will not return to their previous homelands because they fear religious or political persecution from the present governing forces now present in those former homelands; and

Whereas the United States was one of the very few countries which was not invaded in the recent war; and

Whereas the United States is a nation of immigrants and their descendants more so than any other nation on earth; and

Whereas the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, is now pending in Congress, which bill—

(a) Proposes no alterations whatsoever in the regular immigration quotas but only sets up temporary provisions to admit 100,000 displaced persons per year over a 4-year period, which in effect is making use of less than half of the over 900,000 quota places, unfilled, and therefore lapsed, which were available during the war years;

(b) Provides for the strict screening of all applicants under our regular immigration regulations and laws, to prevent the admission of criminals, anarchists, persons with contagious diseases, or persons likely to become public charges;

(c) Provides a priority only to relatives of United States servicemen;

(d) Permits the United States to take the lead among nations of the world in solving the distressing problem of the displaced persons; and

Whereas the Stratton bill has received the unqualified endorsement of leaders of organized labor, the AFL and the CIO, who do not fear any threat to employment; and

Whereas there is no possibility that any of these people will become public charges inasmuch as regular immigration regulations require all immigrants to be sponsored by individuals or through corporate affidavits of approved organizations: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Franklin D. Roosevelt Post No. 493 of the American Legion, Department of Michigan, is now hereby on record as favoring the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, and as urging Congress to immediately enact said bill into law.

Unanimously approved, Post executive committee, June 12, 1947.

Unanimously approved, post meeting, June 19, 1947.

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE LAPHAM PARK WAR MOTHERS SERVICE CLUB OF
MILWAUKEE, WIS., ON JULY 9, 1947**

Whereas the plight of the 850,000 displaced persons of Europe constitutes a challenge to every American; and

Whereas it is the tradition of this country that it is the home of the free and the haven of the oppressed; and

Whereas this country has reached its present state of greatness by encouraging the persecuted of all lands to settle here, thus attracting the most vigorous, intelligent, and enterprising persons to make the United States of America their home and aid in building our country; and

Whereas there is pending before the Congress, as a matter of temporary emergency legislation, bill H. R. 2910, under which 100,000 displaced persons will be allowed entrance to this country annually for the next 4 years: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Lapham Park War Mothers Service Club of Milwaukee, Wis., favor the enactment of this legislation and urge our Representatives in Congress to support the same; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the press, the Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate; Chapman Revercomb, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration; Earl C. Michener, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; Frank Fellows, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration; and our Representatives in Congress.

OLD DOMINION POST No. 67, THE AMERICAN LEGION

Whereas the United States entered World War II to eliminate dictatorship and its evils, and thus assure justice and freedom for all peoples of the world; yet, with Allied victory 2 years old, there are almost a million homeless people of many European countries, and of all races and religions, without a country they can or dare return to, many yet confined to concentration camps, and for whom the war's hardships and ravages still continue; and

Whereas as long as homeless persons remain displaced in Europe, they prevent and threaten the consummation of lasting peace (statistics indicate that about 80 percent of these displaced persons are Christian and 20 are non-Christian; about 50 percent of them women and children under 18 years of age); and

Whereas the United States was founded and proudly continues as a haven for all persecuted and oppressed, and all Americans are immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, thus through this policy fusing in our melting pot the best in all races and creeds to produce the greatest Nation on the face of the earth; and

Whereas President Truman and many other American leaders, of all political parties and religious faiths, have declared that the United States, as an example of humanity, must take the lead for all nations to follow, and afford haven and refuge to these unfortunate displaced persons; and

Whereas with its vast uncultivated acres and its tremendous productivity, the United States can amply absorb a reasonable portion of these displaced persons to the actual benefit and advantage of our economy and our culture, without prejudice to its citizenry and its prosperity; and

Whereas during the war years conditions made it impossible for immigrants to enter the United States, so that the immigration quotas for these years have not been used, but it now is possible to effectively screen those who would be chosen to come to the United States, as to qualifications of health, ability to work, and absence of propaganda intentions, with assurance that their support will be guaranteed by reliable agencies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Old Dominion Post No. 67, the American Legion, at its regular meeting at Norfolk on April 16, 1947, urges the Congress of the United States to take the lead in humanity and brotherhood, and to pass emergency legislation immediately to permit entry into this country of a reasonable portion of persons actually now in European countries, and of all origins and creeds, to total no more than the immigration quotas unused during the war years; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded to Virginia department headquarters of the American Legion, and that copies be released to the press, as well as sent to our Representatives in Washington.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED MAY 13, 1947, BY WAYNE COUNTY WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB
FAVORING THE ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

Whereas about a million people are living in displaced persons' camps in Europe; and

Whereas these displaced persons are Poles, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Balts, Czechs, and some 15 other nationalities; and 80 percent are Christians and 20 percent Jews; and more than 50 percent are women and children; and

Whereas on December 22, 1945, President Harry S. Truman issued a directive ordering that Central European quotas be made available primarily to displaced persons; and that only about 3,000 European immigrants have been admitted to the United States since the President's directive; and

Whereas the quotas in the aggregate have not been filled since 1940 under the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, and which provides for quotas with respect

to national origins as of 1920, leaving over 75 percent of such quotas unused; and

Whereas the overwhelming majority of these displaced persons are fleeing from totalitarianism, both past and present; and all displaced persons now being admitted to the United States are carefully screened by the Army and other Federal agencies, and their talents and loyalty would be valuable to the United States; and

Whereas the detention and wanderings of these supposedly liberated people, and the uncertainty of their future, generate new conflicts in an already unsettled world, the repatriation or resettlement of displaced persons will facilitate world peace; and

Whereas currently most of our immigrants move under the aegis of religious or charitable organizations and according to efficient resettlement techniques: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Wayne County Woman's Republican Club is in accord with the principle and feasibility of having past unused quotas made available so that a fair share of displaced persons may be admitted to this country; and

Resolved, That the unused quotas back to 1940 be reopened, that quotas be transferrable so that those not filled by one country be made available for others, under which plan the number of people who would be permitted to come into the United States would be no greater than the number which would have entered if the war had not interfered; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and Senator Homer Ferguson, to the Michigan Committee on Immigration Policies for Displaced Persons, and to the three Detroit metropolitan newspapers.

JEAN B. CHAMBERLAIN (Mrs. Carl B.),
President, Wayne County Woman's Republican Club.

Dated this 13th day of May, A. D. 1947.

WOMEN'S SYNODICAL SOCIETY, SYNOD OF KENTUCKY, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, JULY 1, 1947

The Women's Synodical Society of Synod of Kentucky, Thursday, June 19, 1947, Ashland, Ky., passed a resolution, parallel to action of general assembly, in favor of admitting 100,000 selected refugees and displaced persons each year for the next 4 years in addition to the regular quotas.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

Whereas almost a million persons in Europe are still displaced by the ravages of war and cannot return to their original places of residence; and

Whereas America is a land of immigrants and America has traditionally been an asylum for refugees; and

Whereas Unitarians, who at times have been victims of religious persecution, have furnished through the Unitarian Service Committee, through the churches, and as individuals, significant leadership in the protection of refugees: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the American Unitarian Association assembled in its one hundred and twenty-second annual meeting, hereby urges the United States to take the lead to admit its fair share of European displaced persons by the approval of emergency legislation by the Congress which would temporarily permit the filling of immigration quotas unused during the war years and assigned without regard to country of birth as urged by the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons and other organizations; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Unitarian Association urges the Government of Canada to amend its immigration laws so as to permit a far greater number of European displaced persons to enter the Dominion of Canada and to assist in their successive settlement; and be it finally

Resolved, That the American Unitarian Association urges its member churches to work for the immediate passage of this legislation and pledges its help in the settlement and adjustment of these refugees in local communities.

BEAVER FALLS MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION, MAY 14, 1947

Whereas there are around 850,000 displaced persons in Europe; and

Whereas they dare not return to their homelands in fear of religious and political persecution; and

Whereas America is committed to the policy of not forcing their return; and

Whereas it is costing the American taxpayers something around \$300,000,000 a year to maintain them in former concentration camps; and

Whereas General McNarney has said that our occupation troops in Germany could be cut sharply if the displaced persons were moved out of the country; and

Whereas they could make a positive contribution to our American economy through their labor and skills; and

Whereas 914,762 quota numbers for immigrants permitted to enter into this country between 1940 and 1946 were never used; and

Whereas the admission of 400,000 displaced persons in the next 4 years would use only 50 percent of immigration quotas already allowed by Congress; and

Whereas all such DP's admitted would have to be screened according to present immigration laws eliminating all anarchists, vagrants, criminals, paupers, and subversive elements; and

Whereas everyone coming would have to be vouched for by individual or corporate affidavits so that they would not become a public charge; and

Whereas the great majority of them would be housed by relatives so they would not materially complicate the housing shortage; and

Whereas above all, the humanitarian consideration involved and the Christian conscience dictates that these people who are hopeless exiles now because of their resistance to tyranny should be given our sympathy, interest, and a chance to rebuild their shattered lives and contribute to the welfare to freedom and democracy; and

Whereas such Christian organizations as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Catholic War Veterans, as well as such organizations as the AFL and CIO, have endorsed this movement: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we inform our people regarding this emergency, that we urge their support of the Stratton bill (H. R. 2910) which provides for the accomplishment of these things, that we support President Truman in asking for this amendment to the immigration laws, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Congressman Louis E. Graham and its urgency placed before him, as the UNRRA disbands June 30.

NEW YORK STATE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

Whereas there are still 850,000 people in displaced-persons camps in Europe, unable or unwilling to return to their former homes, due to persecution or fear of persecution. The condition of these people, many of whom are last surviving members of family units is increasingly critical: Be it

Resolved, That we as a conference go on record as supporting H. R. 2910 introduced by Representative Stratton, of Illinois, authorizing the admission of 100,000 displaced persons into the United States each year for the next 4 years, provided that they qualify under regular immigration laws. It is understood that preference will be given to relatives of American citizens and war veterans: Be it

Resolved, That the record of this action be transmitted to the House Judiciary Committee, and that individuals be urged to write their Representatives in support of this bill.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE MINNEAPOLIS CHURCH FEDERATION

Whereas President Truman has asked Congress to amend the immigration laws to allow entry of as many of the displaced persons of Europe as would constitute the fair share of the United States, a share not to exceed half of the unrepatriables and which would not be less than half the difference between those admissible under the quota law during the war years and those who actually entered; the reception of these emergency immigrants to be spread over 3 years and the national quotas under the quota laws not being applied to such immigrants; and

Whereas a bill is pending in Congress (H. R. 2910) entitled "The Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act," providing that for 4 years displaced persons applying for a permanent residence shall be admitted an nonquota immigrants provided that they are qualified under all immigration laws and that not more than 400,000 shall be admitted during the entire period, and that a displaced person shall mean one in Germany, Austria, or Italy who is out of his country of former residence as a result of World War II and is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or fear of persecution, on account of race, religion, or political reasons: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Minneapolis Church Federation endorses H. R. 2910, deeming it the duty of all Christians to aid in making the necessary provision for these homeless people, and urges the members of the churches represented in it to support enactment of this measure into law.

MILWAUKEE TURNERS, APRIL 17, 1947

Whereas we are informed that there are still some 850,000 people in Europe who live in detention camps; and

Whereas many of these displaced persons are living in continuous fears of being returned to countries where they will be persecuted and oppressed; and

Whereas the United States, through its delegates, took the lead in the United Nations Assembly in insisting that these displaced persons must not be compelled to return to their countries of origin if to do so meant fearing further persecution on religious, racial, or political grounds; and

Whereas it is the tradition of this country that it is the home of the free and the haven of the oppressed; and

Whereas under present immigration laws, these displaced persons cannot be afforded a haven of refuge in this country; and

Whereas this country has reached its present state of greatness by encouraging the persecuted of all lands to settle here, thus attracting the most vigorous, intelligent, and enterprising persons to make the United States of America their home and aid in building our country; and

Whereas there is pending before the Congress, as a matter of temporary emergency legislation, bill H. R. 2910, under which 100,000 displaced persons will be allowed entrance to this country annually for the next 4 years; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we favor the enactment of this legislation and urge our representatives in Congress to support the same; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the press; to Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate; Chapman Revercomb, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration; Earl Michener, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; Frank Fellows, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration; and our Representatives in Congress.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, BOSTON BRANCH, MAY 17, 1947

Be it resolved, That the members of the Boston Branch of the American Association of University Women go on record as approving House bill 2910, an act which would be temporary legislation and would permit 400,000 displaced persons to enter this country during a 4-year period, 100,000 to be admitted each year for the 4-year period.

That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Massachusetts Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 40 Mount Vernon Street.

FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS OF MAINE, JUNE 13, 1947

Whereas we believe that the only hope for solution of war lies in mutual understanding and cooperation among the nations of the world; and

Whereas the United Nations is at present the machinery for affecting such mutual understanding and cooperation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Maine, hereby affirm our faith in the United Nations as an instrument of lasting peace and reaffirm our endorsement of full participations in the United Nations and in the specialized agencies for the international cooperation in education, health, relief, and trade.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATURALIZATION COUNCIL OF KANSAS CITY, MO.,
DECEMBER 4, 1946

Whereas the United States is in a position of leadership among the nations;
Whereas the total immigration quota has not been used for many years;
Whereas our Government is paying a large part of the cost of maintaining these camps of displaced persons;
Whereas these persons would have to pass careful screening and the usual tests under our immigration law;
Whereas it is the quota narrowly limited by national origin which prevents more than a few from coming to this country;
Therefore we believe that Congress should enact special legislation to set aside the national origins part of the law to cover this particular situation, so that a fair share of these people may come here, and we will not have failed our responsibility to the oppressed.

RESOLUTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS PASSED BY THE BOARD OF THE LEAGUE OF
WOMEN VOTERS OF CHARLESTON, W. VA., MAY 21, 1947

Resolved, In view of the dire need to remove the people from the DP camps in Europe, we, the members of the League of Women Voters of Charleston here assembled today, go on record as urging that everything possible be done to pass legislation (H. R. 2910) to make complete use of all present unfilled quota allocations; and further, that letters be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and chairmen of Committees on Immigration in the Senate and House.

WOMAN'S AUXILIARY TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, DIOCESE OF MISSOURI, MAY 15, 1947

Whereas we believe that the problem of displaced persons in Europe presents a moral as well as a financial responsibility to the United States; and
Whereas we believe that the relaxation of our immigration laws has a definite significance for peace and world order and affects our country's whole-hearted participation in the United Nations: Therefore be it
Resolved, That the Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Missouri favors the admission to the United States of a greater number of displaced and stateless persons than is provided under the present quotas and urges immediate passage of H. R. 2910; and be it further
Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all of the Missouri Senators and Congressmen and to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and to the Speaker of the House.

DETROIT ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

The displaced persons of the world have an equal right with all others to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We urge the Government of the United States to use to the full the unused quotas of the war years for the admission of those displaced persons who may wish to come here. We commend the United Nations for its concern about this problem.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS, MARCH 31, 1947

Whereas there remain in Europe today 850,000 people—men, women, and children—who cannot be returned to their original places of residence, and 2 years after the war are still residing in detention camps because they have no place to go;

Whereas the people of the United States have a responsibility to those people of other nations who because of the war are without a place to live;

Whereas the heritage of our Nation and of our own local Pittsburgh community comes from the contributions made by peoples of many nations and many faiths;

Whereas we have faith and confidence that these people, who are without a place, share our community of interests, and will contribute to our society if we give them an opportunity: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, who have come together in an association known as the Allegheny County Committee on Displaced Persons, go on record in favor of permissive legislation of an emergency nature, so that a fair share of those people of Europe who are without a place to go may be granted an opportunity to enter the United States; and further, that copies of this statement be sent to the President of the United States and to those Members of the Congress of the United States who represent the people of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

The National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation recommends and urges the enactment by Congress of the bill introduced by Representative Stratton (H. R. 2910) offering opportunity to 400,000 displaced persons to settle in the United States over the next 4 years.

The continued detention of 850,000 victims of war in European concentration camps 2 years after the end of the war is a crime against humanity. We desire to see our country set an example of generous aid to war victims and take the initiative in welcoming the orphan, the widow, and the homeless to our shores.

(Resolution passed in New York City, May 30, 1947.)

SAN FRANCISCO CIO COUNCIL, MAY 16, 1947

Whereas today, almost 2 years after the completion of a war to guarantee the "four freedoms" to all peoples, over 850,000 central Europeans remain without home, country, or visible future; and

Whereas these helpless human beings are herded into camps where they are nonproductive and where the seeds of another war may readily be sown; and

Whereas the United States and the CIO have traditionally championed the right of all men to pursue happiness and the full use of their abilities in freedom and security; and

Whereas the United States escaped the ravages of war as were suffered by most of the United Nations; and

Whereas the San Francisco CIO Council has previously gone on record as favoring the admission of a fair share of displaced persons to this country: Therefore be it now

Resolved, That the San Francisco CIO Council hereby expresses its unqualified support of a specific piece of temporary legislation, H. R. 2910, which would permit 100,000 displaced persons to enter the United States each year for 4 years as nonquota immigrants, totaling less than half the unused quotas of the war years; and be it further

Resolved, That local affiliates of the San Francisco CIO Council urge their membership to address letters to their Congressmen with copies to Senators Downey and Knowland, Representative Frank Fellows, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration, and Representative Earl C. Michener, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, expressing support of H. R. 2910 and requesting early hearings in order that action may be taken on it before the adjournment of Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the above-named Congressmen.

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY AND STEAMSHIP CLERKS, CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 3, 1947

Whereas there are still today hundreds of thousands of displaced persons living in utter misery in the detention camps of Europe, victims of oppression who are unwilling or unable to return to the countries of their nationality or former residence because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion, 80 percent of whom are Christians and 20 percent of whom are Jews; and

Whereas the United States as the world's foremost democracy, and in the name of civilized humanity is under moral obligation to accept into this country its fair share of displaced persons; and

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor at its sixty-fifth annual convention went on record for the immediate entry of displaced persons in such number as would normally have been able to enter our ports under the quotas during the war period had not the war made such immigration impossible, thereby leaving said quotas unfilled; and

Whereas organized labor has ever been the champion of freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and freedom of movement, and it would be in keeping with the proudest traditions of America to offer asylum to the victims of persecution and intolerance who have been torn from their former homes and deprived of the opportunity to lead normal human lives: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, in convention assembled, endorse and support the program of the American Federation of Labor for the immediate entry into this country of immigrants composed of displaced persons in Europe in such number as will permit the unfilled quotas of the war period to be completed; and be it further

Resolved, That the brotherhood through its officers and representatives press vigorously for the passage of such Federal legislation as will assist to carry out the purposes of this resolution.

ST. LOUIS INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL, CIO, MAY 14, 1947

Whereas there are about 850,000 displaced persons, of whom 80 percent are Christians, and 20 percent Jewish, who are still detained in camps in Europe 2 years after the war; and

Whereas these people dare not return to their land of origin because of fear of racial, religious, or political oppression; and

Whereas the Government of the United States has agreed that no displaced person shall be compelled to return to his homeland against his will; and

Whereas it is the responsibility of the democratic countries to see that these persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life again in a free and democratic society; and

Whereas the Congress of Industrial Organizations has always stood in the forefront in the fight for human rights: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the St. Louis CIO Industrial Union Council go on record as favoring the passage of H. R. 2910 which would permit the entry of 100,000 displaced persons each year for 4 years; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Congressmen Karsten, Ploeser, Bakewell and to Senators Kem and Donnell.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAPER MAKERS, JANUARY 10, 1947

It is resolved, That we, the executive boards of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, in joint session assembled, representing over 150,000 members, do hereby endorse legislation to provide for the entry of displaced persons into the United States in accordance with our Government's responsibility as a member of the United Nations, such number not to exceed 450,000 and to be applied against the unfilled immigration quotas of the war years.

MATTHEW J. BURNS, President,
JOSEPH ADDY, Secretary,
JOHN P. BURKE, President-Secretary.

**RESOLUTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS BY AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE OF
MASSACHUSETTS, INC., BOSTON, MASS.**

Whereas there are now in displaced persons camps in Europe 850,000 people, of whom 200,000 are Jews whom the Nazis sought to exterminate as a people; and

Whereas it is the responsibility of civilized countries to see to it that these persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life under new circumstances under conditions as a safe haven; and

Whereas the immigration quota of the United States was set in 1929, when our absorptive industrial capacity was much smaller than now, at 154,000 persons per year; and

Whereas for the past 15 years this annual quota has not been filled and, during the war years, only 7 percent of the quota was able to come to this country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Council of the American Veterans Committee urges that immediate entry into the United States of displaced persons in Europe, of whom the Jews are a large number, be permitted to the extent of the unfilled quotas of the war period; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be implemented by an action program employing such techniques of publicity and pressure as are deemed practicable.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE, JUNE 3, 1947

Whereas now 2 years after the end of the war there still remain close to 1,000,000 people confined to displaced persons camps in Europe; and

Whereas these men, women, and children have survived the most harrowing experiences of suffering and persecution in Nazi concentration camps and slave labor battalions; and

Whereas one of the greatest democratic traditions of our country has been its readiness to serve as a haven and refuge for the persecuted of the world; and

Whereas our country has been continually enriched by the fine contributions to its culture made by such refugees from abroad since the dawn of our Nation; and

Whereas during the war years, 1942-45, only 7 percent of the immigration quotas from all countries of the world was filled; and

Whereas the continued maintenance of displaced persons camps constitutes one of the greatest dangers to the peace so dearly won and an intolerable callousness to the victims of nazism: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare go on record as approving of House bill H. R. 2910 now before the United States Congress which seeks the admission of 100,000 displaced persons a year for 4 years.

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AKRON, PA.

The following resolution was passed on May 3, 1947:

"Whereas the Mennonite Central Committee has a deep interest in the refugee problem in Europe because of the committee's first-hand contact with conditions there; and

"Whereas we believe that the refugee problem is one of the most pressing that faces the world today; and

"Whereas the leadership of the United States in giving refuge to these unfortunate people would undoubtedly prompt other nations to do likewise; and

"Whereas there is apparently no hope or outlook for the refugees in the vicinities of their present habitations: Be it, therefore

Resolved, That the Mennonite Central Committee register with the appropriate congressional authorities its endorsement and approval of H. R. 2910 'Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act,' which will enable the admission of up to 400,000 selected immigrants."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT ATLANTIC CITY N. J., BY THE NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION ON MAY 23, 1947, AT THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY SESSION OF THE NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Whereas great numbers of displaced persons who had suffered barbaric treatment during the war are still in camps in Europe; and

Whereas other thousands are, for a variety of reasons, as the result of the war, unable to return to their own homes; and

Whereas many of them are anxious to rejoin their remaining relatives in other lands; and

Whereas from 1942 to 1945 only 7 percent of our world quota for immigration was used: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we heartily endorse legislation which will make that unused quota available to these unfortunates, and that we ask the Council on Christian Social Progress to press for the passage of such legislation in the Eightieth Congress.

RESOLUTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS BY THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, MAY 9, 1947

Whereas there are in camps in Germany, Italy, and Austria, nearly a million displaced persons of various denominations, composed of men, women, and children, 80 percent of whom are Christians, and 20 percent Jews, including 150,000 children below the age of 17; and

Whereas these displaced persons are unable to return to their own homes because of persecution or fear of persecution by reason of their race, religion, or political beliefs, and desire above all else to start a new life in a nation where there is freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and freedom of movement, and have demonstrated their faith that this Nation and others allied with it will do them justice: Be it

Resolved, That the Southern Baptist Convention go on record as favoring the admission by the United States of its fair share of these displaced people, such share amounting to 400,000 over the period of the next 4 years, and urge the Congress to provide emergency legislation to accomplish this result.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY GENERAL CONVENTION, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, PA., OCTOBER 1946

Resolved, That this general convention commend President Truman for his public statement that he will ask the 1947 Congress to admit to the United States a greater number of displaced and stateless persons than is provided under our present quotas. When we, as a nation, have thus acted in response to our capacity to relieve this vast human need, we can in good grace counsel other nations to do their duty.

RESOLUTION, WOMAN'S AUXILIARY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, FEBRUARY 1947

Whereas we believe that the only hope for abolition of war lies in mutual understanding and cooperation among the nations of the world; and

Whereas the United Nations is at present the machinery for effecting such mutual understanding and cooperation: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the national executive board of the woman's auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, hereby reaffirm our faith in the United Nations as an instrument of lasting peace; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of the resolution be sent to the woman's auxiliaries in the dioceses and missionaries districts of the Episcopal Church with a request that they take similar action.

Whereas two matters of special concern to Christian citizens are scheduled to come before Congress in the near future, namely, the extension of reciprocal-trade agreements; the relaxation of our immigration laws to permit the entrance into the United States of our fair share of the displaced persons now in camps in Europe; and

Whereas each of these has significance for peace and world order, and affects our country's wholehearted participation in the United Nations: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the national executive board of the woman's auxiliary go on record as favoring the extension of reciprocal-trade agreements; and be it further

Resolved, That the national executive board of the woman's auxiliary favors the admission to the United States of a greater number of displaced and stateless persons than is provided under the present quotas; and be it further

Resolved, That the national executive board calls upon the women of the church to exercise their Christian citizenship by learning about these matters, forming their own opinions, and expressing those opinions to their Senators and Representatives in Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That in addition to the report of this action by the provincial representatives, Miss Stabler be asked to call it to the attention of diocesan chairman of Christian social relations, and to list for them available sources of information.

WOMEN'S DIVISION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS, MARCH 18, 1947

DISPLACED PERSONS AND IMMIGRATION

Since estimates indicate that there will be about 850,000 of the remaining one and a quarter millions of displaced persons still in Europe who will be unable or unwilling to return to the countries of their birth, humanity and world stability require that the more favored nations assume their moral obligation to help provide a haven and a home for these people uprooted by war and persecution. A particularly heavy responsibility rests upon the United States by reason of its democratic heritage and present resources, to receive a generous share of the remaining persons. This will require the temporary revision of our Immigration Act.

We therefore reaffirm the woman's division recommendation: "We urge that the United States prepare itself spiritually and legally to receive its proportionate share of refugees and displaced persons, and to integrate them into its normal life."

We urge Methodist women as individuals and through their church groups to cooperate in efforts to receive, distribute, and integrate such persons, sharing financial responsibility for them when necessary, and to support the displaced persons project of church world service.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES RELEASED BY THE CATHOLIC DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA AT ITS SEMI-ANNUAL BOARD MEETING, FEBRUARY 1947

The basic problem of the world today is that of reaching a common agreement on the rights and duties of the individual human being. Women of the world wield a tremendous and powerful influence and must assume the leadership in promulgating by precept and by example the principles which recognize man as an individual and as a member of society.

As Catholic women we recognize that a sound and stable society is based upon the family and that simple justice demands that the wage earner receive a wage adequate for proper housing, proper living, proper education, and a security for his family.

We believe that World War II has not been won, nor is a just and lasting peace possible until the inalienable rights and duties of man are acknowledged in the councils of the nations of the world.

We commend His Excellency President Harry S. Truman for his broad and humane interest in the plight of the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children in the displaced persons camps of Europe, who cannot return to the countries of their origin, but whose human rights are being ignominiously violated by propaganda and falsehoods aimed to force their return to countries now under totalitarian dictatorships. We recommend that the President of the United States be empowered to allocate some of the thousands of unused quotas of European countries to these freedom-loving people in order that a fair sampling of them may be admitted into the United States, where they will be given a chance to begin life anew and in order that this generous act of our Government may serve as an example for other resettlement areas of the world.

STATEMENTS ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NATIONAL
COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN, APRIL 14-16, 1947

DISPLACED PERSONS

Nearly a million displaced persons of many nationalities and faiths are now residents in camps in Germany and Austria and Italy. To force the repatriation of any of these displaced persons to their countries of origin against their wishes, would be a blot on the record of the Allies who fought in the name of freedom. To allow them to suffer in the destroyed economies of Germany or other devastated lands would be inhuman. Resettlement in other areas of the world presents the only real solution to the problems of displaced persons.

We urge the United States to set an example to the rest of the world by accepting a sizable proportion of the displaced persons. This can be done by proper legislation, and we endorse congressional action.

IRO

We also urge effective financial support of the International Refugee Organization by the Government of the United States, so that interim care will be assured for the displaced persons pending resettlement. We believe the IRO should be liberal in its interpretation of the eligible categories of refugees, so that undue hardships will not be wreaked on innocent and defenseless people possessing neither homes nor homelands.

UNITED COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

The Christian world relations committee of the United Council of Church Women adopted the following resolution on February 7, 1947:

"Resolved, That we urge our Government to utilize and rearrange the unused quotas in order to admit at least 100,000 displaced persons this year, and that, in doing this, they facilitate the handling of cases in the consular offices in other countries and the means of transportation for this to be accomplished."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL DIOCESAN CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF
CATHOLIC WOMEN—PROPOSED AND VOTED MAY 14, 1947

(1) Responding to the call of our Holy Father the Pope for increased religious and social action on the part of Catholic women, this congress pledges to our archbishop the full support of his Catholic women in the works and aspirations to which he is committed as chief shepherd of our archdiocese. We renew our purpose to promote in the life of the church and that of the general community the highest possible type of Catholic thought and action.

(2) The League of Catholic Women, in this congress dedicated to the Catholic women of Europe in their hour of trial, express its particular sympathy for the hundreds of thousands of Catholic and other displaced persons now without home or hope in Europe because of past Fascist and present communistic persecution. We unanimously endorse legislation which would implement the plea of the President of the United States that our Nation do its fair share in helping solve by emigration from Europe the tragic problem of the so-called displaced persons. The League of Catholic Women bases its adoption of the cause of the displaced persons on humanitarian, American, and above all Catholic principles.

(3) As loyal members of the American community, faithful alike to the tenets of our faith and the democratic traditions of our Nation, we deplore the repeated attacks on our Catholic fidelity and on our civic loyalty by certain non-Catholic religious leaders whom we believe to be nonrepresentative of their high-minded coreligionists. We protest particularly against the way in which highly publicized leaders misrepresent the position of Catholics with regard to

their schools, to the nature of authority, and to marriage morality. Even as we protest the unjust attacks of these nonrepresentative few, we pledge our loyal and neighborly collaboration to all fellow citizens of good will in our common civic interest.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, FEBRUARY 13, 1947

The membership of the American Council for Judaism, at its third annual conference, expresses its deep and genuine appreciation to Dr. Earl G. Harrison for his leadership as chairman in the work of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons and, through Dr. Harrison, its appreciation to all of the members of the committee. Every member of the American Council for Judaism is urged to inform himself concerning the work of the committee and to cooperate to the fullest possible extent with the committee in the effort to bring about an early realization of the committee's objectives.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON APRIL 16, 1947, BY THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, INC., REPRESENTING 500 WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN THE GREATER NEW YORK AREA, WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF APPROXIMATELY 175,000

Whereas there are about 850,000 displaced persons, of whom 80 percent are Christians and 20 percent Jewish, who dare not return to their homeland lest they be subjected to political and religious persecutions, to starvation, and possible death; and

Whereas the International Refugee Organization, at the suggestion of the United States, agreed that no displaced persons shall be compelled to return to his homeland against his will; and

Whereas the United States must assume its moral obligations and responsibility of world leadership and admit its share of displaced persons so that other nations in the United Nations may follow our lead; and

Whereas our national interests dictate the wisdom of liberalizing our immigration policy because our population is increasing at a declining rate and we will become static in 25 years, whereas the population of other countries such as Russia will continue to increase sharply; and

Whereas we can easily absorb a reasonable number of immigrants in these years of full employment; and

Whereas Federal and State minimum-wage laws and strong unions will prevent the exploitation of both native and alien workers; and

Whereas patriotic fellow Americans and interested organizations will provide necessary shelter for these newcomers; and be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, representing almost 500 women's organizations in the Greater New York area, urge you to support the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act (H. R. 2910) which will admit into the United States within the next 4 years 400,000 displaced persons from Germany, Austria, and Italy.

NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL, MAY 12, 1947

In keeping with the history and tradition of the United States and in the interest of humane action in behalf of the displaced persons in Europe, the National Lutheran Council, representing more than 3½ million Lutherans in this country, believes it to be an inescapable responsibility devolving upon our Nation to grant generous assistance toward the resettlement of these homeless and stateless people.

Therefore, the National Lutheran Council respectfully petitions the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, to pass an act embodying the proposals of bill, H. R. 2910, to permit 400,000 displaced persons to enter the United States during the next 4 years for permanent residence as nonquota immigrants.

**RESOLUTION ON EMERGENCY TEMPORARY DISPLACED PERSONS ADMISSION ACT
ADOPTED AT THE THIRTEENTH CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE-
UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA, MAY 19-22, 1947**

Whereas there are approximately 800,000 displaced persons in Europe today with no prospects of establishing a permanent home, due to religious and political persecution; and

Whereas these people come from all different religious and racial backgrounds, roughly, 75 percent of these are Christians, 20 percent Jewish, and 5 percent other faiths; and

Whereas 150,000 of these are children left orphan and homeless by the war; and

Whereas 400,000 of these displaced persons can now enter the United States without altering our immigration laws, if legislation were passed permitting us to fill our unused quotas accumulated during the war; and

Whereas there is now pending before Congress H. R. 2910 which calls upon the United States to utilize the reserve immigration potential of the war years for the purpose of admitting displaced persons, victims of fascism and nazi-ism, without respect to quotas as to national origin; and

Whereas under this proposed measure the term "displaced person" means a person in Germany, Austria, or Italy at the time of the passage of the act who (1) is out of the country of former residence as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of World War II; and (2) is unable or unwilling to return to the country of his nationality or former residence because of persecution or his fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinions: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the National Women's Trade-Union League go on record as favoring the adoption of this legislation now pending in Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegates contact their Representatives in Congress and appeal to the President, urging that this legislation be passed.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON 1, D. C.,
JUNE 3, 1947

ANTILABOR LEGISLATION

DEAR COWORKERS: The conference report on the Taft-Hartley labor legislation was released on May 29, Its provisions virtually outlaw union security, promote company unions, break up industrial unions, and weaken the workers' bargaining power in other ways.

It is important to write or wire the President now for a vigorous veto; it is equally important to write your two Senators urging them to uphold a veto. It is especially urgent to contact the following Senators, who, although they voted for the Taft bill, might be persuaded to uphold a veto:

John J. Sparkman, Alabama
Raymond E. Baldwin, Connecticut
Spessard L. Holland, Florida
Richard B. Russell, Georgia
Scott W. Lucas, Illinois
John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky
Herbert R. O'Connor, Maryland
Millard E. Tydings, Maryland
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts
Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts
Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire
Carl A. Hatch, New Mexico
William B. Umstead, North Carolina
Burnet R. Maybank, South Carolina
Tom Stewart, Tennessee
George D. Aiken, Vermont
Ralph E. Flanders, Vermont
Tom Connally, Texas
William F. Knowland, California

If your own Senator is listed above, do not fail to write him; if you have any friends in the States of the other Senators listed, ask them to contact these men immediately. Translate the convention resolution into action.

INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION PROGRAM

The recent convention adopted a resolution in support of UNESCO, whose purpose is to promote friendly relations between nations by an exchange of information and educational programs. The Mundt bill (H. R. 3342) entitled "United States Information and Educational Exchange Act, 1947," implements United States membership in UNESCO and needs the support of all those who want a fair picture of our country presented abroad. Both House and Senate must complete action before June 30 if the program is to be continued for the coming year. Debate in the House is due this week and in the Senate later. Write your Senators and Congressmen urging their support of H. R. 3342.

DISPLACED PERSONS

In accordance with the resolution passed by the convention with regard to displaced persons, write your Senators and Congressmen urging support of H. R. 2910. This is emergency legislation which does not alter our permanent immigration laws but simply uses the quotas not used during the war years, so as to do our share in solving this human-misery problem left by the war.

Address your Senators to Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C., and your Congressmen, House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Fraternally yours,

MARGARET F. STONE
Mrs. Margaret F. Stone,
Chairman of Legislation.

THE WOMAN'S AUXILIARY OF THE DIOCESE OF LEXINGTON, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

RESOLUTION

At the annual meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Lexington, held at Covington, Ky., on May 13, 1947, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas we believe that the only hope for abolition of war lies in mutual understanding and cooperation among the nations of the world; and

"Whereas the United Nations, which is at present the machinery for effecting such mutual understanding and cooperation, has created the International Refugee Organization to handle the problems of DP's, refugees, and resettlements; and

"Whereas the purpose of this body can only be fulfilled when each one of the nations who can absorb immigration assumes its share of the 850,000 total: Be it

Resolved, That the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Lexington favors emergency legislation which would authorize the admission to the United States of a greater number of displaced and stateless persons than is provided under the present quota.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION, BOSTON, MASS., NOVEMBER 14, 1946, OF HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

The United States has, from the earliest time in its history, been a haven and a sanctuary for the homeless and the oppressed. Its policy of welcoming all those physically and mentally fit to its shores has been a vital contributing factor in the growth and development of the New World. We believe that the United States Government, in keeping with that traditional policy, must take the initiative in opening the doors to new immigrants. The adoption of a humanitarian immigration policy by our Government would benefit not only Jewish displaced persons in DP camps but also large numbers of peoples of all faith.

We welcome President Truman's enlightened position on this question at the same time that he presses for the admittance of 100,000 of the displaced Jews in Europe into Palestine.

Therefore, Hadassah, in convention assembled, wishes to go on record as favoring that—

(1) Until the whole immigration question is reconsidered by Congress in order to revise upward the total number of immigrants the United States is in a position profitably to absorb, all measures should be taken to insure that all those

now admissible under the present quota regulations actually to come into the country. We urge that this year's unused quotas be immediately allocated for European refugees and displaced persons.

(2) We propose that congressional action be taken to waive, at least on a temporary basis, and for the exclusive benefit of refugees and displaced persons, the present system of allocating fixed proportions of quota visas according to countries of origin.

(3) We further strongly urge that to expedite the implementation of these proposals the present inadequate visa service in Europe be improved so as to insure that the entire number of persons admissible under present quota regulations will receive speedy clearance.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS AT ITS QUARTERLY MEETING, APRIL 30 TO MAY 1, 1947, NEW YORK CITY

With great pain and concern, the administrative committee of the American Jewish Congress once again notes the fact that 2 years after victory in Europe, scores of thousands of our brethren continue to languish in the displaced-persons camps and that the nations of the world have failed to discharge even a modicum of their responsibility toward the war's worst and most tragic victims.

We note, therefore, with satisfaction the formation of a Nation-wide, non-sectarian Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons under the distinguished chairmanship of Dean Earl Harrison, with which the American Jewish Congress has from the outset been closely associated. We urge that the widest possible support be given to the citizens' committee and call on all local groups of the American Jewish Congress to identify themselves with its activities.

We also call for maximum support for bill H. R. 2910, introduced into the House of Representatives by Representative Stratton, which will permit unused quotas to be applied toward the admission of 100,000 displaced persons annually for 4 years. All members of the American Jewish Congress should immediately make their support of this measure known to their Representatives in Congress and urge that they press for its immediate passage and for the passage of similar legislation in the Senate.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, SEATTLE, WASH., DECEMBER 14-16, 1946

Resolved, That to meet the present emergency, President Truman be supported in asking Congress to amend the immigration laws to allow the entry of so many of the displaced persons as would constitute the fair share of the United States, a share which should not exceed half of the unpatriables and which would not be less than half the difference between those admissible under the quota law during the war years and those who actually entered; and

That the reception of these emergency immigrants should be spread over the next 3 years; and

That the national quotas under the quota laws should not be applied to such immigrants; and

That the Federal Council deems it the duty of all Christians and urges the members of the churches in its membership to aid in making the necessary provision for these homeless people; and

That the Church World Service should be strongly supported by the cooperating churches in assisting to provide for the reception, distribution, and resettlement of these immigrants: Be it further

Resolved, That the Federal Council of Churches strongly support the establishment by the United Nations Assembly of the International Refugee Organization as recommended to it by the Economic and Social Council and the appropriation by the Congress of the United States of funds up to 50 percent of the necessary expenses for such Organization in order that there be adequate international provision for the maintenance and resettlement of displaced persons when UNRRA disbands on June 30, 1947.

MARCH 19, 1947.

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WILEY: The Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches wishes to inform you of its support for a liberal immigration policy on behalf of the displaced persons of Europe.

Delegates from our churches, meeting in the national convention of our denomination of last June, issued a statement indicating their belief that our country should: (a) "Provide for the relief of displaced persons and for orderly and humane policies in any further transfers and resettlement of such groups; (b) make room for a greater number of immigrants to the United States, particularly the refugees of Europe."

After careful study and consultation with members of UNRRA, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, the State Department, the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, and religious agencies which are serving the needs of refugees, it is the judgment of the Council for Social Action that the United States has the responsibility and the resources for permitting the entrance of as many as 400,000 refugees over a 3- or 4-year period, above and beyond the use of existing quota system.

This issue is being studied and discussed in numbers of our local churches. There is a widespread feeling among them that our Nation should acknowledge its responsibility for accepting a substantial portion of the refugees, since our country was not ravaged by the war, since these people are victims of totalitarian tyranny, and because of the relatively small use of our immigration quotas during the war years.

Members of our churches are acknowledging their responsibility for further efforts to aid refugee families. Our committee on war victims and reconstruction is cooperating with such agencies as the Church World Service and the American Christian Committee on Refugees, who aid refugees overseas and help immigrants upon arrival in the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

VERNON H. HOLLOWAY.

THE DETROIT ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Whereas the displaced persons of the world have an equal right with all others to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:" Be it

Resolved, That we urge the Government of the United States to use to the full the unused quotas of the war years for the admission of those displaced persons who may wish to come here. We commend the United Nations for its concern about this problem.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE IMMIGRATION OF DISPLACED PEOPLE TO THE UNITED STATES, BY THE HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA, INC., JANUARY 1947

Whereas there are over 1,000,000 displaced persons in the American, British, and French zones of Germany, in Austria, and in Italy; and

Whereas while many will consent to return to their countries of origin, it may be fairly estimated that there will remain six or seven hundred thousand who will refuse to be repatriated because of fear of the consequences; and

Whereas nearly a half are now in the United States zones in Germany and Austria, and so under American protection and being maintained by the United States with aid from UNRRA; and

Whereas the United States has declared its policy of not compelling the return of displaced persons against their will; and

Whereas the United Nations Assembly has adopted the same policy by resolution of February 12, 1946, reading as follows:

"No refugees or displaced persons who have fully and definitely, in complete freedom, and after receiving full knowledge of the facts, including adequate information from the governments of their countries of origin, express valid objections to returning to their countries of origin and who do not come within the provisions of paragraph (d) below, shall be compelled to return to their country of origin."

Paragraph (d). Provided that action should not interfere "with the surrender and punishment of war criminals, quislings, and traitors, in conformity with present and future international arrangements and agreements";

Whereas Germany and Austria cannot provide sufficient food, homes, and work for Germans, especially since millions of the German race have been forced from the homes in which they have lived for centuries and have been settled destitute upon the weakened German economy; and

Whereas it is therefore necessary to find a place where the displaced persons can dwell and earn a living and share in freedoms which are recognized as owing to the human personality, including the freedom of religion; and

Whereas about two-thirds of the displaced persons who will not be repatriated are Christians, Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant; and

Whereas the United States should take a part in acting for the settlement of these distressed people and in promoting action by other countries; and

Whereas during the years 1941 to 1945, approximately 700,000 of immigrants who might have entered the United States under the quota law, did in fact not come in: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That to meet the present emergency, President Truman be supported in asking Congress to amend the immigration laws to allow the entry of so many of the displaced persons as would constitute the fair share of the United States, a share which should not exceed half of the unrepatriables and which would not be less than half of the difference between those admissible under the quota law during the war years and those who actually entered; and

That the reception of these emergency immigrants should be spread over the next 3 years; and

That the national quotas under the quota laws should not be applied to such immigrants; and

That the Home Missions Council of North America deems it the duty of all Christians and urges the members of churches in its membership to aid in making the necessary provision for these homeless people; and

That the Church World Service should be strongly supported by the cooperating churches in assisting to provide for the reception, distribution, and resettlement of these immigrants; be it further

Resolved, That the Home Missions Council of North America strongly support the establishment by the United Nations Assembly of the International Refugee Organization as recommended to it by the Economic and Social Council and the appropriation by the Congress of the United States of funds up to 50 percent of the necessary expenses for such organization in order that there be adequate international provision for the maintenance and resettlement of displaced persons when UNRRA disbands on June 30, 1947.

RESOLUTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS BY THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS, INC., BOSTON 8, MASS.

Whereas there are now in displaced persons camps in Europe 850,000 people, of whom 200,000 are Jews whom the Nazis sought to exterminate as a people; and

Whereas it is the responsibility of civilized countries to see to it that these persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life under new circumstances under conditions of a safe haven; and

Whereas the immigration quota of the United States was set in 1929, when our absorptive industrial capacity was much smaller than now, at 154,000 persons per year; and

Whereas for the past 15 years this annual quota has not been filled and, during the war years, only 7 percent of the quota was able to come to this country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Council of the American Veterans Committee urges that immediate entry into the United States of displaced persons in Europe, of whom the Jews are a large number, be permitted to the extent of the unfilled quotas of the war period; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be implemented by an action program employing such techniques of publicity and pressure as are deemed practicable.

THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, CHINO, CALIF., MARCH 8, 1947

On March 4, 1947, at the regular meeting of the official board of the First Methodist Church at Chino, Calif., this resolution was unanimously approved with the following members present:

E. A. Morrison
Mrs. Geo. Gunn
Jesner Sholander
A. Lamont Smith
George Morgan
Paul Flickenger
Frank Orndorff
Arthur S. Kliewer
Judge Edwin Rhodes

Arthur L. Moses
John Brown
Verling Marshall
Rev. and Mrs. L. J. B. Taber
Mr. and Mrs. William T. Clarke
Mrs. Charles Thompson
Mrs. Sam Hoffman
Mrs. Lutie Corkhill
Ira Morter

"Appropriate congressional action is urged to permit:

"(1) Admission of European displaced persons to the United States to the total established yearly quota for immigration, without reference to the lands of their origin and further authorizing quotas unused during the war years to now be made similarly available.

"(2) Appropriation of the United States' proportionate share of the financial support necessary for the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations."

We will appreciate a statement from you as to your considered opinion regarding the validity of this suggested approach to the solution of a grave humanitarian problem.

Sincerely yours,

LLOYD J. B. TABER,
Minister.

By MRS. PORTER VANCE
Secretary, Official Board.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL, JUNE 16, 1947

Whereas as a result of the chaos and destruction of World War II, hundreds of thousands of persons, more than half of whom are women and children, have been displaced and driven from their former homes and countries of Europe; and

Whereas these persons are now being held and maintained in refugee camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy; and

Whereas these persons are unable or unwilling to return to the country of their nationality or former residence because of persecution or their fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinions; and

Whereas it has long been a great and noble American tradition to grant refuge and asylum to those who are compelled by racial, religious, or political persecution to flee from their native country and seek refuge elsewhere; and

Whereas this country was founded and built by immigrants who came here under such circumstances and because of the full freedom granted to them here, gave fully of their labors, intelligence, and loyalty and so helped make this country great; and

Whereas there is presently pending in the House of Representatives of the United States in the Eightieth Congress, a bill known as H. H. 2910 to authorize that the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy; and

Whereas such bill would permit the entry into the United States as nonquota immigrants 400,000 such displaced persons from the refugee camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy over a 4-year period, but not more than 100,000 each year; and

Whereas the proposed legislation is in the highest American tradition: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Chicago, duly assembled, That the Eightieth Congress of the United States be memorialized to give full and due consideration to H. R. 2910, known as the Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act, to the end that it may be enacted into law.

ABRAHAM H. COHEN,
Alderman, Fourth Ward.

IDAHO CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS,

Lewiston, Idaho, May 1, 1947.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: At our recent State convention held in our capital city the Idaho Congress of Parents and Teachers passed the following resolution:

"Whereas the resettlement of displaced persons in foreign countries is a problem of tremendous world importance: Be it

"*Resolved*, That the Idaho Congress of Parents and Teachers urge the National Congress of Parents and Teachers to study this problem and recommend such Federal action as may seem advisable, and submit such recommendations to State branches for consideration."

The question was discussed and no doubt many individuals will write their respective legislators.

Sincerely,

Mrs. J. C. JEPSON,

President, Idaho Congress, Parents and Teachers.

LAWRENCE CHAPTER OF LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL, 29 MONMOUTH STREET,
LAWRENCE, MASS., MATTHEW M. STAKIONIS, SECRETARY, JUNE 8, 1947

The Honorable EARL G. HARRISON,

Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The displaced persons in Europe, victims of totalitarian tyranny, deserve our sympathy and aid. Sympathy alone is not enough. The best aid that could be extended to them would be to admit them into the United States where they could start life anew. Therefore, as American citizens, and residents of your community, we strongly urge you to vote for H. R. 2910 (Stratton bill). By doing so, we will prove to the world that America does not forsake those who suffered because of their belief in our type of democracy.

We, the undersigned, representatives of the Lawrence Societies favor the passage of the Stratton bill H. R. 2910.

LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL COMMITTEE,

ANTANAS SHAURIS, *President*,

MATTHEW M. STAKIONIS, *Secretary*,

VINCENT AKSTINAS, *Treasurer*.

LITHUANIAN CITIZENS CLUB,

JULIUS ZURWELL, *President*,

LITHUANIAN SACRED HEART OF JESUS CHURCH,
BAUTRUS BALEVICIUS, *President*.

LITHUANIAN WOMEN'S CITIZENS CLUB,

Mrs. BARBARA McDERMOTT, *President*.

SONS OF LITHUANIA SOCIETY,

MATTHEW M. STAKIONIS, *President*.

ST. MARY'S BENEFIT SOCIETY,

GEORGE LAUKAITIS, *President*.

LITHUANIAN ALLIANCE OF AMERICA,

BOLIS VAITKUNAS, *President*.

ST. ANNE'S BENEFIT SOCIETY,

Mrs. MARY ZAUTRA, *President*.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE ON DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES

June 18, 1946.—At an institute and workshop to which the member organizations of NPC and other interested organizations were invited, the majority of those present voting as individuals passed the following resolution:

"In the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations 'we the peoples,' reaffirmed 'faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person.' As a most tragic aftermath of the war, the United Nations are faced with providing assistance to large numbers of displaced persons and

refugees. In their behalf we urge the immediate creation by the United Nations of an international agency to assure the continuance of aid to them and to assist them forthwith in finding places of settlement wherein they may establish satisfactory lives."

December 16, 1946.—"At a regular meeting of the National Peace Conference held on December 16, 1946, in New York City, the conferees of the National Peace Conference, voting as individuals, voted unanimously that United States' immigration barriers should be adjusted as to enable this country to receive its right share of displaced persons and other war refugees."

January 20, 1947.—A standing subcommittee on refugees and immigration was appointed with Mr. Vernon H. Holloway as convenor; members: Miss Helen Raebeck, Miss Jane Evans; Mr. Edward S. Skillin, Jr.; Mrs. Samuel Spiegel; Mr. James Read (Washington).

RESOLUTION ON LIBERALIZATION OF IMMIGRATION QUOTAS TO PERMIT ADMISSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS INTO THE UNITED STATES ADOPTED BY AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS ON APRIL 13, 1947. INTRODUCED BY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

Whereas all countries have responsibility for helping to provide enough new homes for all displaced persons who wish to resettle; and

Whereas the countries with relatively greater land and resources such as the United States have a special responsibility in this respect; and

Whereas the United States has benefited for several centuries from the contributions from immigrants and has suffered much less than many other countries from the war; and

Whereas there are still, 2 years after the war, hundreds of thousands of persons in Europe waiting for resettlement, among them many children, young people, and also many able-bodied workers ready to fill immediate needs of our economy; and

Whereas during the last decade less than 20 percent of the American immigration quota has been used; and

Whereas according to President Truman's statement of December 22, 1945, common decency and fundamental comradeship of all human beings requires us to do what lies within our power to see that our established immigration quotas are used in order to reduce human suffering: Be it

Resolved, That the American Association of Social Workers strongly urge the passage of an emergency act by the Congress which would permit 400,000 displaced persons to enter the United States in a period of 4 years. This total would equal less than half the number of quota immigrants who could have legally entered during the war years; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTES AND ASSOCIATED COUNCILS, CENTERS, AND LEAGUES, NEW YORK 18, N. Y., ADOPTED AT THE FOURTH DELEGATES CONVENTION, MARCH 28, 1947

(NOTE.—A statement of principles was submitted by the national board of directors to the fourth delegates convention, meeting at the St. Moritz Hotel, March 27–29, 1947. After study of the 1946 statement of principles and program and of the 1947 memorandum submitted by the board, and after thorough discussion, it was unanimously adopted by the convention in the following form, with the recognition that local groups would press for action through whatever method or methods seemed most appropriate in their respective communities.)

* * * * *

DISPLACED AND STRANDED PERSONS

VIII. Displaced persons, stateless persons, and political exiles, some 800,000 of whom are now in camps, should not be forced against their will to return to country of origin. They should be given aid through our Government and through the machinery of the United Nations to find new homes and to establish a new life.

IX. The United States should admit from abroad a fair share of displaced persons, and displaced or stranded persons already admitted to the United States on a temporary basis should be given a permanent status.

X. Persons in the United States on a nonpermanent basis who were unable to depart because of war conditions and who are now unable to change status because of "blocked quotas" should be permitted to achieve a regular immigration status.

XI. There should be, in the granting of immigration visas, no discrimination based upon race or country of origin. Persons who entered the United States regularly as treaty merchants or as members of the family of a treaty merchant, and who have lived for many years as law-abiding, useful residents of our country, but who now find themselves here without regular status because of the termination of such treaty, should be permitted to remain in this country.

* * * * *

A LONG-RANGE POLICY

XVI. We reaffirm the recommendation made at this convention a year ago and the recommendation of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in the Seventy-ninth Congress for a commission to make a thorough scientific study of all aspects of our immigration policy, including a reexamination of the present discriminatory basis for determining quotas.

—

STATEMENT ON H. R. 2910 AUTHORIZING AS AN EMERGENCY MEASURE ADMISSION BY THE UNITED STATES OF ITS FAIR SHARE OF DISPLACED PERSONS, JUNE 4, 1947

On May 14, 1947, the executive committee of the national board of the YWCA endorsed the displaced persons bill, H. R. 2910. They did so after giving careful consideration for a number of months to the whole question of the plight of the thousands of unfortunate persons who are waiting to be released from camps in Europe and who are seeking refuge in this and other lands.

For many years our organization has worked actively for the liberalization of our immigration laws so as to prevent unnecessary hardship and injustice to individuals, and they reaffirmed that position at the triennial convention held in Atlantic City in March 1946. The YWCA's interest in persons from other countries is in no way academic. It stems from a long history of working with the foreign born in this country, knowing their problems intimately, and being aware of the great contribution which they have made to the culture and economy of the United States.

In addition we are an international organization. The YWCA exists in 65 countries. Many of our American staff members are working in those countries. Some of them have first-hand knowledge of the displaced persons camps and know the problems faced by the men, women, and children detained there.

These people have been waiting for 2 years for a chance to begin a new way of life. Before that time all of us know they faced untold horrors and cruelty. We know that bringing them relief is a world problem. We are also sure, however, that it is part of America's responsibility to take a share in that relief.

It is our considered opinion that the persons admitted to the United States under the proposed bill can be readily assimilated into our economy. We are particularly impressed with the figures obtained through an UNRRA survey last summer listing occupations of displaced persons, as reported in the Foreign Affairs Background Survey on the IRO published by the Department of State in March 1947. Among the farmers, construction, household, and personal service workers there are undoubtedly many who could meet employment needs in the United States.

—

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF THE YMCA, MARCH 21, 1947

"Resolved, Recognizing the serious problem of displaced persons in Europe and the urgent necessity of their finding a place where they can dwell and earn a living in the enjoyment of freedom from oppression and want, the International

Board of the Young Men's Christian Association aligns itself with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and other civic, educational, and religious organizations supporting the President of the United States in requesting Congress to amend the immigration laws to allow the entry of so many displaced persons as would constitute a fair share for the United States, and in urging that national quotas under the immigration laws should not be applied to such increase. The international board also urges ratification by the United States Senate of the constitution of the International Refugee Organization in order to fulfill the humanitarian purposes of the charter of the United Nations."

ADMISSION TO UNITED STATES OF PROPORTIONATE SHARE OF DISPLACED PERSONS
ADVOCATED BY AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS—CALL FOR
REVISION OF IMMIGRATION LAWS—JANUARY 24, 1947

The American Association for the United Nations, through its executive committee, yesterday called upon the United States Government to assure its proportionate participation in the International Refugee Organization, through adequate financial contribution to the IRO, revamping of the quota system to eliminate administrative red tape, and temporary revision of the immigration laws to allow admission of displaced persons over and above the quota.

William Emerson is president of the association and Sumner Welles and James T. Shotwell are honorary presidents. Clark M. Eichelberger is national director.

The full statement follows:

"The United States of America, with its vast financial resources, comparatively untouched by the ravages of war, and with a large population capable of absorbing immigrants, must make an effective effort to solve the problem of displaced persons.

"There are approximately 1,250,000 displaced persons in camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy, including an estimated 190,000 Jews.

"Under the quota approximately 150,000 persons can be admitted to the United States annually. All quotas—those filled as well as those unfilled—lapsed at the end of 1946. In other words, unfilled quotas of a preceding year cannot be used to take care of immigrants for the current year.

"150,000 against 1,250,000 shows the total inadequacy of the present quota system to meet this emergency need. Therefore, it is the feeling among those in responsible positions that there be a revision of the immigration laws as will allow us to bring to the United States our proportionate share of these displaced persons. The demand for such action is urgent. It should be taken at the earliest possible date.

"While a minority of the total numbers in displaced persons camps may eventually be repatriated, the overwhelming majority must be absorbed in countries where they will be welcome and can build a new life.

"The United States of America should—

"A. Make an adequate financial contribution to the \$160,000,000 budget of the International Refugee Organization which was approved by the General Assembly.

"B. Revise or eliminate the red tape surrounding the quota system which has resulted in fewer immigrants coming to this country than the quota allows. Within 10 years the United States has admitted about 300,000 immigrants. Had the quotas been filled this number would have been about 1,500,000. At the very moment when people are crying for refuge, administrative difficulties result in the quotas being unfilled month after month.

"C. Make a temporary revision of its immigration laws to admit several hundred thousands of the displaced persons over and above the quota. Certainly a population of 140,000,000 people can absorb several hundred thousand displaced persons without straining the national economy. As a matter of fact these people, whose suffering in the last few years makes them particularly grateful for the opportunity of liberty, should make the kind of citizens that this country has attracted to its shores throughout its history.

"Obviously these displaced persons would be properly screened so that this country could be sure that it was receiving those whose devotion to liberty was unquestioned."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT MASS MEETING OF DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL SOCIAL WORK CONFERENCE AT SAN FRANCISCO ON APRIL 15, 1947

We, 1,500 individuals attending the National Social Workers Conference assembled in mass meeting, resolve that—

Whereas 2 years after the war there are still some 850,000 people confined to displaced persons camps in Europe;

Whereas these men, women, and children are the survivors of Nazi concentration camps and slave labor battalions whom the American and other Allied armies liberated;

Whereas these survivors of the war cannot return to their homes of origin because they fear oppression for religious, racial, or political reasons, and the Government of the United States as well as the United Nations officially declared that no people would be forced to return to their homeland against their will;

Whereas these people are the successors of the great waves of the persecuted who in the past contributed so richly to the greatness of this Nation;

Whereas during the war years 1942-45 only 7 percent of the world quota was used;

Whereas these people may form the nucleus of an international relief problem of long duration unless reasonably quick action is taken for their permanent resettlement;

Whereas the continued maintenance of displaced persons camps constitutes one of the greatest dangers to the peace so dearly won: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Social Workers go on record as approving of House bill H. R. 2910 now before the United States Congress which seeks the admission of 100,000 displaced persons a year for 4 years; and be it further

Resolved, That each Social Worker writes a letter to his or her Congressman asking his support for H. R. 2910.

RESOLUTION OF SELFHELP OF EMIGRES FROM CENTRAL EUROPE, INC. NEW YORK 18, N. Y., APRIL 18, 1947

Whereas 2 years after the end of the European war there are still nearly a million displaced persons waiting desperately for a constructive solution to their plight; and

Whereas millions of old and new Americans are most anxious to help them start a new life;

We, a group of new American citizens, who have the plight of the displaced very close at heart, wish to back the bill introduced to Congress by Representative Stratton and respectfully ask Congress to pass a law which will enable our new homeland to accept a fair share of the displaced persons stranded in the war-devastated countries of Europe.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN NEW YORK CITY ON JUNE 27, 1947, BY THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Whereas, since VE-day 11,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated, but the remaining 850,000 who live in detention camps cannot be returned to their original places of residence, and must be absorbed in countries where they will be welcome and can build a new life; and

Whereas they represent almost all religions, some 80 percent being Christians of various denominations and 20 percent being Jews; and

Whereas the United Nations established the International Refugee Organization to deal with the displaced persons' problem, but IRO cannot solve the problem unless immigrant-receiving countries make special provisions to receive a fair share of displaced persons; and

Whereas the United States Congress has passed immigration laws which permit a quota of 154,000 immigrants to enter this country annually; and

Whereas, during the 1940-46 war period, only 15 percent of the total quota was used, whereby the United States lost 914,762 people who could have entered this country legally and whom we were ready and prepared to receive; and

Whereas it has been estimated that 400,000 displaced persons legally screened and whose devotion to liberty is vouched for would be a fair share to enter the United States, which would be less than half of the number of eligible entries that were not used during the war years; and

Whereas a population of 140,000,000 people can absorb several hundred thousand displaced persons without straining the national economy: Therefore

Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, June 1947, approves the pending legislation now in Congress whereby we can fulfill our proportional responsibility to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths.

RESOLUTIONS BY THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF LITHUANIA, LAKEWOOD 7, OHIO

The following resolutions were adopted at a concurrent executive meeting held on the second day of May 1947 in Cleveland, Ohio, of the American Friends of Lithuania and the League for the Liberation of Lithuania:

Whereas the United States of America and all western democracies subscribed to the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms as a guide for postwar policies assuring all the victims of aggression a fair and humane treatment and a return of their own countries to their full independence and freedom; and

Whereas over 850,000 refugees, comprising the so-called displaced persons are now living in American, French, and British zones of occupation in Germany as well as in Italy, Sweden, and elsewhere, under unbearable conditions; on meager rations; in barracks and inadequate camps and possessing no rights save those granted by military authority, are being degraded morally and physically; and

Whereas these displaced persons, deprived of their homes and all belongings, and detested by the ex-Nazis for having failed to aid them and by the Soviets, who are occupying their countries and would treat these DP's as "enemies of the state" should they return; and

Whereas we are spending millions each year to keep these DP's in this unenviable status, with no profit or credit to ourselves and with a great deal of harm to these victims, kept in everlasting fear and uncertainty and in actual semistarvation and idleness; and

Whereas our foreign population decreased from 13.2 to 8.5 percent in 1940 or an equivalent to 7,000,000; and

Whereas our irrigation projects are not utilized which could easily accommodate over 30,000,000 people who could feed half of the world, it is to our own advantage to allow these DP's to settle here and become useful to themselves and a real asset to our national well-being; and

Whereas there is a bill pending before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee known as the Emergency Admissions Act, bill H. R. 2910, proposed by Congressman William Stratton, of Illinois, with provisos to allow 400,000 DP's to come to the United States of America outside of quotas during the next 4 years and to utilize the unused quotas of all nations from 1940 to 1947 (which could easily cover the numbers proposed) and that these unused quotas be equitably applied to the DP's proportionally to the nationals now constituting the DP's: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we lend our fullest support and that we appeal to all of our branches, to the President of the United States, to the Congress, Senate, and all civic and religious bodies to sponsor and support bill 2910 as the first realistic, humane, and practical measure offered to solve the displaced persons' problem justly and equitably.

P. J. ZURIS,

President, the American Friends of Lithuania.

Dr. M. J. COLNEY,

Secretary, the American Friends of Lithuania.

Dr. J. J. SIMS,

President, the League for the Liberation of Lithuania.

K. S. KARPUS,

Secretary, the League for the Liberation of Lithuania.

MISSOULA COUNTY CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL,
Missoula, Mont., April 28, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: Please be advised that the Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council wholeheartedly endorses the aims of the committee you are heading.

The council is requesting the congressional delegation of Montana to cooperate with your committee in your aims to assist the displaced persons to enter into the United States.

With best wishes I am
Fraternally yours,

S. H. RIVIN, *Secretary.*

FEDERATED TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL,
Fresno, Calif., April 29, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: In response to your letter of April 21 in regard to the admission of displaced persons to be admitted to this country, it is my opinion in speaking for the organization I represent, we can well go along with the recommendation of George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, wherein he recommends that 400,000 displaced persons be admitted to this country during an emergency period of 4 years, as this proposed number falls below the number of quota immigrants lost during the war years.

Sincerely,

C. H. CAREY,
Secretary, Fresno Labor Council.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE ALABAMA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, BIRMINGHAM,
ALA., APRIL 23, 1947

More than 1,000,000 displaced persons who suffered barbaric treatment from the Nazis, who dare not go home because of religious, racial, or political persecution, are still in camps in Europe. The appalling condition of these people is a grave threat to the peace and security of mankind.

President Truman, recognizing this country's obligation to humanity and its opportunity to set an example which will compel other nations to follow, has called for emergency legislation so that a fair share of these displaced persons of Europe may enter the United States.

This fair share has been set at 400,000, to be admitted to this country over a period of 4 years, subject to existing immigration laws (unchanged in any way) plus the additional safeguard of screening by the United States Military Intelligence: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Alabama State Federation of Labor join the A. F. of L. and leading national Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish organizations in backing H. R. 2910, bill now before the House of Representatives authorizing the admission of displaced persons as of above procedure and number; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States; Senators Hill and Sparkman of Alabama; all United States Congressmen from Alabama; Representative Frank Fellows, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration; Representative Earl C. Michener, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 39 East Thirty-sixth Street, New York City.

PORT WASHINGTON TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL,
Port Washington, Wis., May 2, 1947.

HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN,
President of the United States.

DEAR SIR: The Port Washington Trades and Labor Council have gone on record endorsing bill H. R. 2910 favoring the entry of displaced persons into the United States.

These unfortunates—Catholics, Protestants, Jews—bore the brunt of Hitler terror and today have neither home nor country. Fearing religious, racial, or political oppression, they would rather suffer the many hardships of a detention camp than go back to their lands of origin. With its long-established tradition of offering asylum to the victims of persecution and intolerance, and as a leader in international affairs the United States should make an exception at this time to permit some of the displaced persons to immigrate to this country.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD FAY,
Secretary, Port Washington Trades Council.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTION No. 85 WHICH WAS ADOPTED
BY THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION IN OCTOBER 1946

Your committee, as all other trade-unionists and humanitarians everywhere, has been profoundly disturbed by the plight of the dispossessed millions in Europe as a result of the war. Torn from their surroundings, in many instances separated from their families and friends, with all of their worldly goods destroyed, they find no safe haven where they can again begin normal living, with the comforts and opportunities of homes of their own, and of communities in which they can become a part.

Among those who have suffered the most have been the Jews for, in addition to being robbed of their possessions and brutally tortured, an effort was made by the Nazis to exterminate them as a people. Millions of Jews were murdered in cold blood as a result of a thoroughly planned murder program. With no place to go where a permanent home seemed possible for many of them, their plight is the most tragic one which has ever been visited upon so many at one time.

It is the responsibility of the civilized countries to see that these persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life again under circumstances which will permit them to become members of a civilized community, and once more endeavor to establish a residence.

Because of the real part taken by the American Federation of Labor in the passage of most necessary legislation regulating immigration, your committee would not recommend that our Nation's immigration laws be amended or modified, but your committee is of the opinion that some immediate relief should be given to the dispossessed of Europe.

During the war it was not possible for immigrants to come to this country; the annual quotas were not filled. Your committee therefore recommends that this convention give its approval to the immediate entry of immigrants composed of displaced persons in Europe of whom the Jews are a large number, which will permit the unfilled quotas of the war period to be completed by the entering into our country of the number of immigrants who otherwise would have entered our ports if it had not been for the war, such action in no way modifying the existing immigration laws which have had the support of the American Federation of Labor.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations took issue with the problem by adopting the following resolution at its national convention in Atlantic City in November 1946:

"We urge that our Government, in accordance with its traditional generosity toward aliens and its sympathetic welcome of oppressed peoples, should immediately open its doors to the thousands of homeless displaced Jews in Europe. By such an act we can furnish to the entire world an inspiring example of a concrete program for the relief of the Jewish people."

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., April 24, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: The last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Chicago, Ill., in October 1946, unanimously took the position that it is the responsibility of the civilized countries to see that persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life again under circumstances which will permit them to become members of a civilized community, and to establish residence in such communities, provided existing laws regarding immigration quotas were observed.

Considering the horrible plight of victims of totalitarianism in many of the countries of Europe, and the fact that during the war immigration quotas were not filled, the federation urged the immediate entry of immigrants composed of displaced persons in Europe in such quantity as would normally have been able to enter our ports had not the war made such immigration impossible.

I was delighted to learn of the work of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons. Your committee is doing a splendid job in implementing the position of the American Federation of Labor, and I wish you great success in the tremendous, most worthy course you have undertaken.

Sincerely yours,

MATTHEW WOLL,
Vice President, American Federation of Labor.
President, Labor League for Human Rights.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., May 20, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: The American Federation of Labor at its sixty-fifth annual convention gave consideration to the displaced persons of Europe and gave its unanimous approval of the entry into this country of a considerable number of displaced persons without in any way modifying the existing quota laws.

In considering the plight of victims of the totalitarian countries of Europe, and the fact that during the war immigration quotas were not filled, I endorsed the proposal to permit the entry of immigrants composed of displaced persons in such quantity as would normally have been able to enter our borders should the war not have made this impossible.

I am pleased to learn of the work of the Citizens Committee on Displaced persons and wish you success in the worthy cause you have undertaken.

Very truly yours,

WM. L. HUTCHESON, General President.

UNION LABOR LEGIONNAIRES RESOLUTION ON IMMIGRATION

At the national conference of Union Labor Legionnaires held in Brooklyn on May 25, 1946, the following resolution relating to immigration policy was passed:

FOR INCREASED IMMIGRATION AND AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN TESTS FOR ADMISSION AND CITIZENSHIP

Whereas this country was built by immigrants, who have tilled our fields and labored in our factories to make this the greatest producing country in the world; and

Whereas immigrants have joined with native Americans to establish our institutions of liberty and freedom, and have fought, bled, and died for the land of their adoption in every war in which America has engaged; and

Whereas America can easily absorb a larger volume of immigration than the mere trickle provided for under existing conditions; and

Whereas during the war the immigration quotas provided for in existing statutes were not used: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the national conference of Union Labor Legionnaires urges—

1. That the quotas which were not used during the war be made available for immigrants now desiring to enter this country who are otherwise qualified for admission.
2. That to give haven to sufferers from tyranny and persecution from abroad the present quotas be substantially enlarged.
3. That the measure now pending in Congress for the appointment of a commission of experts to study the entire subject of immigration should be adopted.
4. That in establishing tests for citizenship or for admission to this country there should be no discrimination because of race, creed, or national origin.

Copies of this resolution have recently been forwarded by the Legionnaires to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization and to the Senate Committee on Immigration. It is also understood that they will be read in Congress and inserted in the Congressional Record.

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN LEGION FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT POST,
DEPARTMENT OF KENTUCKY, APRIL 1947**

Whereas the stand of the American Legion taken in its various national conventions against letting down the immigration bars is well known to each of the members of this post; and

Whereas the majority of the members of this post are in complete agreement with the American Legion program for the protection of the citizens of this country from unrestricted immigration and find no fault with his program; nevertheless we, as citizens of the United States of America, did just complete a war against those who tried to bring religious persecution and other tyrannies upon the world; and

Whereas many of the members of this post served in the European theater of operations as well as in the Mediterranean theater of operation and are consequently familiar with the sad plight of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, and many members were among those to whom the Stars and Stripes had reference when it caused to be printed and published an article reading in part: "GI Joe is in himself the greatest relief agency of them all"; and

Whereas the cessation of hostilities and subsequent return to civilian life of these members has not in any way changed their charitable inclinations toward these distressed persons; and

Whereas the individual members of this post feel that H. R. 2910—

- (a) Does not propose any alteration whatever in our regular immigration quotas, but only sets up a special emergency quota for a limited number of refugees.
- (b) Proposes the use of less than half of the 900,000 quota places our laws made available during the years of war, but which were left other undesirables can enter.
- (c) Provided for screening of all applicants under the strict terms of our present immigration laws, so that no criminals, subversives, or undesirables can enter.
- (d) Permits the entry of 400,000 displaced persons, every one of whom is sponsored in advance by a Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish religious or welfare organization so that he cannot become a charge of the community: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we the members of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Post, No. 266, Department of Kentucky, do hereby go on record as favoring H. R. 2910, a copy of which is attached hereto and made a part thereof as if written at length herein, as we feel that it in nowise conflicts with the existing immigration program of our national organization and is strictly emergency legislation which will not only affect individuals now in concentration camps but will, in addition, strengthen the hand of our Government in its relations with other nations and will relieve our comrades still in uniform in the army of occupation, of one of their biggest problems; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the 1947 State convention of the American Legion, Department of Kentucky, for its consideration

with the request same be passed and, further, that it be transmitted to the 1947 national convention for similar action, and that we as an organization and as individuals, write our Representatives and Senators and urge them to work for and vote favorably for the passage of such legislation.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the people of the United States of America entered World War II to eliminate dictatorship and its evils and afford all people of the world an opportunity for justice and freedom; and

Whereas 2 years following the Allied victory almost a million European people of many countries and all races and religions are homeless, without a country to which they can or dare return—many are still confined in concentration camps; and

Whereas, while these displaced persons remain homeless and in Europe, they constitute a menace and a threat to the consummation of lasting peace; and

Whereas President Truman and many American leaders, of all political parties and religious faiths, have declared that the United States must take the lead in affording a haven and refuge to these unfortunate displaced persons, as an example for other countries to follow; and

Whereas statistics indicate that about 80 percent of these displaced persons are Christian and 20 percent are non-Christian, and about 50 percent of them women and children under 18 years of age; and

Whereas, because of the enterprise, vision, and courage of its immigrants the United States has become the greatest nation on earth; and

Whereas, with its vast uncultivated acres and its tremendous productivity, the United States can amply absorb a portion of these displaced persons without prejudice to its citizenry and its prosperity, but on the contrary to the benefit and advantage of our economy and our culture; and

Whereas during the recent war years it was impossible for immigrants to enter the United States, so that the immigration quotas for those years have remained unfilled; and

Whereas the bill introduced by Congressman Stratton entitled "H. R. 2910," now before the Eightieth Congress expressly provides for preference for the blood relations of American veterans of World Wars I and II within the quota limitations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the National Executive Committee of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America in meeting assembled this 27th day of April 1947 in the city of St. Louis, Mo., That we memorialize the Congress of the United States of America quickly to enact this humane emergency legislation and show to the world the way to immediate and permanent recovery from the cataclysm that was World War II.

FULL TEXT OF RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE NATIONAL BOARD OF OFFICERS OF THE CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS IN EXECUTIVE SESSION AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, JANUARY 12, 1947, AS ANNOUNCED BY MAX H. SORESENSEN OF PHILADELPHIA, PA., CWV NATIONAL COMMANDER

Whereas it appears that the farm economy of our country can support large numbers of agricultural workers, and that the great majority of displaced persons now on the European Continent are possessed of agricultural background and capabilities; and

Whereas it appears that in nonurban areas of the United States there is possible a resettlement or settlement of population without aggravating the present problem of housing shortage; and

Whereas on the basis of latest figures there is disclosed that there are approximately 80 percent Christian and 20 percent non-Christian people among the 1,000,000 displaced persons now seeking asylum it is clear that the problem is appealing to persons of every racial origin and creed; and

Whereas it is a historical fact that America has ever been sympathetic and willing to lend a helping hand to all people seeking asylum; and

Whereas it is an accepted obligation of this great democracy to preserve the fruits of war efforts by maintaining the freedom of conscience which was so hardly won and to avoid the unwelcome exchange from the heel of the Nazi to the doom of communism; and

Whereas the unit of the family has been the cornerstone of civilization, and a flourishing family life has ever been a distinct contribution to the economy of a nation; and

Whereas all dangers of a disruption of America's economy can be ameliorated or wholly avoided by a planned movement providing for the establishment of family units prior to their arrival; and

Whereas the free countries of the world are looking to the United States for leadership in this great world problem;

Resolved, That the Catholic War Veterans approve and hereby urge our Government through all proper agencies to encourage, cooperate with, and make effective at the earliest possible date a program for the welcome to our shores of at least 300,000 displaced persons with emphasis on the desirability of bringing to our land whole families; and

Resolved, That this resolution be respectfully addressed to the President and the Secretary of State and copies be sent to the Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

RESOLUTION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN VETERAN ORGANIZATIONS

Whereas the plight of the displaced persons in Europe today represents an urgent claim upon the conscience of the world, and a threat to the peace and security of mankind; and

Whereas large numbers of these uprooted men, women, and children are blood relatives of American soldiers who fought on the many battlefields of Europe and Asia; and

Whereas more than any other nation on earth, the United States is a Nation of immigrants and the children of immigrants; and

Whereas wartime restrictions have permitted only 7 percent of our total annual immigration quota to be utilized: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this National Council of American Veteran Organizations go on record as favoring the admission of a fair share of these displaced people from Europe, and in the admission of such people priority be given to the relatives of veterans of World Wars I and II.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS, MARCH 15, 1947

The glory of our Nation is in part our tradition as a land of hospitality, a haven for the world's harassed and persecuted. In the name of that tradition we ask that 400,000 displaced Europeans be permitted to enter the United States. It is America's humanitarian duty to take its share of responsibility for these victims of prejudice and war.

By admitting them we make up in part for deficiencies in our immigration quotas. During the war years alone over 900,000 quotas were not used.

Screened before admittance so as to protect our internal security, these immigrants will more than earn their own way in our economic life. As productive consumers they will increase our national income. They will help bolster our declining population growth.

As an association of veterans of that war, many of whose members helped liberate these people, we of the American Veterans Committee call upon the President and the Congress to take such steps as are necessary to allow entry of 400,000 displaced persons into the United States over a period of the next 4 years.

GRAND LODGE OF VERMONT, INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS,
Springfield, Vt., June 23, 1947.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS,
New York 16, N. Y.

(Attention: Mr. Earl G. Harrison, chairman.)

DEAR MR. HARRISON: This is to advise you that the following was adopted at our session May 15, 1947.

The committee on resolutions to which was referred the communication from Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, dated April 14, 1947, beg to report that we have examined and read the data received and we recommend the endorsement of H. R. 2910—which is the bill to authorize the United States during an emergency period to undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy, including relatives of citizens or members of our armed forces by permitting their admission into the United States in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota numbers unused during the war years.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD CROSSMAN, *Grand Secretary.*

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MARSHFIELD (WIS.) DISPLACED PERSONS COMMITTEE ON
JUNE 11, 1947

Whereas we are informed that there are still some 850,000 people in Europe who live in detention camps; and

Whereas many of these displaced persons are living in continuous fear of being returned to countries where they will be persecuted and oppressed; and

Whereas the United States, through its delegates, took the lead in the United Nations Assembly in insisting that these displaced persons must not be compelled to return to their countries of origin if to do so meant fearing further persecution on religious, racial, or political grounds; and

Whereas it is the tradition of this country that it is the home of the free and the haven of the oppressed; and

Whereas this country has reached its present state of greatness by encouraging the persecuted of all lands to settle here, thus attracting the most vigorous, intelligent, and enterprising persons to make the United States of America their home and aid in building our country; and

Whereas there is pending before the Congress, as a matter of temporary emergency legislation, H. R. 2910 under which 100,000 displaced persons will be allowed entrance to this country annually for the next 4 years: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we favor the enactment of this legislation and urge our Representatives in Congress to support the same; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the press; to Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate; Chapman Revercomb, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration; Earl C. Michener, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; Frank Fellows, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration; and our Representatives in Congress.

MARSHFIELD CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
BILL UTHMEIER, *Executive Secretary.*

RESOLUTION FROM THE DETROIT BAR ASSOCIATION

Whereas about a million people are living in displaced persons camps in Europe; and

Whereas these displaced persons are Poles, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Balts, Czechs, and some 15 other nationalities; and 80 percent are Christians and 20 percent Jews; and more than 50 percent are women and children; and

Whereas on December 22, A. D. 1945, President Harry S. Truman issued a directive ordering that central European quotas be made available primarily to displaced persons; and that only about 3,000 European immigrants have been admitted to the United States since the President's directive; and

Whereas the quotas in the aggregate have not been filled since 1940 under the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, and which provides for quotas with respect to national origins as of 1920, leaving over 75 percent of such quotas unused; and

Whereas the overwhelming majority of these displaced persons are fleeing from totalitarianism, both past and present; and all displaced persons now being admitted to the United States are carefully screened by the Army and other Federal agencies, and their talents and loyalty would be valuable to the United States; and

Whereas the detention and wanderings of these supposedly liberated people, and the uncertainty of their future generate new conflicts in an already unsettled world and the repatriation or resettlement of displaced persons will facilitate world peace; and

Whereas currently most of our immigrants move under the aegis of religious or charitable organizations and according to efficient resettlement techniques: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International Law Committee of the Detroit Bar Association is in accord with the principle and feasibility of having past unused quotas made available so that a fair share of displaced persons may be admitted to this country; and

Resolved, That the unused quotas back to 1940 be reopened, that quotas be transferable so that those not filled by one country be made available for others, under which plan the number of people who would be permitted to come into the United States would be no greater than the number which would have entered if the war had not interfered; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Board of Directors of the Detroit Bar Association, to the Michigan Committee on Immigration Policies for Displaced Persons, and to the three Detroit metropolitan newspapers.

GERALD E. SCHROEDER,

Chairman, International Law Committee, Detroit Bar Association.

Dated this 27th day of March, A. D. 1947.

RESOLUTION BY THE IOWA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

At its twenty-eighth annual convention at Des Moines, November 18-21, the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation adopted the following resolution:

"We are conscious of the tragic existence of displaced persons all over the world. We recognize the impending need of reestablishing them so that they can assume again an honorable place in society. We hope and desire that we in the United States will take our share of responsibility to this end. We warn against indiscriminate admission into the United States, but we declare ourselves in favor of a selective and helpful immigration policy in keeping with our culture, standards, and traditions."

FROM THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, NORTH ATLANTIC REGIONAL CONFERENCE

The North Atlantic Regional Conference of the American Association of University Women, meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., May 1 to 3, 1947, upon recommendation of its International Relations Round Table, strongly supports House Resolution 2910, which is now before the Subcommittee on Immigration of the House Judiciary Committee.

We believe that the United States should undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons now in Germany, Austria, and Italy. The bill authorizes the entry over a 4-year period of a number of persons equivalent to a part of the total quota numbers unused during the war years.

This legislation is necessary for the implementation of the plans of the International Refugee Organization for aid to homeless people, uprooted by the cruelties of war.

We desire that our country should do its part in this urgent humanitarian work.

RESOLUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY LAWYERS

At a meeting of the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, held on January 13, 1946, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the ruthless barbarity of the Nazi and Fascist regimes in World War II has left over 1,000,000 displaced persons in Europe; and

"Whereas the tragic situation of these surviving victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution presents a problem of such magnitude and poignancy that it cannot be ignored by people of good will and humanitarian instincts; and

"Whereas the problem of these displaced persons is of international concern and gravest urgency; and

"Whereas these unsettled victims of the war constitute a serious delaying factor in the restoration of peace and order in Europe and throughout the world; and

"Whereas less than 20 percent of the immigration quotas provided by existing law have been used annually during the war years; and

"Whereas international collaboration and the assumptions of its fair share by each of the members of the United Nations is essential to the solution of the pressing problem of displaced persons; and

"Whereas it has been the traditional and historic policy of the United States to afford refuge to the oppressed unfortunates of other lands; and

"Whereas the growth and development of the United States as a great nation were founded upon the policy of granting asylum to the oppressed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers hereby petitions the Congress to permit the entry into the United States of displaced persons equal to the number of the unused quotas for the period beginning September 1, 1939, and ending June 30, 1946."

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE AND RELIEF COMMITTEE, INC.

The board of directors of the International Rescue and Relief Committee at a regular meeting on March 20, 1947, voted unanimously the following resolution:

"Whereas the plight of the displaced persons in Europe is becoming increasingly precarious and the physical and spiritual deterioration of over 1,000,000 people is a mockery of our victory over nazism;

"Whereas the future of these unfortunate people is black and uncertain, and with the end of UNRRA imminent the tendency to use pressure to force repatriation increases;

"Whereas the United States is traditionally an asylum for the oppressed of all lands;

"Whereas these displaced persons can become valuable assets to the economic and social development of our country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the board of directors endorse the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, and that copies of this resolution be sent to appropriate committees of the House and Senate and to the President."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE UNITED STATES SECTION OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE, FEBRUARY 1947

The National Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting in Washington, D. C., February 14-16, 1947, urges Congress to take prompt emergency action to permit the United States to accept for immigration her fair share of the million unfortunate people made homeless by oppression and war. We ask for the use of less than half the quota numbers unused during the war period to admit at least 400,000 displaced persons, regardless of national origins, and that this emergency program be accomplished over a period of 4 years.

**RESOLUTION ON DISPLACED PERSONS BY THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
APRIL 4, 1947**

The American Friends Service Committee, in line with its profound concern that a speedy and constructive solution be found for the world-wide problem of displaced persons and refugees, wishes to make the following statement:

"On the basis of over 8 years of experience in conducting programs for the orientation and integration of refugee immigrants to the United States we are convinced that these newcomers have proven in the vast majority of cases to be an asset to this country. They have included an unusually large percentage of people of high intellectual and educational level and have brought many talents and skills of which we have made good use. Far from taking jobs away from Americans, they have in many instances brought patents, processes, and capital with which they have set up new industries, making products that were formerly imported from abroad and employing large numbers of American workers. The fields of science and the arts have been particularly enriched by them. They have been eager to embrace American citizenship at the earliest possible moment and to prove their loyalty in every way open to them. There is no known case in which one of these newcomers has become eligible for deportation as a public charge.

"The picture of the majority of these refugees who have been able to immigrate to the United States, now self-sustaining and happy in a new homeland, is in marked contrast to that of the thousands of refugees and displaced persons still languishing in camps and detention centers in Europe, nearly 2 years after the end of hostilities there. Their problem is admittedly one for solution on an international scale, but it is obvious that the United States, the one great power relatively unscathed by the war, will have to shoulder the major responsibility both in supporting an international refugee agency and in providing a place of resettlement. No one who is acquainted with the facts will claim that the United States has up to now met its full share of this responsibility. Part of the reason for this is the fact that the quota numbers available for the countries of origin of most of the displaced persons are so small that immigration of the numbers provided by these quotas makes no real impression on the problem.

"Therefore, in view of our convictions that the admission of displaced persons would prove an asset to this country, that humanitarian considerations make imperative a quick solution of their problem, and that the major responsibility for such a solution rests with the United States, we urge our Congress to enact as speedily as possible such temporary legislation as is necessary to provide, within our immigration laws but outside the present quotas, for the immigration into this country within the next few years of our fair share of the displaced persons, which is estimated to be about half of their total number, or 400,000. This number represents less than half of the quota numbers which were available during the war years but were unused because of war conditions. A large number of voluntary agencies stand ready now, as in the past, to assist these newcomers with their problems of adjustment, including economic adjustment, housing, vocational guidance, and integration into our communities and culture."

**RESOLUTION ON H. R. 2910 ADOPTED BY THE PARKWAY COMMUNITY COUNCIL, BRONX
67, N. Y., MAY 22, 1947**

Two years after the war, there are still close to 400,000 displaced persons in Europe who live in detention camps. They represent almost all religions. Some 80 percent are Christians of various denominations, and 20 percent are Jews.

These men, women, and children are victims of all forms of religious and political persecution, barbarism, and Nazi terror.

These people do not wish to, and cannot, return to their home countries because they fear oppression, for religious, racial, and political reasons, and they cannot live and build a home at the cemeteries of their beloved ones.

Immigration to this country, regulated by quotas, is limited to 153,929 immigrants each year. Great Britain is assigned 65,000 numbers of the above figure per year. She does not use more than ten thousand or fifteen thousand per year. The rest is wasted. The remainder of numbers are sprinkled among the rest of the countries, giving Poland, for instance, 6,524 numbers per year; Estonia, 116; Lithuania, 386; Latvia, 236; Greece, 307; Italy, 5,802; Rumania, 377; Turkey, 226; Yugoslavia, 845; etc.

The quotas are not accumulative and expire at the end of each year (June 30). Except for 1939, the number of unused quotas for each year since 1931 has exceeded 100,000. In the years 1945 and 1946, less than 20 percent of the quota was used.

The displaced people in Europe are capable human beings, men and women skilled in all professions. They are craftsmen, farmers, builders, and housewives. They include 90,000 agricultural workers, 1,000 trained lumbermen and foresters, more than 20,000 construction workers, and 22,000 domestics. A great number of the displaced people are children. These people are ready to enrich the economy of our country with their skill and devotion and find homes in the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, members of the Parkway Community Council, a representative body composed of practically all of the organizations of our community, at a regular meeting held on Thursday, May 22, 1947, go on record as favoring the passage of H. R. 2910, introduced by Representative Stratton, to allow the entry of 100,000 displaced persons per year during the next 4 years into the United States for permanent residence as nonquota immigrants.

Copies of this resolution to be sent to Congressman Stratton, to our own Congressman, legislatures, and to the Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons, and to all organizations in our community, urging them to take independent action urging the passage of this bill.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY AT ITS MEETING ON JUNE 20, 1947, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Resolved, That the Common Council for American Unity declare its conviction that the United States should admit its fair share of Europe's displaced persons:

Because these victims of the war constitute an international humanitarian problem whose solution rests on all countries and particularly on those immigrant-receiving countries like the United States which have suffered least from the scourge of war;

Because the displaced persons are, in general, persons who have proved their devotion to democratic ideals and who would make useful and loyal American citizens;

Because the admission of a fair share of the displaced persons will not, the council believes, adversely affect our employment situation but will be to the long-term economic advantage of our country, increase its potential, as well as save it money it is now spending for their relief abroad;

Because giving a fair share of the displaced persons a chance to rebuild their lives among us not only is the decent human thing to do but is in line with the American tradition of asylum in which the United States has grown great, will set an example for other countries, and strengthen the forces making for world peace; and be it further

Resolved, That because of the foregoing reasons the Common Council for American Unity endorse, in principle, the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910, designed to admit a fair share of Europe's displaced persons to the United States.

NOTICE

The executive board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopted a legislative program for 1947 designed to guarantee a greater degree of democratic security to all minority groups. The following is a note from this legislative program:

"In order to expand and strengthen the American democratic system by distributing its benefits, rights, and privileges more equitably among citizens of all creeds, races, religions, regions, or stations in life, we urge the enactment of the following minimum legislative program by the Eightieth Congress of the United States and pledge the organized effort of our association toward the objectives cited below:

"Item 6: A bill to amend the immigration laws to reestablish lapsed quotas and otherwise to permit displaced and homeless persons in Europe to enter America."

EXCERPT FROM FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT, ADOPTED MARCH 30, 1947, NATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

SECTION B, ITEM 6, DISPLACED PERSONS

We believe that the United States should admit a large share of the displaced persons and victims of totalitarian brutality to resettlement in this country. We favor the development of an effective International Refugee Organization. We support the United States position that the repatriation of displaced persons shall be voluntary.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SERVICE, MAY 12, 1947

Whereas the International Migration Service believes that the United States should undertake its fair share in the resettlement of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy by permitting their admission into the United States as nonquota immigrants; and

Whereas members of the organization as individuals in various parts of the country, are actively working for the passage of bill H. R. 2910; be it

Resolved, That the American branch of the International Migration Service, Inc., go on record as supporting H. R. 2910 and urging its passage;

And further that copies of that resolution be transmitted to Representative Stratton, who introduced the bill, the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration, and to the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, and others.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., April 1, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I consider it a privilege to be able to add my voice to the many who have endorsed the aims of the Committee on Displaced Persons. The passage of emergency legislation to permit a reasonable number of the surviving victims of nazism to settle in this country is a necessity to the full realization of victory.

We are a Nation of displaced persons. Our very existence stems from those who escaped the tyrannies of the world over the past three centuries. To block this compelling need today is to cut the source of our lifeblood.

Enlightened organized labor welcomes these immigrants to a new life and understands that they will contribute to, rather than threaten, the achievements of the past quarter century. Organized labor understands that our leadership in the relief of this problem will relieve a blight on civilization as well as enrich our economy and our culture.

Sincerely yours,

JACOB S. POTOFKY,
General President.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington 1, D. C., March 7, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York 16, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: The tragic situation confronting the survivors of Nazi concentration camps, who 2 years after VE-day still linger on in displaced persons camps, calls for emergency treatment.

For this reason, the American Federation of Labor at its sixty-fifth annual convention gave its unanimous approval to the immediate entry into this country of a considerable number of displaced persons of Europe, without in any way modifying the existing quota laws.

I am glad, therefore, to extend my support to the Citizens Committee's demand for the admission of 400,000 displaced persons during an emergency period of 4 years. This proposed number falls below the number of quota immigrants

lost during the war years and takes in approximately half of the hard-core non-repatriable displaced persons.

This is the least the United States can do for the valiant fighters for freedom, who today do not wish or cannot return to their homes of origin because they fear oppression for religious, racial, or political reasons.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE MEANY,
Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDUSTRIAL UNION OF MARINE AND SHIPBUILDING WORKERS OF AMERICA,

Washington 5, D. C., April 3, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,

*Chairman, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HARRISON: Your endeavor to secure emergency legislation to permit some of the displaced persons to enter the United States is highly commendable, and I hereby extend my wholehearted support to your worthy cause.

No one can deny that the plight of these forgotten people is a most tragic one. As immigrants ourselves and as children of immigrants, we of the CIO are particularly aware of their unbearable condition.

Having lived under the brutal tyranny of dictatorship and totalitarianism, the displaced persons can truly value the ideals of democracy and the principles on which this country was founded.

The United States which has always helped the persecuted and oppressed should certainly continue doing so now by opening its doors to at least 400,000 displaced persons. In relation to our population, this is an insignificant number; in terms of helping these unfortunates, it means giving them a home and a new lease on life.

Very truly yours,

JOHN GREEN,
*President, Industrial Union of Marine and
Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO.*

STATEMENT BY DAVID DUBINSKY, PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, MARCH 3, 1947

On behalf of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union I wish to take this occasion to add my support to the cause your committee has undertaken for the admission into the United States of 400,000 displaced persons of Europe during a period of 4 years.

These unfortunates—Catholics, Protestants, Jews—bore the brunt of the Hitler terror and today have neither home nor country. Fearing religious, racial, or political oppression, they would rather suffer the many hardships of a detention camp than go back to their lands of origin.

With its long-established tradition of offering asylum to the victims of persecution and intolerance, and as a leader in international affairs, the United States should make an emergency exception at this time to permit some of the displaced persons to immigrate to this country.

They will gain and so will we—as it has always been the case in American history.

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D. C., March 25, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,

*Chairman, National Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the role that the Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons is playing in the cause of world-wide humanitarianism.

Civilization stands indicted of gross callousness when millions of persons displaced from their homes by the injustices and rigors of aggressive war are wandering shelterless over the face of the earth. America would be making only

its minimum contribution to alleviate this state of affairs by admitting 400,000 of these displaced persons as your committee is requesting.

Wholly aside from the moral factors involved, there is a practical aspect which Americans should consider. Our country needs the intelligence and the willing hands of many, many more persons if we are to achieve our expected goal in improving the earth for the use of all men. Conversely, it might be pointed out the continued insecurity of these homeless people constitutes a menace to the security of all nations.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES B. CAREY, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

OIL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, CIO,
Fort Worth, Tex., April 7, 1947.

Mr. EARL G. HARRISON,
Chairman, Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons,
New York 16, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HARRISON: I am deeply interested in the welfare of the 850,000 displaced persons presently living in Europe. I believe that deliberate indifference on the part of the democracies of the world is responsible for the condition of the individuals who are still homeless 2 years after the conclusion of the war.

Because of our proud tradition as a haven for the oppressed, these unfortunates look to us for help. This help we can readily extend to them, as the United States is one of the few countries which has not been ravaged by war.

As president of the Oil Workers International Union, CIO, I am in agreement with the aim of your organization; namely, to secure emergency legislation that would permit 400,000 of these displaced persons to enter the United States.

Very truly yours,

OIL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, CIO,
O. A. KNIGHT, *President.*

RESOLUTION No. 103 WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY THE HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA'S CONVENTION IN APRIL 1947

Whereas 2 years after the war there are still some 850,000 displaced persons in European detention camps, 80 percent of whom are Christians and 20 percent are Jews, whom the Nazis sought to exterminate as people; and

Whereas these survivors of Nazi concentration camps and of slave labor battalions cannot go back to their homes of origin because they fear oppression for religious, racial, or political reasons; and

Whereas the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France have officially declared that no people would be forced to return to their homelands against their will, and the United Nations has endorsed the same principle; and

Whereas it is the responsibility of the democratic countries to see that these persecuted people of Europe be given an opportunity to begin life again under circumstances which would permit them to become members of a civilized community and once more endeavor to establish a residence; and

Whereas during the war it was virtually impossible for immigrants to come to this country and as a result the United States was deprived of 914,762 quota immigrants who could have legally entered this country under immigration laws that Congress passed in the 1920's; and

Whereas the plight of the displaced persons is a humanitarian problem of the greatest magnitude challenging every fair-minded person; and

Whereas the American Federation of Labor has always led in the work of human rights: Be it

Resolved, That we the members assembled at the thirty-first general convention of Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, in line with the declaration on displaced persons unanimously adopted by the sixty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor approving "the immediate entry of immigrants composed of displaced persons in Europe which will permit the unfilled quota of the war period to be com-

pleted," go on record as favoring the admission into the United States of a fair share of displaced persons regardless of national origin; be it further

Resolved, That without in any way modifying or altering the basic quota law regulating normal immigration, a temporary emergency exception be made which would enable 400,000 displaced persons to enter this country during a period of 4 years.

STATEMENT OF MRS. J. L. BLAIR BUCK, PRESIDENT, GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, AT HEARINGS ON H. R. 2910 BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

Just a few days ago the General Federation of Women's Clubs—a national organization of 3,000,000 members—in convention assembled adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas since VE-day 11,000,000 displaced persons have been repatriated but the remaining 850,000 who live in detention camps cannot be returned to their original places of residence and must be absorbed in countries where they will be welcome and can build a new life; and

"Whereas they represent almost all religions, some 80 percent being Christians of various denominations and 20 percent being Jews; and

"Whereas the United Nations established the International Refugee Organization to deal with the displaced persons' problem, but IRO cannot solve the problem unless immigrant-receiving countries make special provisions to receive a fair share of displaced persons; and

"Whereas the United States Congress has passed immigration laws which permit a quota of 154,000 immigrants to enter this country annually; and

"Whereas during the 1940-46 war period only 15 percent of the total quota was used, whereby the United States lost 914,762 people who could have entered this country legally and whom we were ready and prepared to receive; and

"Whereas it has been estimated that 400,000 displaced persons legally screened and whose devotion to liberty is vouched for would be a fair share to enter the United States, which would be less than half of the number of eligible entries that were not used during the war years; and

"Whereas a population of 140,000,000 people can absorb several hundred thousand displaced persons without straining the national economy: Therefore

Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, June 1947, supports the principle and urges the passage of legislation pending in Congress which fulfills the proportional responsibility of the United States in its functional participation under the IRO to these thousands of homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths."

The United States has always been regarded by the rest of the world as a refuge for the persecuted. We have traditionally prided ourselves on our idealism and humanitarianism. It is unthinkable that we, who have suffered least from the war, should now close our doors to the tragic and homeless victims of the greatest catastrophe in history. To do so would outrage Christian conscience.

If we reject our clear responsibility to these people, what are the alternatives? (1) Forcible repatriation; (2) abandonment in the Axis nations; (3) continued maintenance in the DP camps, largely at our expense. We have already rejected the principle of forcible repatriation as repugnant to our democratic traditions. It would be cruel and unwise to throw these people back upon the wrecked economy of the Axis Nations—to expect them to live among a people responsible for the destruction of all they held most dear. To continue indefinitely to maintain the displaced persons in overcrowded camps is inhuman, solves nothing, and is an additional drain on the American taxpayer.

It is to our interest to make it possible for these people to contribute to, not drain, our economy. We believe that the economy of the United States can easily absorb 100,000 refugees a year for 4 years. Manpower shortages still exist in the United States. Over 50 percent of the displaced persons are women and children, many of whom would not be job competitors. And for those women who might need work, there is certainly a demand here for domestic workers.

The present situation is intolerable. People crowded together, without privacy, without hope, and without opportunity to rehabilitate themselves must, inevitably, deteriorate as individuals. Collectively they add to national frictions.

Their restoration to normal, useful living is an essential step in the struggle to bring order out of chaos in Europe.

Almost all our ancestors sought refuge here and they succeeded in building a great country. Possibly among these refugees will be those who, because of the hardships they have endured, will appreciate the opportunities which our free Nation offers—people who will contribute to the building of an even greater America.

For the above reasons the General Federation of Women's Clubs earnestly urges the Congress to act promptly and favorably on H. R. 2910.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington 25, D. C., July 14, 1947.

HON. EARL C. MICHENER,
Chairman, Judiciary Committee, House of Representatives,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR SIR: There is enclosed a petition received from some of my constituents who urge passage of the Stratton bill, H. R. 2910.

It will be appreciated if consideration will be given to their opinion, and I hope we may shortly expect favorably action on the bill by your committee.

Sincerely yours,

AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY, M. C.

PETITION TO OUR CONGRESSMAN

The undersigned citizens hereby appeal to you on behalf of thousands of Slovak refugees now living in Austria, Germany, Italy, and other European countries who face starvation with the elimination of UNRRA and other relief. They can be partially resettled with the passage of the Stratton bill (H. R. 2910) providing for the admission of our fair share of some 850,000 refugees scattered throughout Europe who have reason to fear Communist rule in the countries of their origin and who will make ideal American citizens. We pledge our cooperation in helping to resettle all Slovak refugees admitted if the above law is passed, in the conviction that they will not prove a burden on the United States and will be a sound investment in the fight which we are waging against world domination by communism and in the preservation of American ideals of freedom and democracy:

Andy Levay, Beatty, Pa.; Joe Levay, Beatty, Pa.; S. A. Petrosky, Latrobe, Pa.; John Mehalie, Latrobe, Pa.; John Domanich, Latrobe, Pa.; Joe Luko, Latrobe, Pa.; S. J. Vincze, Latrobe, Pa.; Peter M. Petrosky, Latrobe, Pa.; Michael J. Smetanka, Latrobe, Pa.; Frank S. Smetanka, Latrobe, Pa.

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